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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

JANUARY, 1924

INDIAN LITERATURE AND WORLD-LITERATURE

The word 'world-literature' may be used in two different meanings. In the great *national* literatures of the world we find some works which have become the common property of all nations. The Hebrew Bible and the New Testament, the poems of Homer, the fables of Æsop, the Arabian Nights, the plays of Shakespeare—to mention only some of the best known examples—belong to 'world-literature' in this sense. These are works that are read, enjoyed and appreciated by so many nations, that we can say, they belong to civilised mankind, to the literature of the world. But we also speak of 'world-literature,' as distinguished from the national literatures, when by a comparative study of the literatures of different nations we try to trace the mutual relations between them, the influences exercised by one literature upon another. When we use 'world-literature' in this sense, we mean to say, that the object of our study is not one particular literature, but the literature of the world, and we wish to find out, what part each nation has played in it, and what each of them has contributed to the common stock of ideas, thoughts, poetical motives and literary treasures.

I shall have to use 'world-literature' in both these senses, when I try to answer the questions: What has India contributed to the literature of the world? In which way has

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Indian literature influenced other literatures, and what impulses has it received from the literatures of other nations?

In the year 1808 a little book was published in Germany with the title: 'Die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier' ("The Language and Wisdom of the Indians") by the poet Friedrich Schlegel, who by this book became the pioneer of Indian Philology in Germany. This little book was written with enthusiasm and inspired enthusiasm. And ever since then it has become the custom in Germany to speak of the 'wisdom of India' or of 'Indian wisdom.' And what is generally meant by this 'wisdom' are on the whole the ideas and thoughts found in the Upaniṣads, in the Bhagavadgītā and in the sacred books of the Buddhists.

It is the Upaniṣads which we have first to mention as Indian works belonging to world literature. Long before a scholarly study of the Upaniṣads began in Europe, the mystic doctrines of the Upaniṣads had influenced Western thought in many a way. Persian Sufism has received impulses from these doctrines, and it is at least probable that the mystic-theosophical Logos doctrine of the Neo-Platonic School and of the Alexandrian Christians and even the teachings of the Christian mystics Eckhart and Tauler were in some way or other influenced by the Atman-Brahman doctrine of the Upaniṣads. But if it is possible, that in some of these cases we have to see rather a parallel development, than any direct or indirect influences, there can be no doubt that the philosophy of the great German mystic of the nineteenth century, Schopenhauer, was greatly impressed with the teaching of the Upaniṣads. In the 17th century Dara Shikoh, the unfortunate brother of the Emperor Aurangzeb, the son of Shah Jehan, had a collection of Upaniṣads translated into Persian. At the very beginning of the 19th century the French scholar Anquetil Duperron, who was not only a great admirer of Indian thought, but actually lived like an Indian ascetic, translated the Upaniṣads from the Persian of Dara Shikoh into Latin. This imperfect and often faulty translation with the title 'Oupnekhat' was yet read and studied with the greatest enthusiasm by the German Philosopher Schopenhauer who called it "the production of highest human wisdom' (die Ausgeburt der höchsten menschlichen Weisheit). Schopenhauer calls Plato, Kant and the 'Vedas' (by this he means the Upaniṣads) his teachers. The harmony between his own system and that of the Upaniṣads seemed to him quite marvellous. The book 'Oupnekhat' was always lying open on his table. And he says of this book: "It is the most profitable and elevating reading that (with the exception of the original text) is possible in the world; it has been the solace of my life and will be that of my death." But the fundamental teaching of the Upaniṣads is the same which, in the words of Schopenhauer, "was at all times the laughing-stock of the fools and the object of endless meditation of the wise," namely the *doctrine of unity*, that is to say, the doctrine, 'that all manifoldness is only apparent, that in all the individuals of this world in whatever endless number they may present themselves after and beside one another, there manifests itself only one and the same truly existing Being that is present in and identical with all of them."

Yet I believe, it is a wild exaggeration when Schopenhauer says that the teaching of the Upaniṣads represents "the fruit of the highest human knowledge and wisdom" and contains "almost superhuman conceptions the originators of which can hardly be regarded as mere mortals," or when Deussen, one of the foremost followers of Schopenhauer, says that these thinkers have acquired "if not the most scientific, yet the most intimate and direct information on the last secret of all being."

Philosophy means "love of wisdom" and the greater philosopher is, in my opinion, not he who fancies himself to be in possession of highest wisdom, but he who *loves truth* above everything else and strives to approach it as far as it is possible for human beings. It is true philosophy when the Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad says that the last principle, the Brahman or the Atman, can only be described by *neti neti* ("No, no" or "it is not so," "it is not so"). The philosopher poets of the Upaniṣads will always be admired and esteemed in the East and in the West, not because they have *found* the truth, but because they have *struggled* so earnestly for truth, because in their philosophical poetry the eternally unsatiated human *longing* for knowledge has found such fervent expression. What makes the Upaniṣads so extremely valuable for us, is not that they contain "*superhuman* conceptions," but rather that they contain *human*, entirely human *attempts* at coming as near the truth as possible. And in this sense they will always keep a prominent place in the literature of the world and in the history of human thought.

The Bhagavadgītā also belongs to world literature. The English translation of the poem by Charles Wilkins, published in 1785, was the first Sanskrit book that was directly translated from Sanskrit into an European language. In a letter to Nathaniel Smith, printed in this translation, Warren Hastings writes, that such writings as the Bhagavadgītā "will survive when the British dominion in India shall have long ceased to exist, and when the sources which it once yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance."

In 1823, August Wilhelm von Schlegel (who was the first Professor of Sanskrit in Germany, being in 1818 called to the newly founded University of Bonn)—published the first critical edition of the text with a Latin translation. This work attracted the attention of the great German writer Wilhelm von Humboldt. He read the poem with great enthusiasm, wrote a lengthy essay on it, and praised it as "the profoundest and loftiest thing the world has ever seen." And in a letter to a friend he wrote, that when he read the poem for the first time, he had a constant feeling of gratitu
Providence that it had allowed him to live long eno

become acquainted with this work. It has been repeatedly translated into German, as well as into English, and also there are translations into other European languages.

Christian readers of the Bhagavadgītā have always been struck by the resemblances between the *Bhakti* doctrine proclaimed in the Gītā, and Christian ideas. And there have been scholars who tried to prove that the Bhagavadgītā was influenced by Christian views, and that its author was acquainted with the New Testament. Thus Lorinser (in the appendix to his German translation, 1869) has pointed out more than 100 parallel passages to the Gospels in the Bhagavadgītā. But if we go through these passages, we shall find that there are hardly twenty-five passages, where the similarity is great enough to allow us to think even of the possibility of a borrowing, and there is no case in which the assumption of borrowing is more probable than that of accidental agreement. And with the exception of E. W. Hopkins I do not know of any scholar who believes in Christian influence on the Bhagavadgītā. It seems that the Bhakti doctrine is as old as Pāṇini. And we know from an inscription on a stone column found at Besnagar near Bhilsa in the Gwalior State, that in the 2nd century B. C. even a Greek, Heliodorus, son of Dion, a native of Taxila, had adopted the Bhāgavata faith. The coincidences between the Bhagavadgītā and the Christian Gospels, as far as there are any, must, therefore, be explained as an interesting case of parallel development of religious ideas, without any mutual influencing.

It was under the influence of the Bhakti doctrine of the Bhagavadgītā, and not under Christian influence, as Father J. Dahlmann would have us believe, that the Mahāyāna Buddhism was developed. For there is no proof of Christian influence in India before the 2nd and 3rd century A. D. And the Mahāyāna is certainly older.

The relation between Buddhism and Christianity, Buddhist and Christian literature, has been the subject of much discussion. As Buddhism has become a world-religion, so many parts of *Buddhist literature* belong to world-literature.

Much has been written about the parallels between the Buddha legend and the legend of Christ, and coincidences between sayings, parables and similes of Buddhist sacred texts, and those found in the Gospels, and it has often been asserted, that the Christian Gospels were largely influenced by the Buddhist Tipiṭaka, both as regards the legends and the teaching. But both the real and the apparent parallels have been greatly exaggerated. A most careful and detailed comparison of the two bodies of texts shows most clearly that the differences are infinitely greater than the coincidences, and that there is no *certain* case of borrowing on the part of the Christian Gospels. There are only a few cases in which mutual influence can be admitted as being *possible*, and only very few cases, in which such influence is *probable*. There is, for instance, the legend of Asita who comes to see the infant Buddha, and prophesies his future greatness, which bears a strong similarity to the legend of Simeon in the Gospel of Luke. As the Buddhist legend occurs already in an old ballad of the Suttanipāta and was known in the third century B. C., it is not improbable that the Christian legend is borrowed from Buddhist tradition. There may be three or four other cases where a historical connexion between Buddhist and Christian legends is possible or even probable.

Single utterances and parables of Jesus and of the Buddha have also often been compared, but in all these cases it is only a matter of distant resemblance, or of such general ideas as could easily occur and actually do occur in the sacred books of all religions.

A careful comparison of the Buddhist sacred texts and the Christian Gospels does not lead us to believe in any *direct* influence of the Buddhist *literature* on the Gospels. On the other hand it is certain, that ever since the times of Alexander the Great there existed the possibility of Buddhist ideas being infused into Western minds. And it is at all events possible that in that combination of Jewish and Greek ideas on which the teaching of the Christian Gospels is based, there was also a small admixture of Buddhist thoughts and legends.

But it is not before the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. that we have certain proofs of a knowledge of Buddhism in the West. And this is also the time when the *Apocryphal Gospels* were composed, in which we find some undoubted borrowings from Buddhist literature.

But the influence of Buddhist literature on the West became far more apparent in later times. One of the most popular books in all Christian countries during the whole of the middle ages was the *Book of Barlaam and Joasaph,* and there can be not the least doubt, that this work was composed by a pious Christian monk who knew the Buddha legend from some Indian source, probably from the Lalitavistara. For the frame story of this famous Christian novel is nothing else but the Buddha legend with all its principal features, and some of the parables inserted in the book are well known in Indian literature. The work was probably first composed in the Pehlevi language in the 6th or 7th century A.D., and afterwards translated into Arabic and Syrian. From the Syrian text probably the Greek version was derived, which was translated into Latin. The Latin translation then became the source of numerous translations into almost all European languages. In time Barlaam and Joasaph became so familiar figures among Christian people, that they were looked upon as pious Christian men, who had actually lived and preached, and were finally included in the catalogue of Christian saints by the Roman Catholic Church. But Joasaph is nothing else, but *Judasaf* which is a misreading of *Budasaph* (in Arabic, Syrian and Pehlevi *j* and *b* are very similar), that is Bodhisattva. Thus it came about that the Bodhisattva has become a Christian saint. (In the *Catalogus Sanctorum* of Peter de Natalibus, 1370, Barlaam and Joasaph appear already as saints.)

And as in the Middle Ages, so has the Indian Buddha legend shown a wonderful vitality over and over again down to our own times. In the 19th century, the epic poem, 'The Light of Asia,' describing the career of the Buddha, of the English poet Edwin Arnold met with such an enthusiasm, that more than 60 editions of the book were published in England, and more than a hundred in America.

Again in 1906 the Danish poet Karl Gjellerup who has some years ago been distinguished by the Nobel prize, has written his beautiful novel 'The Pilgrim Kamanita,' which is entirely inspired by Buddhist ideas, and by the Mahāyāna accounts of the paradise Sukhavati. Even more than the ideas of the Upaniṣads and of the Bhagavadgītā, Buddhist ideas have exercised and are still exercising an enormous influence on western thought.

The Bhagavadgītā is an episode of the Mahābhārata. There are at least two more episodes of the great Epic which have become part of the world literature: The *Nalopākhyāna* and the *Sāvitry-upākhyāna.*

The story of Nala and Ḍamayanti is one of the best known Indian poems in Europe. Ever since Franz Bopp first published the Sanskrit text of the story with a Latin translation in the year 1819, it has been considered as one of the gems of the poetry of the world. It has been translated into nearly all European languages; and in the Western Universities it has become an almost general custom, to begin the study of Sanskrit with reading the story of Nala. It was the first Sanskrit book which I myself read about forty years ago, and I shall never forget the spell it exercised upon me, and the enthusiasm with which I read it from canto to canto.

The wonderful story of Sāvitrī, too, that ideal woman, who by her faithfulness and love and by her wisdom and strength conquers Death, has been translated into European languages and has always been highly appreciated in the

West. I know of seven translations into German, and I have seen it on the stage, turned into an opera and set to music, in our German theatre at Prague.

There is also the famous parable in the Strīparvan of the Mahābhārata, the parable of *the Man in the Well*, which has become part of the literature of the world. It is the parable of the Brahman who loses his way in a terrible forest with horrible dragons, etc., falls into a well, remains hanging in the branches of a creeper, sees a mighty serpent in the middle of the well, a giant elephant at the top, but seeing honey dripping down from the branches of the tree, he greedily swallows it, as he is not weary of existence. The parable is meant to illustrate the saṃsāra with all its evils and dangers, and man who inspite of all continues to enjoy sensual pleasures. This parable was included in the book of Barlaam and Joasaph and in the Kalilag and Damnag, and has wandered all over the world. The Persian Sufi poet Jelal-ed-Din Rūmi translated it into Persian from which Ruckert rendered it into German in a poem which is known to every child in Germany. It has equally served for the edification of Brahmans, Buddhists and Jains, as of Jews, Mahomedans and Christians.

When we come to classical literature, Kālidāsa certainly takes his place in world-literature, by the side of Shakespeare. His 'Śakuntalā' was translated into English by Sir William Jones in 1789, and when it was soon after (1791) translated from English into German by Georg Forster, it roused at once an enthusiasm among literary people all over Europe and more especially in Germany, which we can hardly understand to-day. It was looked upon like a wonder, coming from "the land of wonders" and was hailed by men like Herder and Goethe with surprise and delight. Herder wrote a lengthy essay in form of letters on the drama, and Goethe, immediately after he had read Forster's translation, wrote his well known verses in which he expressed his enthusiastic admiration for 'Śakuntalā.' And almost half a century later, in 1830, as an old man, Goethe wrote in a letter to the French editor of the Sanskrit text of 'Śakuntalā' Chézy, in which he says: "The first time when I became aware of this unfathomable work, it excited such an enthusiasm in me and attracted me so much, that I never left off studying it, and even felt myself urged on to the impossible task of adapting it, at least in some way, to the German stage." Schiller also wrote to Goethe in a letter, that he had been thinking of making use of the 'Śakuntalā' for the theatre, but had to give up the idea, as it was too delicate for the stage.

Nevertheless several attempts have been made to adapt the drama to the stage in Europe, and several versions have been produced in German theatres. In Paris it was brought on the stage in form of a ballet. In England it was first produced in 1899 (in the translation of Monier Williams), and again in 1912 and 1913.

The *Vikramorvaśīya* also has been translated into European languages, and it was also produced on the stage in 1888 as an opera (Urvaśī) in Munich. And again the *Mālavikāgnimitra* has been not only translated but also adapted for the stage and a version of it was produced at the Munich theatre in 1917 only.

There is only one other Indian drama that has been translated repeatedly and adapted for the stage, the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of king Śūdraka. In Paris it was produced in 1850 and in another adaptation in 1895. In Germany one adaptation of *Mṛcchakaṭika* has attracted large audiences to the theatres about 1892-93 and more recently again—only two or three years ago—another version was produced at Dresden and Leipzig. At the latter place I saw it myself in 1921.

But no work of Indian literature belongs so truly to the literature of the world as the *Pañcatantra*. It is one of the most fascinating study in the history of world-literature to follow up the traces by which Indian stories. and motives of stories have wandered from nation to nation, so that we meet with them amongst all peoples of Asia and Europe, nay even among Somalis and Suahilis on the African coast. Not only have single Indian tales been spread to other peoples by travellers, merchants, and itinerant monks, but even whole Indian *books* of stories and fables have become the common property of many peoples. The most prominent of these books is the *Pañcatantra,* and when Theodor Benfey in the epoch-making introduction to his German translation of the *Pañcatantra* (1859), with his astounding knowledge of Eastern and Western languages and literatures, traced the history of the *Pañcatantra* on its wanderings through the world-literature, he laid the foundation of what has since been termed 'Comparative History of Literature,' and has become a new branch of historical and literary research. The translations of the Pañcatantra into Eastern and Western languages go back to a very early time. Already in the 6th century A. D., the fame of the *Pañcatantra* had reached Persia. For a North-West Indian recension of the work was translated into Pehlevi by the Physician Burzoe on the order of the Persian king Khosrau Anosherwan (531-579 A. D.), together with some other Indian stories. This Pehlevi translation has not been preserved, but we can reconstruct it with the help of an old Syrian and an old Arabian translation, derived from the Pehlevi text. Already about 570 A. D. the Syrian Christian monk Bud translated it from the Pehlevi into Syrian under the title '*Kalilag and Damnag.*' This translation has come down to us only in a fragmentary form. But about 750 Abdalla ibn al-Moqaffa translated the same Pehlevi text into Arabic, with some additions of his own, under the title 'Kalila wa Dimna.' (Kalila and Dimna or Kalilag and Damnag in Syrian are corruptions of the names करटक and दमनक of the two jackals in the first book of the *Pañcatantra*).

This Arabic translation has become the source of so many translations into European and Asiatic languages, that the German translator of this Arabic version, Ph. Wolff could justly say of it, that 'next to the Bible it had been translated into most languages of the world,' and that he called it a book, that 'had inspired whole nations, and to which kings and princes paid attention and honour.' But the Pehlevi work consisted not only of the five books of the Pañcatantra, but of several more books, in which some moral tales of the Mahābhārata and some Buddhist stories were translated.

The Arabic translation of this book was translated into Greek in the 11th. century and from Greek into Italian, Latin, German, and Slavonic languages. At the beginning of the 12th century it was translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Joël and between 1263-1278 from Hebrew into Latin by the baptised Jew John of Capua. A German translation of this Latin version was among the first printed books, and has exercised enormous influence on German literature and was translated again into many other European languages.

By an almost bewildering number of channels the stories of the Pañcatantra have travelled all over the East and the West, and translations of the work have become some of the most popular books in Europe during the Middle Ages. Hence it is no wonder, that we find traces of Indian fables and tales in the most popular narrative works of western literature, such as the 'Gesta Romanorum' and similar collections of monks' tales in Latin, in the French fabliaux, in the works of the famous story-tellers Boccaccio and Straparola in Italy, of Chaucer in England and Lafontaine in France, and even in the German 'Household Tales' collected by the brothers Grimm.

The unity of East and West is nowhere so clearly demonstrated as in the history of *Pañcatantra.*

Other Indian story books that have contributed much to the narrative literature of the world, are the *Vetāla-pañcaviṃśatikā* which has been translated into Hindi and other vernaculars, from Hindi into English and German, and part of which is included in the Mongolian story book 'Siddi-kür'; the *Vikramacarita* (or *Siṃhāsanadvātriṃśika*) which was translated into Persian about 1574 by order of Emperor Akbar, and a Mongolian version of which is known by the title "The Story of Ardshi Bordshi Khan"; and the *Śukasaptati*, 'The 70 stories of the Parrot,' which by its Persian and Turkish translations known as the *Tūtīnāmeh* ('The Parrot Book'), has exercised great influence on the literatures of the West.

When Benfey, in his famous introduction to the Pañcatantra, was able to prove that the sources of numerous Western stories were to be found in India, he was carried along by the enthusiasm, so common to pioneers, to assert that India was the home of *all* fairy tales and stories. Nobody would accept this theory to-day, for we know that there cannot be one place of origin for all stories and tales in the world. Just as imagination is the common property of men, thus the love of hearing and telling stories is generally human, and there is no people, however primitive, where we do not find some stories and fairy tales. But this very love of story-telling, which is common to all peoples, is the cause, why all peoples are inclined to listen to foreign tales, and tell them again as their own. And it may well be, that in the great exchange of stories between the peoples, one people may have to give more than the other. This seems to be the case with India. Though we do no longer believe with Benfey, that India is the home of *all* tales, it yet remains true, that numerous stories current all over the world can be traced back to Indian sources.

It is even highly probable that two famous books of the world-literature, the book of Sindbad and the Arabian Nights are at least partly of Indian origin. The '*Book of Sindbad*' is known in an Arabic, a Persian, a Syrian, a Hebrew and a Greek version. The Arabic version is also included in the 'Arabian Nights' with the title 'The Seven Veziers,' and in Europe there is quite a number of popular books known by the name of 'The Seven Sages.' The Arabian writer Masudi (who died 956 A. D.) says that the Kitab es-Sindbad was derived from an Indian book. This Indian book has not yet been discovered, yet it is highly probable that there was such an Indian source of the 'Sindbad.' For the introduction is very similar to that of the *Pañcatantra.* In the Sindbad, too, a king hands his sons over to a sage who promises to instruct them within six months in such a way, 'that no wiser man should be found in the whole country.' The stories are, as in the *Pañcatantra* and other Indian narrative works, included in a frame story, and they are told to save the life of a prince who is condemned to death. This also is an Indian idea. Most of the stories are actually found in one or other of the Indian narrative works. As the principal subject of the work (as in the *Śukasaptati*) is the wickedness of women, it is not unlikely that it was intended to be a kind of supplement to the Pañcatantra, a book of instruction for princes to warn them against the wiles of women.

The 'Arabian Nights' also are believed by some scholars to be of Indian origin. This is not probable. But certain it is that this famous book of the world-literature shows marked Indian influences. In a Jaina commentary of the 11th century we find a number of tales encased in a frame story of the queen Kaṇayamanjarî who tells stories in a similar way as Sheherezade in the 'Arabian Nights.' And it has been proved that all the essential motives of the frame story of the 'Arabian Nights' are Indian. It is probable enough that the Persian author of the tales composed the frame story and a number of tales in imitation of Indian originals, but the bulk of the tales is not Indian.

When we can trace stories through actual translations of works such as the *Pañcatantra* or the *Śukasaptati* we are on the safe ground of facts. In other cases, when we find the same stories in Indian and other literatures, it can only be decided with more or less probability, whether India's has been the giving or the taking part. And often it is impossible to decide at all.

Thus, it is a much discussed question whether the *fables*, which Indian and Greek literature have in common, are Indian or Greek in their origin. The question cannot be decided by chronological arguments, for only a few Greek fables can be dated, and the so-called 'fables of Æsop' belong to different times. It is true, that the Greek beast fable goes back to the 6th century B. C., while the oldest Indian fables in the Mahābhārata and in the Jātaka can only be traced back to the 4th century B. C. For Herodotos already knows Æsop as the poet of fables. But the bulk both of the 'Æsopian' and of the Indian fables go back to a time, when an intellectual interchange between Greece and India was already established, and when it was chronologically as possible that Indian fables should have come to Greece, as that Greek fables should have come to India. It is, therefore, not possible to decide the question of origin in general, but only in each individual case, and sometimes a decision is impossible. There can, for instance, be no doubt, that the fable of the ass in the lion's skin which is found in the Jātaka and in the *Pañcatantra* in India and in the Æsopian fables in Greece, can only have been invented once. But I can see no possibility of deciding with absolute certainty whether it was first invented in Greece or in India.

What India owes to Greece or Greece to India are much discussed problems in various departments of Indian literature.

Let us remember that in the 6th century B. C., the Persian Empire 'touched Greece at one extremity and India at the other.' (E. R. Bevan in the Cambridge History, 391 ff.) From the Persians the Greek first learned the name Indoi, and from the Indians first heard the name Yona, Yavana or Ionians. Yavana was the name given to the people spread over part of the Balkan Peninsula, along the coast of Asia Minor and in the intermediate islands. Ever since Alexander's invasion in 326 B. C., there was a frequent intercourse between Greeks and Indians. And what is called 'Hellenism' and spread throughout the Roman Empire in the first centuries A. D. is Greek culture, steeped in Eastern elements. In this 'Hellenistic sea' as it has been called by a famous Greek scholar, East and West were inseparably united. And it is only natural that there should have been for centuries a mutual exchange of all kinds of tales, motives and ideas between Greece and India, and between India, Greece and Western Asia, and the original home of some of them will have to be looked for in India, of others further to the West. Just as the goods of the merchant, so also these stories were wandering to and fro. It was a mutual giving and taking.

We find, for instance, in the Jātaka the anecdote of a woman, whose husband, son and brother are to be executed, and who is granted by the king the life of one of them, the choice being left to herself. She chooses the life of the brother, for (she says) she could get another husband and another son, but never another brother. The same story is told by Herodotos of the wife of Tutaphernes and the same argumentation occurs in Sophokles' Antigone. In India, however, we find the same idea in the Rāmāyaṇa in connection with an old proverb, that everything in the world is easier to be got, than a full brother. The anecdote, therefore, is very old both in India and in Greece, and as there is nothing in it that is characteristically Greek or Indian, I see no possibility of deciding where it was first told.

Difficult to decide is also the question of the origin of the 'Judgment of Solomon.' In one of the Jātakas (Mahā-Ummagga-Jātaka, Nr. 546) we find quite a number of stories, in which the hero of the Jātaka, the boy Mahoṣadha gives proofs of his astounding cleverness by answering all kinds of difficult questions, solving puzzles and performing the most difficult tasks. The whole Jātaka has much in common with the tales of the wise Aḥiqar (or Heykar), included in the Arabian

Nights. Like King Solomon this wise boy Mahoṣadha decides the quarrel of two women about a child by testing their motherly love. He draws a line on the floor, places the child on it and tells the women to take hold of the child's hands and feet and try to pull him across the line: the woman who would be able to pull the child towards herself would be declared to be his mother. But as soon as they begin to pull, the child starts crying. At once one of the two women ceases to pull and is thus found out to be the real mother of the child. Most scholars are of opinion, that the Hebrew anecdote found in the I Book of Kings, is the original version, but some scholars have defended the originality of the Indian version, which is also known in China (where it forms the plot of a drama 'Hoei-lan-ki' or 'the circle of chalk'). It has also been suggested that there was an Egyptian book of wise judgments from which both the Hebrew and the Indian versions are derived. But it is difficult to say more than that the 'Judgment of Solomon' and similar anecdotes of wise judgments are widely spread in the literatures of the East and the West and that they seem to have a common origin.

But there are other cases where the Indian origin of stories can safely be asserted. Thus we find in the Jātaka book several versions of a story, in which a man along with some animals is saved from death by a passer-by. All the saved individuals promise their rescuer their help in case of need. But the saved man afterwards betrays the man who has saved his life, while all the animals prove their gratefulness to him by helpful acts. This story of the grateful beasts and the ungrateful man is far spread in world-literature. But only in India we find in Buddhist literature a whole set of such stories in all of which some animal—frequently an elephant—puts a man to shame by its kindness. About the Indian origin of all these stories there can be no doubt.

Again, in the Dhammapada commentary we find the famous story of Kisāgotamī, who in despair comes to the

Buddha with her dead child in her arm, wanting him to bring her child again to life. The Buddha promises to do so, but on one condition: she must bring him a mustard seed from a house in which no human being has ever died. And poor Kisāgotamī wanders from house to house and everywhere she is told that either a father or a mother, a brother or a sister or a child has died, and at last she learns that death is the general lot of man, and comforted she enters the order of Buddhist nuns. Now a similar tale is found in the Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, Persian and Coptic versions of the legends of Alexander. But there cannot be the least doubt about the Indian origin of this legend. For the legend belongs to the class of consolation stories, of which we find many examples both in the Mahābhārata and in Buddhist and Jain literature.

Different from the question of the relation between Indian and Greek *fable* is the question, whether there has been any mutual influencing between Indian and Greek *novel.* The novel is a comparatively late production of Greek literature perhaps not older than Guṇāḍhya's *Bṛhatkathā*, though older than Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Bāṇa. There are, however, only few parallels between the Greek and the Indian novels. The details that have been compared seem to prove, that some Indian motives have found their way into Greek novels, but not that the Greek novel as a whole was borrowed from India.

I might mention here a strange coincidence occurring in Subandhu's novel 'Vāsavadattā.' Subandhu is very fond of hyperboles. Thus he describes the love pains of his heroine by saying: "The pain which this maiden has suffered......... could only be described, if the sky were a sheet of paper and the ocean an ink-pot, and if the scribe were God Brahman or the world-serpent Śeṣa the narrator, and then only in many thousands of world-periods." Now it is most interesting that the same hyperbole is found in the Talmud and in the Koran, where it is said, that God's greatness could only be described if the sky were a sheet of paper, etc. And strange enough, we find the same idea in a folk-song in many European countries which runs as follows:

> " And if the sky were made all of paper,
> And every star were a scribe,
> And every one of them were writing with a thousand hands,
> They could not fully describe my love."

One of the most disputed questions in the history of Indian literature is that regarding the supposed Greek influence on the Indian *Drama.* The theory that the Indian drama had been influenced by the *classical Greek comedy* has long been rejected. But in 1903 a book was published by Hermann Reich on the Greek *popular play,* the so-called *Mimos,* in which he traced its history throughout the whole literature of the world, and tried to prove, that strolling Greek actors also came to India. He pointed out a great many details, in which the popular Greek play agrees with such Indian dramas as the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and other Prakaraṇas. He has also shown that the Roman Mimus, which is an imitation of the Greek, has during the Middle Ages influenced the popular plays of Europe, especially of Italy. But Italian players came to the court of Queen Elizabeth to England, and have there greatly influenced the art of Shakespeare. And this explains again as Reich argues, the striking similarity between the Shakespearean and the Indian drama that has often been pointed out.

Now we know that the beginnings of the Indian drama have to be looked for in the ancient ballad poetry, mostly connected with religious worship. In so far the drama was certainly indigenous in India. But the poets who introduced the drama into literature, also imitated the popular performances of strolling players. And it is just *possible,* that among these strolling players there were also Greeks, who had come to India in the train of Bactrian and other foreign rulers in the North West of India. But I could not admit more than the *possibility* of such an influence—not on the origin—but on the development of the Indian drama. For it may be urged against the Greek influence, that the Indian drama as we know it, has an entirely national Indian character. If we look at a Gandhāra sculpture, the influence of Greek art strikes us at once. If we find in Indian astronomical or astrological works Greek technical terms, we cannot doubt, that Greek influence has been at work. There is no such thing in the drama. If there was any Greek influence on the Indian drama it can only have been a very superficial one.

I said that there was no doubt about the Greek influence in Indian astronomy and astrology. And I must say a few words about Indian and Greek science. It was indeed under the influence of *Greek astronomy*, that *Indian astronomy* which had existed long before, received its scientific character. The principal doctrines of the Sūryasiddhānta are those of Greek astronomy. In its introductory verses we are told that Sūrya revealed these doctrines to the Asura Maya in the city of *Romaka*, which means either Rome or Alexandria. What we learn from Varāhamihira in his *Pañcasiddhāntikā* about the contents of *Romaka Siddhānta* and the *Paulisa-Siddhānta* is distinctly Greek astronomy and the name of Paulisa is most probably, as Alberuni already suggested, Paulus of Alexandria.

That Indian *astrology* too, though it had existed long ago, developed under Greek influence, is proved by a verse found in the *Vṛddha-Garga-Saṃhitā*, one of the oldest works on astrology, where it is said: "Though the Greeks are barbarians, yet this science is well established among them; therefore even they are honoured like Ṛṣis, how much more a Brahman who devotes himself to astrology." Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka* which treats of horoscopy, is entirely influenced by Greek astrology. The Sanskrit terms *Jātaka* and *horā* are synonymous and *horā* is a Greek word.

Mathematics and *Geometry* are indigenous Indian sciences, and it is highly probable that the system of writing numerical

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figures now adopted in the whole civilised world was first invented in India. Geometry also, as we find it in the Sulbasūtras, is not influenced by the Greeks and the so-called 'Pythagorean theorem' was known to the authors of the Sulbasūtras.

In *medical* science we find many analogies between Indian and Greek theories, and some of these may have to be explained by Greek influence, though Indian medical science is certainly independent in its origin. Some medicaments such as opium and mercury, and in diagnostics the art of taking the *pulse*, have been borrowed from Persian and Arabic medicine. On the other hand, Indian medical works were translated into Arabic and Persian at an early time. Tibet, Ceylon and Farther India have entirely adopted Indian medicine.

Numerous are the points of agreement between *Indian and Greek philosophy.* But competent scholars differ very much as to the question of a historical connection between the two. Thus the similarity between the doctrines of the Eleatics (Xenophanes, Parmenides) and the Vedānta is obvious. But most scholars are more inclined to think that this similarity is due to a parallel development than to borrowing. Garbe, the greatest authority on Sāṃkhya Philosophy in Europe, has made it very probable, that Sāṃkhya Philosophy has been of influence on the philosophical ideas of Heraklitos, Empedokles, Anaxagoras, Demokritos and Epikuros. Keith denies any such influence. And it must be admitted that here too, parallel development is possible. On the other hand, it seems to me to be proved that Pythagoras was influenced by the Indian Sāṃkhya. Nor have I any doubt that the *Gnostic* and *Neo-Platonic* philosophies have been influenced by Indian philosophical ideas.

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Satish Chandra Vidyābhushaṇa has tried to prove that Indian logic has developed under the influence of Aristotelian doctrines on the syllogism.

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Other scholars have suggested that the atomistic theory of the Vaiśeṣika system arose under the influence of the same theory as taught by the Greek philosopher Empedokles.

On all these questions the last word has not yet been said and will perhaps never he said.

Nor has the last word been said on the question what India may contribute to world-literature *in future.* Only fifty years ago very little was known in the West of ancient Buddhist literature,—to-day many of the Buddhist Pāli texts are read by a large and interested public in English and German translations.

Comparatively little of the great epics of India is known in the West outside the circle of scholars. It is not at all unlikely that much more of it will by future translations become part of world-literature.

And only within the last ten years the works of our own Poet Rabindranath Tagore have spread all over the civilised world by translations into Western and Eastern languages. His works are read and appreciated by old and young in the West and I can tell you from my own experience that you will hardly find a bookshop in Germany, Austria or Czechoslovakia where R. Tagore's books are not exhibited in the show windows.

If we read the signs of the times rightly, there is every probability that India will contribute as much to world-literature in the future as it has done in the past.

And let us hope that these contributions will help to strengthen the knowledge that *East and West have never been separate, and can never be separated.* Many a question I raised in this evening's lecture had to remain unanswered. But however desirable it may be for the historian to come to definite conclusions about all these problems and questions, it is only *one* lesson we learn from all the comparisons between Indian literature and the literatures of the world—the great lesson *not only of the unity of East and West, but of* *the unity of mankind.* Whether we have to explain the coincidences I pointed out between the literatures of the world by mutual borrowing and influencing, or whether we have to assume that the same ideas sprang up independently among different nations,—the conclusion must always be the same, that *the human mind is the same all over the world.* How else could it be possible, that Indian ideas, Indian tales, Indian poetry appealed and appeal to so many other nations, that foreign ideas could be infused into Indian literature, and that there was this constant mutual exchange of ideas between the peoples of the East and the West!

The Vedānta teaches that he only can be saved who *knows* the Unity. Civilised mankind also can only escape that ruin which is terribly near, by the *knowledge* that all *disunion* is infatuation, is Māyā, and that *union* only is real, is truth. May India help the West in realising this truth![1]

M. WINTERNITZ

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[1] Lecture delivered at the Calcutta University, 18th September, 1923.

TO ROBERT BROWNING

[*Translated by the author from the original Japanese.*]

You are a smoking-room story-teller of the pageant of
life seen by senses,
Your gusto in speech turns your art into obscurity,
Again from the obscurity into a valedictory :
You are a provincialism endorsed by eccentric pride.
You are sometimes riotous to escape from anarchism,
Your great thirst for expression makes you a soul-wounding romancer,
You often play the mystagogue, and appear cruel.
You are a glutton of colourful adventures,
You are a troubadour serenading between the stars and
Life,
Your love-song on a guitar torments us even physically ;
You are a realist who under the darkness purifies himself into the light of optimism ;
You are a griffin wildly dancing on human laughter.

YONE NOGUCHI

SCOTTISH CHAUCERIAN POETS

I. SCOTLAND'S POET KING

James I, the greatest of the Stuarts, went to spend the Christmas of 1436 with his wife and favourite courtiers in the city of Perth. In spite of the enemies he had made by executing great nobles, in spite of prophecies warning him of imminent danger, he would not deign to take any measures to secure his safety and took up his residence in the Blackfriars monastery outside the city walls. There he and his queen enjoyed themselves in their own manner which made the royal court an oasis of refinement in barbarous Scotland. On the night of 27th February they, with their courtiers, were passing the time happily, playing games of chess and tables, reciting romances, singing, listening to the music of harp and the pipes, and, as the contemporary account of that fatal night tells us, in "other honest solaces of pleasaunce and disport." After supper the King drank a parting cup and retired to the bed-chamber where he engaged in pleasant conversation with the Queen and her ladies. Then suddenly the fierce outer world burst in upon them. Angry shouts and many steps were heard. The King called upon the ladies to bar the door, but the bars had been removed by traitors. Catherine Douglas delayed the murderers for a while by thrusting her arm into an empty staple till it was broken. Meanwhile the King had taken refuge in a hollow space under the floor. There he was discovered and after a fierce struggle done to death.

As the author of the *King's Quair*, King James holds a high position among monarchs who were also authors. He takes his place in the History of English Literature as the direct successor of Chaucer and his superiority over Chaucer's English successors, Hoccleve and Lydgate, is generally acknowledged. He was six years old when Chaucer died, and, owing to his captivity and education in England from his eleventh to his thirtieth year, he lived in his youth and the prime of his manhood among literary circles, in which the influence of that poet was overpowering. That influence is plainly manifest in the style and diction of the *King's Quair* (King's book) and in the metre of the poem, the seven-line stanza, a favourite metre of Chaucer, which owing to its adoption by a royal author came to be known as the Rhyme Royal. James I exerted a powerful influence on Scottish Literature. He diverted the stream of Scottish poetry towards imitation of Chaucer much as Chaucer turned English poets from the old English alliterative metre and style to the imitation of the livelier and more various models of poetry presented by the poets of France and Italy. A similar revolution was brought about in Scotland by the work of James I. Scottish Literature had made a good beginning after the war of independence with the spirited metrical romance of Barbour, Chaucer's contemporary, who told in stirring verse the story of Scotland's hero-King. His poem shows no trace of Chaucerian influence and was followed by the martial chronicles of Wyntown and Blind Harry, the Minstrel. Scotland seemed committed to a succession of heroic poetry from Barbour to Scott. But when James I returned to his kingdom with his English education and the famous poem that commemorated his alliance with a beautiful and popular scion of the English royal family, Scottish poetic literature took a new departure and for over a hundred years ran along Chaucerian lines.

It may be objected that there is doubt as to the authenticity of the *Kings Quair*. If the poem was not written by James I, then the change in the course of Scottish literature must still be attributed to the poem. But really there seems no valid reason for rejecting the traditional account of the authorship of the poem, which is attributed to King James in the heading to the fifteenth century MS. and by the

Scottish historian Major, who in his work *De Gastis Scotorum* published in 1521 mentions among other poems of his authorship *artificiosum libellum de regina* (the elaborate book about the Queen), evidently the *Kings Quair*. The language of the poem showing a combination of the midland diction of Chaucer with northern inflections agrees with the traditional view, for it is what might be expected from a man educated in England but with some memory of the language of his boyhood preserved by association with the Scotsmen who were the companions of his exile. The main argument on the other side is based on the contrast between the historical character of King James and the nature of the poem. James I of Scotland, when restored to his kingdom, showed himself to be a man of tremendous energy and power. When he entered Scotland, he made the noble resolve that "if he lived, even if but the life of a dog, by the help of God he would make the key keep the castle and the furze bush the cow throughout the realm." In his struggle with the tyrannous nobles to carry out this purpose he showed ruthless determination. He executed his cousin, Murdock, Duke of Albany, who had been regent of Scotland since 1419, and with him his two sons and the old Earl of Lennox, his father-in-law. To reduce the turbulent Highlands to order he summoned the heads of the clans to Inverness. About fifty of them appeared. Several were beheaded after a summary trial and the others were put in prison. He is said to have excelled in all manly exercise, horsemanship, archery, running, wrestling, throwing the hammer, and putting the stone. It must be admitted that the *King's Quair* is not such a poem as we should naturally expect to be the work of a young prince with such a record. There is no indication in it of manly vigour, love of arms and the chase, or stern resolution. The poet in melodious verse alternately mourns and gently rejoices and on very slight occasion sheds tears He is a lover of beauty in the rustling leaves and rippling streams and flowers, but it is all beauty of the mildest description. He is also fond of moral meditation sometimes pursued to inordinate length. In fact the poem might have been written by Shakespeare's Richard II. It is also remarked that the poet has little to say about the exciting events of his personal experience. He gives a very indistinct account of his capture by sea and does not refer to the different places of his imprisonment in England or to his campaign in France with the great Henry V. He never gives his name and rank or the name of his native country, nor does he refer to any of his friends. This want of personal interest is, in fact, the great defect of the poem. Instead of human beings we have personified abstractions such as Goodwill, Goodhope, Repentance, Fair-Calling and long addresses to and speeches from the heathen goddesses Venus and Minerva.

All this, however, cannot reasonably be urged as an argument against the authenticity of the poem. Whoever wrote a love poem at this time had to write it in this manner in accordance with the poetical conventions of the age or his work would have had little chance of being accepted as true poetry. Also there is often in all ages an extraordinary contrast between poets and their works. Keats is known by his life and letters to have been a man of sturdy independence of character with well-reasoned and firm opinions on political and social questions. But nothing of this appears in his poetry. In the sixteenth century Robert Greene led a licentious life, but the heroines of his dramas are remarkable for their purity of language and conduct.

The absence of details about the position and experiences of James I would be just as remarkable on the alternative hypothesis that the author was another man who adopted the personality of James I in order to write a dramatic monologue. The hypothetical poet might surely have been expected to fill his poem with distinct references to the King's career and express his stern determination of character, just as much as if he were really the captive King of Scotland.

We may, therefore, on the ground of the uncontradicted evidence of the MS. and of the historian Major, who was born only about thirty years after the King's murder, believe that King James wrote the *King's Quair*, with the same confidence as we believe that Shakespeare wrote *Hamlet*. But whether the poem was written by a King or a commoner, it deserves our admiration as perhaps the finest love poem written in the English language before the age of Elizabeth. It has the faults of the age in which it was composed, faults which probably appeared to be excellences to readers in the fifteenth century. As a disciple of Chaucer, the poet was bound to introduce long screeds of Chaucer's favourite philosopher Boethius. Heathen goddesses had to be introduced to give dignity to the story instead of the men and women of flesh and blood that make the love poetry of Burns palpitate with life. The narrative is told with mediæval prolixity. The gist of it is given in a few lines in Rossetti's *King's Tragedy*:—

> "For once, when the bird's song drew him close
> To the opened window-pane,
> In her bower beneath a lady stood,
> A light of life to his sorrowful mood,
> Like a lily amid the rain.
> And for her sake, to the sweet bird's note,
> He framed a sweeter Song,
> More sweet than ever a poet's heart
> Gave yet to the English tongue."

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Like Chaucer's Palamon and Arcite, the poet saw a beautiful lady from the window of his prison and fell in love at first sight. As long as he deals with this central incident, the poetry maintains a high level of beauty and seems suffused with real feeling. He finely describes how the shock of surprise at seeing the beautiful lady, "the freshest and fairest young flower that ever he saw," made all the blood in his body rush to his heart. He gives a splendid picture of the vision that he saw and arrays his lady in pearls and rubies and curiously constructed jewellery and puts on her head a chaplet of plumes red and wide blue. It would be hypercritical to object that the attire was hardly suitable for a young girl taking a stroll in a garden. For all this excessive adornment is only a fanciful mediæval mode of expressing the intensity of the real love of King James for Joanna Beaufort, a love to which he was faithful until he ended his romantic career by being killed like a rat in a hole. Joanna on her side showed her love in a terrible fashion according to the spirit of that turbulent age by the energy with which she hunted to death the murderers of her lord and by the horrible punishments she exacted from them.

MICHAEL MACMILLAN

CRESCENDO !

PP Stillness!
The hush of evening
Or the peace that prevails
In a garden at dawn
Before the bird-song breaks.
P A wood-dove coos,
A lover whispers softly to his mate.
MF Child voices echo
Tinkling anklet bells
Make fairy music.
The hum of insects
Rises on the air.
The chatter of the women is heard
As they go
Pitcher-laden and stately
To the well.
F Human sounds
Mingle with music
As towards evening
In the palace of the mighty
Is heard
The throb of tom-toms;
Roll of drums,
And clash of cymbals.
Sweet dark-eyed maidens
Raise a pæan
Of swelling praise.

FF Mingling with temple bells,
And in harmonious harmony
Fills all the air
With crashing, soul-stirring
Sound !

GWENDOLINE GOODWIN

MODERN BENGALI LITERATURE

The Renaissance in Bengal was the direct result of Western Education. Ishwar Chandra Gupta, the Indian Rabelais, translated a well known English hymn and Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, the father of Bengali prose, translated *Æsop's Fables* into Bengali. The first great poet of this epoch, Michael Madhusudan Dutt, was one of the foremost scholars of his day. He was familiar not only with the ancient classics of India but also with the works of all the great poets of the West. His *Chaturdaspadi Kavitavali* or sonnets were written in imitation of Petrarcha, *Virangana Kavya* in imitation of Ovid and in his *Meghnad* the influence of Milton, Homer, Virgil and Dante is clearly seen, though the theme of the epic has been taken from the Ramayana. Madhusudan's successors, Hemchandra and Nabinchandra, were graduates of the Calcutta University. They did not possess Madhusudan's great scholarship and had read the great Greek and Latin poets in translation only. But that they looked towards the West for their poetical inspiration is undoubted. The very first lines of Hem Chandra's *Vritra Saṃhar* reminds one of Milton's description of the hell and the fallen angels assembled there. In Nabin Chandra's account of the orgies of Sirajaddaula on the eve of the battle of Plassey we hear an echo of Byron's *Night before Waterloo.* It is significant that Madhusudan is styled by his countrymen as the Milton of Bengal, Nabin Chandra as the Bengalee Byron, Bankim Chandra as Bengal's Scott. Rabindranath in his younger days was known as the Shelley of Bengal. But though the makers of modern Bengali literature had been indebted to the West in more than one way, they did not lack patriotism or national feelings. The earlier poets have all written patriotic songs. Ishwar Chandra Gupta in one of his poems asserted that he preferred a dog of his own country to a foreign lord—স্বদেশী কুকুরে লই কোলে বিদেশের ঠাকুরে ফেলিয়া, Rangalal appealed to the patriotism of his countrymen when he sang স্বাধীনতাহীনতায় কে বাঁচিতে চায়রে কে বাঁচিতে চায় ? দাসত্বশৃঙ্খল বল কে পরিবে পায়রে কে পরিবে পায় ? "Who wants to live without independence? Who wants to put on his legs the shackles of dependence ?" Madhusudan, though married to an English wife, converted to Christianity, an ardent admirer of Western culture and Western mode of living, yet sounded this note when he took leave of his native shore: and his sonnet on the Bengali language will always testify to his intense patriotism. Nor was this all. He makes his Ravana address his martyred son thus—

যে শয্যায় আজি তুমি শুয়েছ কুমার, বীরকুল সাধ সে শয়নে সদা,
মাতৃভূমি রক্ষা হেতু কে ডরে মরিতে ? যে ডরে ভীরু সে মুঢ় শতধিক তারে ।

"The bed you now lie on, my son, is the aspiration of all heroes. Who fears to die in the defence of his mother country? He who does, is a wretched coward and eternal shame to him." The theme of Hemchandra's epic is the great attempt of the gods to recover their mother country from the Asuras. The gods had again and again been beaten by Vritra. Indra, the king of the Devas, was practising austerities in the Himalayas for his country's sake. The leaderless gods, however, did not remain idle. Their exertions were fruitless but nonetheless they strove for liberty. At last Indra came back, his *tapasyā* was over. The sage Dadhichi gave his bones to be wrought into the weapon of liberation and *swarga* was liberated. This appeal was indirect, it might not be understood by everybody, the war between the Devas and the Dānavas was in fact a war of liberation but still the theme might be treated as a *paurānic* story. But Hemchandra did not stop here. His *Bhārat Sangīt* was a direct appeal to the masses and this trumpet call could hardly be ignored by the dullest of the dull. None could fail to understand the meaning of his appeal when Hemchandra wrote—

সবাই জাগ্রত এ বিপুল ভবে
সবাই উন্নত মানের গৌরবে
ভারত শুধুই ঘুমায়ে রয়।

"In this big world every country is awake, India alone sleeps." Nabinchandra's *Ārya Darshan* is equally stirring though not equally well known and in *Raivatak*, *Kuru Kshetra* and *Prabhāsh* also we find an attempt of the original Non-Aryan inhabitants of India to come into their own and overthrow the supremacy of the Aryan newcomers. Nabinchandra was no admirer of Siraj. His portrait of Siraj is black, indeed very black, but even *Palāshir Yuddha* is instinct with that ardent love of the fatherland which is the special feature of these two poets.

Madhusudan, Hem and Nabin appeal to the sentiments of their countrymen. But Manomohon Bose laid stress on the economic side of alien domination—

দিনের দিন সবে দীন ভারত হয়ে পরাধীন

The burden of his song is the present poverty of the land. I need not dwell too long on this phase of modern Bengali poetry. Suffice it to say that not only the great Rabindranath and his disciples but also Dwijendralal, Govindachandra Das, Pramathanath Ray Chaudhuri, Sarala Devi Chaudhurani, Rajani Kanta Sen, Satyendra Dutt and Man Kumari Basu, have all made valuable contribution to the patriotic literature of Bengal which is still growing and will ever grow.

Like the poets, the novelists of modern Bengal have striven their best to develop the patriotic sentiments and the ideas of nationality in Bengal. It is well known that "Bande Mataram" is a song in one of Bankim's famous novels *Ānanda Maṭh*. The ideals of *Ānanda Maṭh* will appeal to the imagination of the youths of any country. Satyānanda had renounced the world not in the hope of self-realisation but to serve his country and countrymen. His disciples also gave their all in the service of the fatherland. They were Vaishnavas, but their faith was far different from the one professed by the followers of Chaitanya. They did not hesitate to take up arms in the defence of the weak and helpless although they would not kill any living thing for their food. They called themselves *Santāns* or children, the children of the motherland, and their sole aim was to deliver the country from the misrule and anarchy of the Mughal nobles. Bankim wrote his *Sītārām* with a far different motive. Sītārām was a Bengalee Zemindar who asserted his independence when the Mughal Empire was at the zenith of its power. But it was not to depict the character of a great patriot that Bankim selected Sītārām as his hero. Bankim wrote this novel to illustrate the truth of the well known adage of the Gītā ध्यायतो विषयान् पुंसः संगस्तेषूपजायते ।

But here also he introduced two characters well calculated to appeal to the patriotic sentiments of the people. These are Chandrachūr, the spiritual guide of Sītārām, and the Fakir. Chandrachūr and the Fakir may very well be treated as the emblems of Hindu-Muslim unity. Like *Sītārām, Devi Chaudhurāni* was also written with a motive far different from that of propagating nationalistic ideals and ambitions. But Bhavānī Pathak, one of the principal characters, was certainly an ideal and selfless patriot. They are not wrong who hold that the anarchists of modern Bengal derived their inspiration from Bankim's *Ānanda Math* and *Devi Chaudhurani* and not from Nihilist Russia. Rameshchandra Dutt, well known as one of the most brilliant Indian civilians and ardent student of Indian Economics and History, was a contemporary of Bankimchandra Chatterjee. He is well known all over India as the author of *Ancient India* and *Economic History of India* and the translator of our immortal epics but it is perhaps not so well known outside Bengal that he was a novelist of considerable merit and his contribution to Bengali literature was as valuable as his contribution to Indian History. For the themes of two of his most famous novels he is indebted to two of the most well known and popular Anglo-Indian historians Todd and Grant Duff. *Rajput Jīvan Sandhyā* and *Mahārāshtra Jīvan Prabhāt* deal with two episodes of Indian History most likely to appeal to the national pride of India. The first of these two novels has for its hero the celebrated Rana Pratap of Mewar and the hero of the second is Shivaji. Rameshchandra Dutt, undoubtedly, had for his model the celebrated historical novels of Scott and Dumas. But he was not satisfied with placing before the youth of Bengal the glorious and heroic deeds of the Rajputs and the Marathas. The Bengalees are now regarded as a race of cowards. Yet there was a time when Bengalees did not only not shirk danger but willingly entered the army. The young Zemindars of mediæval Bengal were not like their present representatives luxurious and pomp-loving fops. They knew how to wrestle with fate and fight their enemies. Two such young men we find in the heroes of Romesh Dutt's *Banga Vijeta* and *Mādhavī Kankan.* Rameshchandra Dutt was by no means the last novelist to place the ideals of Rajputana and Maharashtra before young Bengal. Swarṇakumāri Devi, the sister of Rabindranath, had found in Rana Pratap a hero, whose story might be told and retold, and Rai Sahib Haranchandra Rakshit trod in the footsteps of Rameshchandra Dutt not only in retelling the story of Pratap Sinha but rendering popular the life story of a Bengali hero whom he styles as *Banger Shesh Vīr.* Pratapāditya was a Bengali Zemindar who defied the power of the great Akbar. He was one of the twelve great feudal chiefs who held almost independent sway over vast tracts in Bengal. His achievements had been referred to by Bhāratchandra in his *Annada Mangal.* And one of the earliest Bengali prose works was Rāmram Basu's life of Pratāpāditya. But never did the hero become so popular as when the novel of Hārānchandra was dramatised and staged. At the same time another drama with the same theme and title was written by Pandit Kshīrodprasad Vidyāvinode. It may be incidentally noted here that one of the early novels of the great Rabindranath is based on an incident connected with Pratāpāditya's life.

Mahārājā Nandakumār by the late Chandīcharan Sen falls under a different category. It also aspires to invoke the patriotic feelings of Bengal but not by appealing to the past glories of India but reminding them of more recent national wrongs and it should be on this ground classed with the song by Manomohan Bose already mentioned. Like that song the main topic of this novel is the economic exploitation of Bengal by the East India Company. It may not be quite irrelevant to mention here that Chandīcharan was a member of the provincial judicial service and his daughter Mrs. Kāminī Ray is a poet of great merit. Her place among Bengali lyric poets is perhaps next to Rabindranath alone. Some of Rabindranath's short stories certainly form parts of Bengal's patriotic literature, but, a supreme master of his art, Rabindranath seldom makes a direct appeal to the nationalistic sentiments of his countrymen in these short stories, though some of his immortal poems are directly addressed to them. To these should be added his *Ghare Bāire.* Some of the stories of Prabhātkumar Mukherji's *Deshī O Vilātī* were written in the days of the Swadeshi agitation and these depict the life and sentiments of present-day Bengal. But as some of his stories have been translated into English by Mrs. Knight I need not deal with them to any length.

During the Swadeshi days were written a number of dramas which must be treated as patriotic. The dramatists often write to meet the prevailing demand and sometimes they create a demand. In this instance also they had done both. Khīrodprasād's *Pratāpāditya* and Hārān Rakshit's drama (novel dramatised by Amarendranath Dutt, a great actor—writer), perhaps owed little to the Swadeshi incentive. And the still earlier *Ānanda Raho* of Girishchandra Ghose, who has been aptly styled as the Garrick of Bengal, and *Sarojinī Nāṭak* by Jyotirindra Nath, brother of Rabindranath, long preceded that movement. But since the Swadeshi movement there has been an ever-increasing demand for dramas of this type. Girishchandra's *Sirajaddaulā and Mir Kasim* and Kshirodprasād's *Bānglār Masnad* written to meet this new demand at once caught the popular enthusiasm. They have since then been proscribed. I shall not say anything about the politics of these two dramas as well as that of Girish Ghose's *Chhatrapati* which shared their fate, but from the point of view of the dramatist's art they were certainly admirable. Girish was not alone in the field. Dwijendralāl Ray, hitherto known as a powerful satirist and literary critic, wrote *Rana Pratap, Mewar Patan, Durgādās, Nurjehan Shājāhān* and *Chandragupta* followed in quick succession. They will always have a permanent place in Bengali literature and it may be said without any fear of contradiction that they certainly open a new epoch in the history of Bengali Drama. A brilliant graduate of the Calcutta University, Dwijendralāl spent a number of years in Europe. On his return he was appointed a Deputy Magistrate but he spent his time mainly in studying the literatures of the East and the West. A musician of considerable ability he possessed all the qualities that go to the making of a great dramatist. He generally selected one of the soul-stirring episodes of Indian History that was likely to appeal not only to the patriotism of Indians but to the human heart all over the world. In *Chandragupta* we have an Empire-builder, resolved to unite all India. He is, however, not the chief figure in the drama. The chief figure is Chāṇakya the champion of Brahman supremacy. A superman in every sense of the word, with an indomitable resolution and almost unfathomable intelligence, Chāṇakya was absolutely heartless and pitiless. Yet he was not devoid of those softer feelings that make a man lovable. He loved his motherless daughter with all the force that a strong nature like his was capable of. He knew that he was a genius. And he stood against God and Man, when man's injustice deprived him of his all, his daughter not excepted, and God apparently remained indifferent. Yet he was not an atheist for he says—God, you did not enlist me on your side, I will stand against you. In him we find the struggles of a superman to keep down his natural love, pity, kindness and faith in God. And this makes the drama of abiding interest. In *Durgādās* again we not only see the grand picture of Marwar and Mewar's war of independence against all the odds at the command of the Mughal Empire. The grim resolution of the Rajputs to leave their home and hearth to be ravaged and plundered by the Mughal soldiery but not to bend their knees before Aurangzib. This naturally appealed to the theatre-going public of Post-Swadeshi Bengal. But the patriotism of the Rajputs is not the only thing depicted there. We have the selfless loyalty and the innate chivalry of Durgādās which even the ingratitude of the young man for whom he had suffered so much could not affect. The dramas of Dwijendralal have been translated into Hindi and are well known to Hindi-reading public. Dwijendralāl has been greatly influenced by Western writers. In his dramas the influence of Ibsen can be clearly seen and in his *Shāhjāhān* many will perceive a shadow of Shakespeare's King Lear. It is doubtful whether Dwijendralāl is greater than Girishchandra as a dramatist: probably he is not. We do not find in Dwijendralāl's dramas the immense variety both in character and plot for which Girishchandra is noted. But his songs are inimitable. They lose their beauty in translation and it is on this account that these grand songs যে দিন স্থনীল জলধি হইতে উঠিলে জননী ভারতবর্ষ or যথন সঘন গগন গরজে or

সকল দেশের রাণী সে যে আমার জন্মভূমি are not so well known outside Bengal. But though Girishchandra may be greater than Dwijendralāl, the age of Girishchandra is over and in the history of Bengali Drama the present period will be known as the age of Dwijendralāl. Read any of the dramas that are staged at Calcutta to-day. The influence of Dwijendralāl will be clearly perceived in *Mogal Pāṭhān* and *Bange Bargī.* I do not mention them because they are of any merit but because they are popular. They are but poor imitations of Dwijendralāl possessing all his mannerisms but none of his finer qualities. In the meantime, the demand for patriotic dramas goes on unabated. A drama has been written for children with Gandhi as its hero and an immensely popular drama *Pelārāmer Swadeshitā* has recently been proscribed for political reasons.

In the domain of poetry and romance we have come across writers like Manomohan Bose and Chaṇḍīcharan Sen, who dwelt on the economic exploitation of the country by foreigners and incidentally the wrongs perpetrated by the Company's servants in the earlier days of British domination in India. Among the dramatists Dīnabandhu Mitra belongs to this class. His *Nīldarpan* exposes the tyranny of the European indigo planters, and the innumerable wrongs that the illiterate and overpatient peasantry of Bengal suffered at their hands. This powerful drama was translated by Michael Madhusudan Dutt into English and published by Rev. Long. Long was prosecuted by the Indigo planters and sentenced to a term of imprisonment but Dīnabandhu's powerful indictment was not in vain. Long was punished but the publication of *Nīldarpan* had dealt the death-blow to the indigo planter's cause. This was by no means the only service of Dīnabandhu to his native province. He was a fearless reformer and unsparing critic of social abuses. In his *Biye Pāglā Buro* and *Jāmāi Bārik* he had ruthlessly exposed the evil effects of Kulinism, polygamy and the enforced celibacy of young widows, as well as the comico-tragedy of the unjust custom that allows an old widower of seventy to marry a young girl of thirteen. Quite a number of dramas, novels and poems have been written on social questions. The first Bengali drama the *Kūlinkula-sarvasva* by Rāmnārāyan, was a virulent attack on Kulinism. But in pathos and power none has as yet surpassed *Balidān* or 'the sacrifice' by Girishchandra Ghose. *Balidān* exposes the evil effects of the dowry system. All our dramatists, however, are not social reformers. While Dīnabandhu has advocated widow remarriage in his *Biye Pāglā Buro*, Amritalāl Basu, perhaps the greatest comedian Bengal has ever produced, has denounced it in no uncertain terms in his *Bābu*, *Vivāha Bibhrāṭ* and *Khās Dakhal.* It will, however, be a gross error to suppose that these comedies of Amritalāl have been launched against the advocates of widow remarriage alone. All new-fangled ideas imported from outside have been ruthlessly held up to ridicule. The Brahmos, the professional politicians, the sham leaders of a meaningless temperance movement got up to denounce opium but tolerating alcohol, and those Indians who learn to abhor their mother tongue and father's manners and consider themselves as *pucca* Englishmen after a short residence abroad, have all their share of ridicule, rebuke and reprimand from him. Peals after peals of laughter arose in the gallery, pit and box when these dramas of Amritalāl Basu, who is also an actor of great eminence, were staged. It may be mentioned here that Dwijendralāl also was a comedian of great repute. Bengali dramas are more akin to English than to Sanskrit dramas. In Sanskrit we do not come across a single drama that is wholly tragical, but unmixed tragedy is by no means uncommon in Bengali as in English. Sanskrit Dramas always have a happy ending but such is not always the case with Bengali dramas. Madhusudan's *Krīshṇakumārī*, Girishchandra's *Praphulla* and *Balidān* and Dwijendralāl's *Parapāre* all have a tragic ending and are unmixed tragedies. In a sense the comedies of Amritalāl are tragedies as well, but they have a happy ending and so far conform to the rules of Sanskrit Dramatists.

To the widow remarriage controversy alone we owe a number of excellent novels. Rameschandra Dutta not only championed the cause of widow remarriage but he advocated intercaste marriage as well. His ideas and ideals were clearly set forth in two novels or, to be more accurate, two parts of the same novel for *Samāj* is nothing but a continuation of *Sansār*. Here we find the unhappy end of a young widow, the second wife of a rich old man, who married with the sole purpose of having a son although he had a daughter and his first wife was still living. The happy life of another girl, condemned to widowhood while still a little child, but who was afterwards married to an honest young civilian, a friend of the family. The novel closes with the marriage of a Brahman youth with a Kāyastha maid. Rameshchandra, himself a Brāhmo, here covertly preaches the Brāhmo ideals and tries to establish their suitability for the Hindu society. Rameshchandra was not the only novelist to advocate widow remarriage. The cause found another and no less powerful and popular champion in Tāraknāth, the well-known author of *Swarṇalatā*. In his *Adrishṭa* he maintains, in no uncertain manner, that the salvation of a young widow neglected in her father's and brother's home, condemned to a life of hard work and servitude lies in remarriage. Śivanāth Śhāstrī, a Brāhmo leader of renown and long the President of the Sādhāran Brāhmo Samaj, championed the same old cause in one of his latest books *Bidhabār Chhele*. But though the legality as well as the social utility and moral necessity of the widow remarriage have been recognised, the recognition has been intellectual alone. Few instances of widow remarriage have taken place outside the Brāhmo Samāj.

The opponents of the cause were no less powerful. They had the time-honoured custom on their side and no cause is so bad that some arguments cannot be manufactured in its favour. Among the novelists the conservatives found a great leader and able exponent of their cause in Bankimchandra Chatterjee. His *Bisha-Briksha* (Poison Tree ; English translation by Mrs. Knight) constituted a powerful attack on the new movement. Nagendranāth and Sūryamukhī were an ideal pair. They were immensely fond of each other and were living a happy life. Suddenly appeared on the scene a young widow of great personal charms. Kundanandinī had no one in the world. Nagendra found her in a storm-shaken old and dilapidated house when her father was dying and out of pity for her brought her to his own place. Sūryamukhī married Kunda to Tārācharan who was almost a brother to Sūryamukhī. Tārācharan died and his widow returned to her old benefactors Nagendra and Sūryamukhī. And a shadow fell on the happiness of the pair. Nagendra conceived a great passion for the lovely Kunda and she in her turn reciprocated his affection. This might not have happened if widow remarriage had not been considered as permissible. For Nagendra and Kunda were both of them God-fearing and peace-loving persons. Their affection did not long remain a secret to Sūryamukhī. She, like an ideal Hindu wife, sacrificed her own happiness for that of her husband. Nagendra married Kunda at the instance of Sūryamukhī but their happiness was but short-lived, for Sūryamukhī, now extremely unhappy, left her hitherto happy home. Remorse smote Nagendra's heart and he set out in search of his wife. He was soon afterwards convinced that Sūryamukhī was dead and condemned Kunda as the sole cause of this calamity and Nagendra no longer liked Kunda's company and she was practically forsaken by her beloved. Sūryamukhī, however, was not really dead, she returned home after a long absence and Kunda committed suicide. Jogendrachandra Bose, a journalist of great repute, followed Bankim in his attack on the widow remarriage and the novel and from his point of view revolutionary ideas preached by the new school and recently a lady writer of exceptional ability has launched a fresh attack on this particular item of social reform. Anurupā Devī is a grand-daughter of Bhudevchandra Mukhopadhyāya, a saintly scholar and a great supporter and admirer of the old Sanskrit culture. In her *Mā* or 'mother' she makes a young Muhammadan widow sternly reject the suits of her cousin. According to her, Muhammadan widows of royal birth did not remarry and she, a descendant of Tipu Sultan, could not and would not tarnish the reputation and tradition of her family on any account.

Though no lover of the unnecessary rigours and restrictions put on a young widow, widow remarriage has been very strongly and effectively opposed by Debendranath Sen, a poet who ranks below Rabindranath alone. He does not argue, he has nothing to do with the merits or demerits of the case, he has nothing to do with the evils that may arise out of enforced celibacy, he simply dwells on the infinite beauty of a life of piety and renunciation, and the poetic beauty of a widow's hankering to meet once more her beloved in the life that must follow death, and these he sets forth with inimitable skill in a poem called *Pāgli Bidhabār Gān*—'the song of an insane widow.'

The cause of widow-remarriage has many opponents among our poets and novelists but the dowry system has been universally condemned though it still continues to flourish. It forms the subject matter of two powerful satires by Rajanikānta Sen, one of Bengal's foremost satirists, and it has excited the wrath of Satyendranāth Dutt, from whom Bengal expected much but who has recently passed away at the extremely early age of forty.

Among our novelists no one has perhaps espoused the cause of the women whose misfortune has been to be the victims of man's wiles or violence with more courage than Rai Jaladhar Sen Bahadur. In his early youth he had travelled in the forests of the lower Himalayan ranges and visited many of the snowclad peaks of that majestic mountain. An account of this adventurous journey called *Himālaya* had already earned him a very high place in Bengali literature. But it was long after the publication of *Himālaya* that he came out with *Bishudādā* where he shows that a woman is not necessarily vicious because she allowed herself to be tempted once, she may yet atone for all her mistakes if she is given a chance. In a short story " where shall we go? " he puts the pitiable case of a perfectly innocent lady who was the victim of brutish violence. Her parents had denied her shelter and protection and she was going to put an end to her life when the husband boldly stepped to her and offered her that solace and protection that she needed so much. Jaladhar is never tired of returning to this subject which, it seems, he has made the one great mission of his life and he has again treated these subjects in two other novels, *Īshāni* and *Abhāgī*. At present he seems to be the sole champion of these unfortunate members of our mother's sex, but his attempts had not been altogether a failure. Only a year ago a young girl was rescued from a den of corruption where she had been forced to live with a man. Thanks to the noble exertions of Col. U. N. Mukherji, the girl, a Brahman by birth, was readmitted to her caste and taken back by her husband after the performance of a *prāyaschittu*. But it is doubtful whether Col. Mukherji's noble endeavour would have met with deserved success had not the field been prepared by the writings of Jaladhar Sen.

This brings us to another topic, the sex question, the question of free love and free choice, the question of woman's uncomplaining submission to man's tyranny and the sanctity of marriage-ties that form the subject matter of our new psychological novels. The new novels of Śaratchandra Chatterjee, Anurupā Devī, Nirupama Devi, Indirā Devī and Śhailabālā Ghoshjāyā differ as much from the novels of Bankim and Ramesh as the novels of George Elliott, H. G.

Wells and Bernard Shaw differ from those of Scott, Dickens, and Thomas Hardy. The pioneer in this field was certainly Rabindranath Tagore. His early novels show clear traces of the influence of the old school, but he was not to be shackled by any tradition or dogma. His *Gorā*, *Chokher Bāli*, *Naukā Ḍubi* and *Ghare Bāire* certainly open a new epoch in the history of our literature. It was he who first broached these questions of free love, etc., in his *Naukā Ḍubi*, *Nashṭa Nīrh* and *Ghare Bāire*, but he did so with extreme skill and he avoided many pitfalls into which his successors have fallen. He never brought forward those circumstances and crises which form the main characteristic of the realistic novels of the West and which is still obnoxious to the average readers in Bengal.

Where Rabindranath stopped Śaratchandra Chatterjee began; what he cautiously left in the background, Chatterjee deliberately brought to the forefront. Chatterjee's reputation was based on a series of charming stories to which the most fastidious puritan could not take any exception. Their themes are an aunt's affection for a little nephew, the sister-in-law's tender feelings for a young but naughty orphan brother-in-law and they depict the charming side of Bengali life. A stylist of uncommon ability and a keen observer of human life Śaratchandra reproduced those softer feelings and touching affection with so much skill that they are correctly called the sparkling little gems of our literature and his readers are counted to-day not by hundreds but by thousands. In his novels, however, he treads on more dangerous ground. In his *Shrikānta*, which is undoubtedly his best production, he makes his hero accept the love of an avowed prostitute whom he consents to treat as his wife without of course undergoing any religious ceremony or legal formality. The woman in this case, it is true, possesses many lovable traits but with her it is not a question of reforming herself. Here lies the difference between the attitude of Jaladhar Sen and that of

Śaratchandra Chatterjee. Shrīkānta lives with Rājalakshmī because they love each other. Abhayā openly rebels against a husband who has not done his duty towards the wife he has married and is openly living with another woman, and she goes to live with a young man who loves her and whom she loves. She frankly tells Shrīkānta that she does not consider herself bound to a man who neglects her and she does not admit that the marriage vows are binding on one party only while the other party grossly violates them. Every woman has maternal instincts; why should she forego the happiness of motherhood because her husband, a rake, refuses to give her an opportunity? This is a serious question which deserves careful thinking but his *Grihadāha* and *Charitrahīn* really staggered the Bengali reading public. In *Grihadaha,* Achalā, a Brāhmo girl, with a fair education and certainly of age enough to discriminate between right and wrong and to realise the seriousness of the step she took, lives in open shame with her husband's friend, a wealthy young man of tempestuous and uncertain emotions though her husband is really a noble character. The struggles within Achalā before her final defeat and fall are really interesting, but these have been depicted with far greater ability by Rabindranath in *Ghare Bāire.* His Bimalā, enamoured as she was of Sandip, did not surrender her body to him but Śaratchandra makes Achalā go to the extreme that Rabindranath would not permit Bimalā to reach. Kiranmayī of *Charitrahīn* is also a character which we do not generally come across in Bengali novels. She not only openly advocates the cause of free love and refuses to admit the sanctity of marriage ties, but goes further and opines that feminine charms *consist in the capability of bearing children,* and she understands love only in the physical sense. Lately, in one of his articles Śaratchandra wanted to emancipate Indian women from the shackles of chastity. Śailabālā Ghosejāyā, a lady writer, also demands emancipation but not in the vulgar sense. She raises a protest against the innumerable petty tyrannies that a wife has sometimes to bear and bear meekly without any protest at the hands of a wayward and unfeeling husband. Her portrait of the selfish and unfeeling husband is undoubtedly exaggerated. In her *Sheikh Āndu* also, she introduces this question of free love. There two young ladies of good birth and culture, one of them already married to an educated young man then in America, and another betrothed to a young barrister, simultaneously fell in love with a Mohamedan chauffeur with good looks and of considerable personal charms. The chauffeur certainly reciprocated the affection of at least one of these girls and although her husband was conveniently put out of the way by death, nothing serious happened in the long run. But no one has, however, claimed the intellectual, moral, legal, social and physical, or should we say *carnal,* freedom for women more boldly than Dr. Nareshchandra Sen Gupta in his *Shubhā.* It is not at all difficult to have intellectual sympathy with the advocates of this cause but at the same time it should be noted that the problems they present in their novels really have no foundation of social facts in modern Bengal. Here lies the difference between the new problematical literature of Bengal and that of Europe.

Curiously enough the reaction against this new movement for restoring women to their natural rights has found its leaders in three most powerful lady novelists. In their ability, Nirupamā Devī, Anurupā Devī and Indirā Devī are inferior to no living Bengali writer with the possible exception of Rabindranath. They have all very strongly rallied to the side of the old social ideas, conventions and dogmas. Nirupamā Devī's *Didi,* Anurupā Devī's *Mantra Shakti* and Indirā Devī's *Sparshamaṇi* are all so many protests against the new movement. Nirupamā makes her heroine, a talented and proud daughter of a Zemindar, finally surrender herself to her husband's affection and love in spite of a strong resolution to the contrary. Her husband had done her a great wrong. He had married a second wife and neglected the first though she did not lack youth, health, beauty or intelligence. But living in the same house the husband gradually learnt to appreciate the good qualities of his first wife, who, however, refused to reciprocate these feelings and once or twice completely removed herself from her husband's company. But at last she yielded of her own accord, convinced that both duty and love demanded that she should do so. It was a triumph of the old idea that to a wife her husband is not a mere man but almost a divinity.

In *Mantra Shakti* we find the potency and the sanctity of marriage vows strongly established which Abhaya and Kiranmayī of Śaratchandra and Shubhā of Nareshchandra deny. Bāṇī, a young wealthy, and proud girl had to marry against her will a young man for whom she had nothing but contempt. Ambarnāth, the young, man was, however, an ideal character, a saint whose humility and meekness were responsible for his future wife's failure to appreciate his qualities of head and heart. She extorted from Ambar a promise prior to their marriage that although they were to be married, Ambar should have no conjugal relations with her and they should not see each other. This promise was literally kept by Ambar and here began the sufferings of Bāṇī. At last she met Ambar who was taken for dead but Bāṇī's devotion saved him and here again the old idea triumphed.

Indirā Devī tries to establish another point in her *Sparshamaṇi*. There she tries to show that a wife can ultimately earn happiness and win her husband's love although his heart might have been at the beginning elsewhere.

It is not possible to give within the short compass of a small article a complete picture or anything like an accurate idea of Modern Bengali Literature and my method of treatment has naturally made it impossible to mention mere romances like *Chandrashekhar* and *Krishnakānter Will* or lyrics like those of Rabindranath, but incomplete and short as this sketch is, we cannot finish it without taking notice of the History of Bengali Literature by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen and the religious dramas like Girishchandra Ghose's *Bilva Mangal* and *Chaitanya Līlā*, Rājkrishna Ray's *Pralhād Charitra* and *Naramedh Jajña* and Atulkrishna Mitra's *Nanda Bidāya*. In the department of translation Girishchandra Ghose's *Macbeth* comes easily first. Dāmodar Mukhopadhāya's translation of Wilkie Collins' *Lady in White* is also an able rendering of an English novel. Nanilāl Bandyopadhyāya's translation of *Othello* is also worth mentioning.

Among continental writers, Tolstoi and Guy de Maupassant are perhaps most popular. Some of their stories have been rendered into Bengali more than once. Many Sanskrit dramas have been rendered into Bengali by Jyotirindranath Tagore. Mention should also be made of Saurindramohan Mukhopadhyāya's translation of Daudet's *Jack* and *The Nabob* and Charu Bandyopādhyāya's rendering of another French novel, *Colomba*.

Bengali literature is still very poor except in poetry and fiction. With the exception of Rajanikānta Gupta's History of the Sepoy Mutiny it had until recent times hardly any historical work of merit. But recently a number of able writers have come forward to remove this want. Akshaykumār Maitra's *Sirajuddaulā*, *Mir Kasim* and *Gaurlekhmālā* have removed a long-felt want. Ramāprasād Chanda's *Gaur Rājmālā* has received European recognition. Rākhāldās Banerjee's two volumes of *Bāngālār Itihās* and *Prāchin Mudrā* certainly promise a bright future. Mention should be made here of Nikhilnāth Ray's *Murshidābāder Itihās* and Kāliprasanna Bandopādhyāya's *Nabābi Āmal*. The Bengali magazines now publish quite a number of brilliant historical articles and this perhaps points to a hopeful change of taste in their readers.

Rāmendrasundar Tribedi's works on philosophy are certainly unique in character and it is a pity that they have not yet gained the popularity they deserve. The same remark applies to Sir Gooroodas Banerjee's *Jñān O Karma.* Aświnikumār Datt's *Bhakti Joga* and Swami Vivekānanda's works are widely read. Mention should be made of Hirendranath Dutt, Debendra Bijaya Basu and Ramdayāl Majumdar's works on the Gīta. The pioneer in the study of the Gītā from the new scientific point of view was the great Bankimchandra Chatterjee, who, however, did not live long enough to complete his annotation of the work. The greatest writer in this branch is Rabindranāth's brother, Dwijendranath.

In science we have very few workers. Sir P. C. Ray's small volume on Zoology is now almost forgotten. A number of text books were written on Physics, Chemistry, Botany, etc. Of recent works Swami Vijñānananda's *Sūrya Siddhānta* and Rai Bahadur Jogeshchandra Ray's works on Astronomy deserve special mention. The most popular writer in scientific subjects is Jagadānanda Ray of Shāntiniketan, Bolpur. It is, however, a matter of great hope that Sir Jagadishchandra Bose has begun to make available the results of his researches in Bengali.

Bengali Literature has now become a subject of special study in the Post-Graduate classes of the Calcutta University and we have reason to hope that our literature will soon develop in all its branches in the near future when our students will learn to devote their undivided attention to their mother tongue from their early childhood, as the University has now decided to make Bengali the medium of instruction and examination in Bengal.

SURENDRANATH SEN

INDIA'S CHOICE

[A valley in the Himalayas; India is lying asleep. Three Spirits—of the Mountains, the Forests and the Plains approach.]

Spirit of the Mountains—

She sleeps, ah! do not wake her
Let the wings of Fancy take her
Into years that never were
Back into the realms of gold—
Back to stories yet untold,
In fairy lands of gossamer—
Where, oh where?

Spirit of the Forests—

Nay, let her sleep
Deep calleth unto deep
And through the vales reverberate
Voices, that from the everlasting snows
Tell ancient tales of love and hate,
How kingdoms rose and fell and rose
Again, and echo whispers in her ears
The story of bygone years.

Spirit of the Plains—

Still let her dream
Sister, say, how cam'st thou here?

Spirit of the Mountains—

Over snows that cannot wither
In the fair translucent ether
'Twas Garuda who bore me hither
I came in fear.

Spirit of Plains—

Sister, say, whence camest thou?

Spirit of the Forests—

Deep in my shades I heard the voice
Of Indra calling unto me,
"Go tell her that the fatal hour of choice
Approaches; we who ruled the sky
In other days must yield the victory
To lesser breeds than we;
The gods must die."

Spirit of the Mountains—

Sister, say, whence camest thou?

Spirit of the Plains—

My place is ever by her side,
Through the long ages I have ever been,
And still will be, her handmaid and her guide,
She is my friend, my daughter and my queen,
Shall I forsake her now?

All—

She is stirring: she is waking
Lo, in the East the dawn is breaking.
Let us turn aside.
Weave the spell of hill and water
Lest some harm befall our daughter;
Weave the spell of waving trees,
Of quiet field and wandering breeze
Then in the thicket hide.

(*They draw apart. India wakes and rises.*)

India—

Am I awake? Ah, let me sleep again,
Methought I stood upon a starry plain
And clear against the rising sun was set
A city beautiful with minaret
And gilded dome; beneath whose guardian wall
The careless peasant held high festival.
It was a land where corn and wine and oil
Abode in plenty and the fertile soil
Suckled her children at a bounteous breast;
A land where even labour seemed a rest
And lords and peasantry alike content
Lived sheltered lives of sweet abandonment.
An age of purity and innocence
Where strife was ended quite and man's offence
Against his brother man had ceased an age
When snakes forgot their venom and the rage
Of tigers was not; for with ample wing
Brooded o'er all the justice of the king.

Then one came crying, "Seest thou aright?
Now turn thine eyes and see another sight."
I looked and, lo, from out the distant North
A horde of glittering warriors rode forth
And as a swarm of locusts swooping down
Leaves the green fruitful rice-fields lean and brown
So did they leave behind them in their track
The village ruined and the country black.
Upon the reeking air the cries were borne
Of little children from their mothers torn
And foully slain with spears; while all around
Corpses lay scattered on the bloody ground.

And then the vision faded. By my side
Methought I heard a spirit voice which cried;

"Leave thou these things of dust and come with me
Come to the fairy land of fantasy
Where the luxuriant jungle at its will
Throws out its arms from hill, to distant hill
Where ancient sages dwelling 'neath the skies
Sat dreaming of abstruse philosophies.
Come and forsake the evil, choose the good;
Exchange the turmoil for the solitude
That was of old and dream Thy life away."
I stand amazed; I know not what to say.

(*She stands in thought; a dim shade rises taking shape gradually as a superhuman form.*)

Chorus.

Gone is the vision
The dream is shattered
A shape inscrutable
Comes from the darkness,
Presaging unknown
Things to our daughter.
Low in the distance
Rumbles the thunder
Which Indra from heaven
With feebler hand
Hurls upon earth.
With grim foreboding
The forests are silent
And clouds mysterious
Brood on the rivers.
In deathlike stillness
Nature is waiting
The fateful choice
Of the Mother of Nations.

The ancient sages have had their day
And now give way
To a younger breed who delight to explore
New paths of lore.
The gods are leaving in mist and cloud
The adoring crowd.
And out of the storm and confusion of things
A new world springs.

Shade—

Come with me, I will take thee by the hand,
And lead thee forth unto a joyous land
That flows with milk and honey. Thou shalt share
The power of other nations in the air;
Earth, water, fire their willing tribute bring
At thy command; and Emperor and King
Prostrate before thy throne, confess the sway
Of one become more powerful than they.
Awake. The spell is broken. Lift thine eyes.
Ocean is covered with thine argosies
Laden with fabrics cunning of device
Sweet scented woods and ebony and spice.
Awake, arise and stand upon thy feet,
Acknowledged queen among the nations, greet
The sister nations as their equal, cast
Aside the superstitions of the past
And in the plenitude of strength new found
Triumphant stand with honour robed and crowned.

India—

I dare not come: the path is still untried.

Shade—

And shall I not be ever by thy side
To guard thee? fear not; other men have sown

And thou shalt reap an harvest not thine own ;
The sweating peasant shall no longer toil
To win reluctant harvests from the soil ;
With strange machines by alien labour made
The thirsty fields are fed, while in the shade
In idleness the sacred cattle lie.
The happy weavers watch the shuttle fly
By unaccustomed ways athwart the loom
And peace descends upon each humble home.
The golden age is past ; but different far
Burns in the distant West a silver star
With promise of the brotherhood to be,
Of equal laws and equal liberty.

Voice from above—

Hast thou forgotten then the ancient days
When with burnt offerings and hymns of praise
Great Arjuna and Rama the divine
Did worship at my shrine ?
Hast thou forgotten how in times of yore
When all the weltering world was vexed with war
Thy sons serene
Surveyed the whole illimitable scene
Alone with Nature in her every mood,
Drank at her breast and ate the simple food
She offered them ? Or if thou wilt again,
Bethink thee of thine ancient kings, the men
Beneath whose golden sway
The land rejoiced and Brahmans went their way
Revering and revered ? O happy age !
And thou wilt cast away thine heritage
For such as this one gives.

Shade—

Nay, do not heed
The hollow mutterings of a dying creed.

Awake and be persuaded. Leave behind
The sages to the sport of storm and wind
And follow me. Behold how all the earth
With me for guide is struggling to the birth;
As when dead leaves in seasonal decay
Fall from the branches and are whirled away
Yielding their empire to the living green
Of bursting buds that glow with fire unseen,
So governments and customs yield their strength,
Perish and are forgotten till at length
All things, renewed upon a larger plan,
Proclaim aloud the majesty of Man.

(*India remains silent, as in a reverie.*)

Chorus.

Hearken, oh hearken,
Ere day be begun
The storm-clouds darken
The face of the sun.
Great Indra is calling
And bids thee beware
Like a bird thou art falling
Into the snare.

Oh, heed not the glitter
Of earthly success
Lest the sweet prove the bitter
The more be the less.
As pleasures forbidden
So sweet are his words;
But the thorns that are hidden
Are sharper than swords.

Shall Agni and Indra quail
Quail and be no more seen
Before the face of a god
Whose power is in silver and gold,
Wrung from the womb of the earth?
Lo! he is girdled with flame,
Wrought by the wisdom of man;
He is robed with a garment of blood
And strife and confusion proceed
Out of his mouth; and his crown
Is wet with the tears of the land.
But as music is sweet to the ear
His words to the people are sweet
Telling of freedom and joy.
But sorrow remains behind
And out of the mist of tears
The shades of the future loom.
The ways are parting; 'tis hers to choose;
Will she hold to the good or the good refuse?

India (*awaking from her reverie, with resolution*)—

The time for doubt has gone; my choice is made
For good or ill; I go with thee, dread shade.
Look how the sun, from cloudy bonds released,
Proclaims his gladsome tidings in the East:
How bird and tree rejoicing in his rays
Hymn the glad omen of the future days.
I cast aside the burden of restraint,
Laid on me by philosopher and saint,
Which clogged my early footsteps. Let me be
Henceforward in the van of progress, free
Among the nations, with their welcome blest,
And share with them the wisdom of the West.
All hail, thou glittering vision, that, unrolled
Before my eyes, my senses dost enfold

In rapturous ecstasy, though still a veil
Mysterious hide thy splendour from me. Hail!
Thou glorious shade that speakest with divine
Persuasion, lead me forth that as with wine
Refreshed I may go forward on my road
And so fulfil the destiny of God.

Chorus.

Woe, woe.
The choice is made
She has yielded her life
To the tempter shade.
Sisters, let us flee
To the heights of the mountains, the depths of the sea,
And the darkness of forests wild,
Where we may mourn in the years to be
The fate of our well-loved child.

STANLEY RICE

THE SCIENCE OF MAN—ITS INDIAN STANDPOINT

The idea of evolution is not so recent as Darwin—neither in Europe nor in India. In ancient Indian philosophy we get firmly delineated what we can speak of, in the language of McCabe, as the physical or outward and the biological or inward[1] evolutions.

We are familiar with the idea of 'Panchabhūta.' In my college days, I remember in my chemistry classes being told of these as but five elements and so utterly erroneous. Not so. Any student of Indian science knows that it stands for the five states of gross matter, the solid (Kshiti), the liquid (Ap), the calorific (Tejas), the gaseous (Marut) and the etheric (Vyoma).

These five states again are set down as one evolving from the other, the grosser from the finer and so on. The etheric state of matter was the first in existence amongst these. This being more condensed or solidified or materialised gave rise to the gaseous. These two again gave rise to the calorific and the etheric, gaseous and calorific states got condensed still more into the liquid state. These four states brought about the grossest solid state.

We are familiar in Physics of solids being transformable into liquids by application of finer energy, *e.g.*, calorific, similarly liquids passing into the gaseous state, *viz.*, a calorific state and we are also familiar with the manifestation of finer electrical energy under certain other conditions. We now recognise electrical energy as the finest of these and this again is being ascribed to the electronic state—a 'fourth' (or as we Indians should say the fifth state of matter—taking heat to be one of the states) which is neither solid nor liquid nor gaseous.

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[1] *Vide* the chapters on वाह्यभूमि and अभ्यन्तरभूमि in the recent book brought out by the writer entitled "मनुष्यतत्त्व."

But the Indians did not stop with ether. They recognised still finer and finer states of energy of which ether is but one of the states into which it is reduced. The finest known to them we may speak of as the Fundamental Cause which in motion radiated incessant energy without at all losing any portion of itself, in a manner somewhat akin to Radio-activity and thus may be termed Causeo-Activity.

This is one side. On the Biological side the Indians had familiarised from yore the idea of evolution. We get in old Sanskrit books the order of life on earth as Svedaja (born of film), Aṇḍaja (born of eggs) and Jarāyuja (born of placentas). The idea of Dasāvatārs again is one of evolution as is coming to be recognised. First, we get the Fish (Matsya), then the Turtle (of the Mesozoic) and then the Boar (of the Cainozic). Then comes half beast half man, then ill-formed man of dwarfish stature. Of course then come men which according to Indians were "epoch-types" in the evolution of Universal Spiritual Life, *e.g.*, Rama, Krishna (or his elder brother) Buddha and the last to come, Kalki.

In this chain of biological evolution, the main steps are clearly recognised. The Western world is now racking its brains as to the connection between the two evolutions—the Physical and the Biological. They are now speaking of the possibility of the evolution of the 'living' from the 'non-living' and of higher and higher forms of the living by mere action, reaction and interaction of energy.

The Indian never recognised any gap between living and non-living matter. Their basis of knowledge in most cases being what Edward Carpenter would term as 'microcosmic' they found in man a synthesis as well as evolution of the grossest state of matter and the finest state of energy, yea even the possibility of the human ego getting identified with Causeo-Activity itself, as we find to be the main theme of the Upanishads, the Gita and other Indian Revelations or philosophies.

Energy in the gross is matter, in the fine is spirit and in its finest is Causeo-Activity. So in man there are two sides, the five gross states of matter on the one hand which go to make up his body and the finer states of energy on the other which constitute his mind, intelligence, blissful ego, etc.

Thus to the Indian, man is not merely material nor merely spiritual. He is not merely gross nor merely fine. He is all grossness and all fineness in one. So the role of a human being is the highest of all in the creation. The very gods are lacking in the grosser parts needed for physical action, the beasts lag behind for want of finer sensibilities and consciousness. But Man is greater than both being complete and perfectly evolved.

So what study can be higher than the science of man which is a study of all gross states and all fine states of physical and biological science synthesised in one evolving chain of creation? So to the Indian the highest science was the science of man and the true realisation of Manhood was but synonymous with the realisation of oneness in all creation.

PANCHANAN MITRA

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS UNDER THE CALIPHATE

We shall now discuss the social transformation which resulted from these new conditions,[1] beginning with the Arab town-population. We have already shown the origins of Kufa and Basora. They arose out of military cantonments. In other places too—wherever the conquerors had settled down in large numbers—the same process of development evidences itself. Damascus, Hira, Anbar, Baghdad, each reckoned a large population—outcome of the interbreeding of the conquerors with the native women. With the growth of these towns we perceive a two-fold division of the population : (I) settled town-folk, and (II) folk who were still more or less loyal to the old nomadic ways, to agriculture, to cattle-breeding, to a roving, fighting life.

These social changes synchronize with a change in the constitution of the army. As organized on the pattern of the tribal system, the army now ceases to exist. Mercenary troops step into their place. This change is clear at the time of the first Abbasids. One fact here needs attention. As the dividing-line between the two classes of town-population becomes more and more distinct, we notice the steady recession of the pure Arab element into the background. This means the transfer of the rule from the Arab tribe to towns-folk; from the descendants of the first-conquerors (pure blooded Arabs) to the half-breeds. Quickly did these become so numerous and so powerful that an old poem thus refers to them : " The sons of concubines have become very plentiful[1] among us. Lead me, O God, to a land where I shall see no bastards." The slave-trade played[2] an important rôle in the fusion of the Arabs with foreigners. In thousands both white and black slaves were annually imported. The latter came from Zawyla (the then chief town of the province of Fezzan) an important centre of the slave-trade.[3] They also came from Egypt and the east coast of Africa: indeed, in such swarms that, on more than one occasion, serious insurrection occurred. The white slaves, on the other hand, hailed from Central Asia, inhabited by Turkish tribes (Turkistan, Farghana), or from the countries of the Franks and Greeks. Specially brisk was the export from Spain,[4] and highly valued were the slaves of Spanish nationality. They were called *Sakalibah*, which is nothing more or less than the Arabic transcription of the Spanish word *Esclavo*. While a Turkish slave could be purchased for 600 dinar, the Spanish fetched 1000.[5] No less brisk was the slave-trade from the Italian harbours, especially from Civita Vecchia. Charles the Great taunted Pope Hadrian I for permitting the traffic. His Holiness excused himself by shifting the responsibility to the Greeks and the Lombards. At this time the clergy and the laity alike carried on those activities. Through the help of the Jews they sold to the non-Christians the offspring of their serfs and villeins. Certain it is that in the eighth century the Venetians were the most diligent slave-dealers of the time. They had a slave-market of their own in Rome, which Pope Zakaria closed in the year 748.[6] Thus an unbroken stream of foreigners poured into the prosperous towns of the Arab Empire. These were gradually *arabicized*, and in the first or second generation were completely lost in the Arabic-speaking Muslim community.[1]

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[1] The Arabs mixed so freely with the foreign races that thinking minds, among them, began seriously to consider the position of affairs. Ma'arri, in his Lozumiyyat, says: "The world is turned upside down. Everything is mixed up. The mother of a Nomairite is a Turkish lady and that of the Okailite, a slave-girl from Samarqand." I need not add that Nomair and Okail are old Arab tribes—the latter exist up to now.

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[1] Kamil, 302.

[2] Mez, *Renaissance Des Islams*. Heidelberg, 1922, pp. 152 *et seq.* This is a masterly work, and should be translated into English. Learned, vivid, exhaustive is the survey of Islamic Civilisation. Von Kremer and Mez have recalled that Civilization from the past, and have made it a living picture.

[3] Yaqubi, p. 134.

[4] Ibn Khurdedbah, p. 81.

[5] *Ibid*, p. 38.

[6] Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani in Sicilia*, II. 169. Muratori, *Annali d'Italia*, 960.

From the townsfolk and the *arabicized* foreigners the Abbasids recruited the main body of their mercenary troops. True, individual Arab tribes—still devoted to the military profession—are met with in the Muslim army of even later times. We shall defer, for the present, the consideration of the influence which the rise of large towns and the growth of town-population exerted on Islam, and proceed to a review of the position of the Neo-Muslims and their clients. According to the principles of Islam the Neo-Converts were to enjoy precisely the same rights and privileges as the full-blooded Arabs; but these latter were too proud and power-loving to make the theoretical claims of the Neo-Muslims practically effective.[2] Omar I had already decreed that a foreigner, converted to Islam, should forfeit his landed properties to his former brothers-in-faith. This measure was due to financial reasons; namely, to maintain the revenue intact. Precisely the same reasons prompted later a yet more drastic limitation of the legal *rights* of the neo-converts. Conversion to Islam signified loss of capitation-tax, but the chief sources of the State-revenue were precisely land and capitation-taxes levied upon non-Muslims. They decided, therefore, that notwithstanding *conversion*, these taxes should be levied as before. Further, when the old practice that no Muslim should own land or other immovable properties gave way—a distinction was made between the full-blooded Arab and the neo-convert. While the former was only liable to a light tax—the tithe—the Zakat—the neo-convert, despite his faith, was made to pay the land-tax and partly even the capitation-tax. Besides this invidious inequality in the matter of taxation, the position of the neo-Muslim was by no means very happy in the civic sphere. Not until the rise of the Abbasids, indeed, did any change for the better take place. The full-blooded Arab despised the neo-converts as of an inferior race. Standing in the relation of clients to the ruling tribes and families, they were collectively called 'clients.' They formed the lowest strata of Muslim society. The highest in the social scale were, of course, the Quraish, *i.e.*, the members of the Mekkan aristocracy. Next to these came the large band of full-blooded Arabs (Sarih), and last of all came the neo-converts, the clients. Sad was their lot. They were never respectfully addressed, but, like servants, were called by their names. The pure Arab could not walk in a line with them, and on festive occasions the very last seats were assigned to them.[1] We notice, however, a distinction between genuine neo-converts and slaves who, by manumission, had passed into the relationship of clients with their former masters. The rule, that the client must not even give his daughter in marriage without the consent of his former owner, evidently applied to those of the latter class.[2] The aversion of the Arabs towards the clients seems to have been inspired by racial type;) black-haired brown races, such as the Aramæans, inspired much less aversion than those of the North with white or red complexions and blond or red hair. For this reason the clients of these Aryan tribes were nick-named 'the red',[3] while the Arabs loved to call themselves 'the *black*.' In contemporary poetry the nick-name of the one with red moustache (Suhb-ul-Sibal) is applied to the clients in Iraq and Persia.[4] In various ways the dislike of the ruling class expresses itself against the neo-converts. Often and often they spoke contemptuously, in one breath, of the clients and Persians or

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[1] A similar thing happened among the Turks, who recruited their *Janissaries*, to a great extent, from the Christian slaves.

[2] See Zydan, pp. 69, *et seq.* Chauvinism of the Arabs.

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[1] Kamil, 712.

[2] Aghani, XI, 154.

[3] Kamil, 264.

[4] Kamil, 303. Even in the poetical collection of Abu Tammam (p. 17) the expression occurs 'Suhb-ul-Ajam, the red-haired Persian. See Goldziher, M.S., Vol. I, p. 136.

Berbers.[1] It is reported that, in a war against the Kharijites, the Arab soldiers abandoned a comrade of theirs to the enemy because they would not hasten to the help of a client.[2] In these terms does the poet Jarir speak of a man who gave his daughter in marriage to a client : "I see Mokatil marry his daughter to a client ; whereas in the days gone by naught but a slave-girl could be married to a despicable slave with red moustache."[3] When an Arab general had beaten the army of the factionist Mukhtar and taken some prisoner, he wanted to let all the full-blooded Arabs go, but wished to put the clients to the sword.[4]

The poet Jarir—mentioned above—once happened to call on a section of the Anbar-tribe, but, contrary to the Arab custom, received no hospitality at their hands. Offended at this, he penned a satire which, among other things, said : "O ! Malik, son of Tarif, if you sell hospitality to your guests you act in violation of the religion and the tradition of your tribe. But say you : we sell it in a lawful way. To this I rejoin : For my sake, indulge in this low practice with clients, but be ashamed of it before the Arab's." The old reporter adds that this last verse gave great offence to the clients (Kamil, 262, 263). From all that has been said it is obvious that the ruling classes were in no way inclined to concede complete equality to the neo-converts. The genuine Arab regarded himself as infinitely superior to the Persian or the Aramaean. This contempt on the part of the Arabs led to misunderstanding, and misunderstanding ripened into bitter, fierce, bloody uprisings.[5] This was indeed the main reason which attracted so many clients and Persians to the Kharijite banner.[6] With the rise of the Abbasids happier days dawned on these people. The new dynasty favoured the hitherto down-trodden party, and reposed its trust in the *arabicised* Persians or Arabs settled in Persia and Khorasan who had been completely leavened by the native population. Henceforward the star of the old tribal aristocracy sets, never to rise again. No more is much value set on pure Arab descent, and the classes—so severely kept apart in the past—the old Arab Muslims and the neo-converts—begin to coalesce, amalgamate, disappear into each other. Henceforward converted Persians, Jews, even Sabians, rise to highest position in the State. Nor do we fail to notice a reaction here and there manifesting itself on the part of foreign nationalities against the Arab. The contempt with which the ruling Arabs, at the time of the Omayyads, were wont to look upon the Persians and the foreigners called forth a party which not merely claimed equality with the Arabs but were even disposed to exalt the Persians over the Arabs. They relied in support of their contention on the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, where " the equality of all Muslims " was urged and proclaimed. The "friends of Equality" (Ahl-ul-Taswiyah), as this party was called, maintained that noble descent and succession of famous ancestors, in themselves, were worthless. He only was really noble who distinguished himself by noble deeds and by the nobility of his soul ; and in proof of their argument they appealed to an old poem where it was said : Although I am the son of the Lord of Amir, and her warrior famous in every fight, Amir hath not made me her Lord by right of heritage. God forbid that I should rise through father and mother. But (it is because) I defend her territory, prevent any injury to her, and repulse the attack of her enemies."[1]

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[1] Kamil, p. 254.

[2] Kamil, 631.

[3] Kamil, 272.

[4] Ibn Athir, II, 225.

[5] Kamil, 285. Goldziher, in his M. S., Vol. I., 139, says that in the reign of Muawiah we find the earliest movement calling the Arab superiority into question.

[6] The Kharijites were the democrats of Islam. See Kamil, 686. Hajjaj compelled the neo-converts, after the suppression of their insurrection, to pay capitation tax. The Governor of Africa, who wanted to do the same, was killed in an insurrection.

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[1] In my *Islamic Civilization*, I have translated from the Iqd of Ibn Abd Rabbih the extract containing most of the arguments of the Shu'nbiyyah (or the Partisans of the Gentiles) against the Arabs. See *Islamic Civilization*, pp. 132-144, Thacker, Spink, Calcutta.

The first who conceded equal rights to the 'Mawali' (or clients) with the Arabs was Omar II. He appointed two clients and an Arab as judges at Cairo, and when the Arabs took exception to the appointments of the clients he is reported to have said: "What can I do if the clients work their way up and you lag behind?"[1] Almost as great a sensation was caused when, under Hajjaj, a neo-convert was appointed leader of the prayer at the mosque of Kufa, and later a judge. The people protested that none but an Arab should hold a judgeship.[2] The clients, however, succeeded in outshining the Arabs, for they were the first to devote themselves to learned studies and thereby win for themselves an increasing prestige and regard. They diligently took up theological and juristic studies and were instrumental in introducing foreign ideas into Islam. Through Jewish proselytes—mindful of the commentaries of their Holy Book—came alike the passion for traditions and the impulse to collect them. And to the very same source must be traced the keenness for hair-splitting and a note of pedantry in Arabic literature. It is reported of a full-blooded Arab that when asked "what instruction his sons were to receive," he replied: "instruction in the Law of Inheritance," whereupon the other rejoined that that was a study fit only for the clients, and was not becoming to the Arabs, who needed no more for culture than a knowledge of their ancient poets.[3] But with theological and juridical studies the clients made a reputation for themselves, and became judges and jurisconsults. Along with these intellectual strivings, which brought them forward, and which contrasted strangely with the ignorance around them, the clients, in other ways too, sought and secured distinction. Almost the entire tax and account departments were in their hand. With all this stir and activity it need not surprise us to find the neo-converts and the clients—the disfavour of the ruling class notwithstanding—rapidly growing more and more in influence. They rose even in the social scale higher and higher until the distinction from which they suffered—obstinately kept up hitherto—passed away. We must here refer to a yet another class which, in the first centuries, exercised an extraordinary influence and played a conspicuous rôle in civil life. We mean the important class of the *Dehkans.*

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[1] Maqrizi, Khittat, II. 332.

[2] Kamil, 285.

[3] Kamil, 264.

A purely agrarian feudalism was the basis of the old Persian Empire. A considerable number of land-owners—apparently descendants of the old tribal chiefs—stood at the head of the Persian peasantry. Each of these, in his own domain, was supreme, and had a determining voice in the affairs of its people. He represented the interests of his tenants as against the Provincial and Central Government. He collected taxes and exercised the rights which a big landowner exercises over his tenants. By timely conversion to Islam, these Dehkans—succeeded in retaining their power and influence. Moreover, the Arab conquerors—inexperienced, and thus inefficient, in administrative work—left almost entirely to these Dehkans the profitable duty of collecting taxes. Attempts, indeed, were made to remove them and employ genuine Arabs in their stead, but no sooner was this experiment tried than the taxes fell into arrears, and complaints of unmerciful treatment became painfully frequent. Punctual were the Dehkans in the collection of taxes, and humane and merciful in their dealings with the tax-payers. (Ibn Athir, IV, 116.)

Most of the Mesopotamian Dehkans had accepted Islam by the time of the Caliph Omar I who, like a true statesman, treated them with the utmost kindness, and even allowed them state-annuities.[1] Their names show that they were of a mixed nationality. Some, indeed, were genuine Aryans; others Aramaeans. For a long time they managed to retain their position. Even under Mamun the Dehkans of Samarkand are mentioned (Jahiz, *Addad,* fol. 12). Under Mutasim they took part in an insurrection which was an insurrection in a national sense and was directed against the foreign rule of the Arabs. (De Goeje; Frag. Hist. Arab. II, 506.) Among the Dehkans may be reckoned that noble Persian, Firuz, of whom Mobarrad speaks. Belonging to one of the most aristocratic families Firuz accepted Islam, and became the client of the tribe of Bal'Anbar. Famous for his riches and his generosity alike, it is related of him that once the son of a Persian lady, married to an Arab (whom his relatives despised on account of his Persian origin), pointed to Firuz who happened to be passing by, and said: "He is my maternal uncle, and which of you has one nobler than he?" Firuz heard it. The lad was given a house and a present of 100,000 dirhams. One other story. Firuz joined the insurrection of clients against Hajjaj. When the two armies met face to face at Rostakabad, Hajjaj, through his heralds, announced a reward of 10,000 dirhams to the one who brought the head of Firuz. Out of the crowd stepped Firuz, and called out:[1] "100,000 dirhams will I give to him who brings the head of Hajjaj to me. I am Firuz, and you know I keep my word." Taken captive, Hajjaj tried to discover and appropriate his riches. One favour and one alone, Firuz asked of Hajjaj before execution. He wished to be taken before the people, to name his debtors and trustees. When actually taken before the people, instead of naming his debtors and trustees he loudly declared, in the presence and hearing of all, "Let him—whoever be his trustee or debtor—keep the money as a present and a gift from me." He further granted freedom to his slaves, and dedicated the rest of his property to pious uses.

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[1] According to Beladhuri, 457, who gives the list of names, every one received 1000 Dirhams a year.

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[1] Kamil, 656.

Hajjaj, deceived and baulked, seething with rage, had him cruelly executed.

In the writings of the first centuries the Dehkans are frequently referred to as rich and powerful people living prosperously on their estates and enjoying high esteem. They are reported to have had the best wines in their cellars.[1] In the old fables and poems the charming daughters of the Dehkans fill a prominent place, and many a good Muslim deemed it a piece of rare fortune to wed one of these.[2]

It now remains to speak of the subject-races, professing other faiths than Islam, whom we have mentioned as the third great class living within the bosom of the Caliphate.

People professing other faiths—especially those professing a revealed religion—enjoyed, as against the payment of land and Capitation taxes—imposed upon them by the terms of the capitulation—a wide toleration. Without interference they could perform their divine service, deal with the affairs of their community, maintain their churches, cloisters, chapels, except in large towns where their number was limited—in fact they could even build new ones. The centres of Muslim population were the large towns. In country places, where conversion *en masse* did not take place, the old population predominated. They were left unmolested so long as they paid their taxes. Such was the case in the mountainous districts of Lebanon and Anti Lebanon. These old inhabitants are described by the Arab authors of the earliest times as *Jaragima* or Nabat, *Nabataeans*, *i. e.*, foreigners.

The subject-races really began to feel the pressure of foreign domination only when the Arab rule was firmly established. It was then that they were gradually driven to resistance.[3] Thus, under Abdul Malik, rebelled the natives of the hill-regions of Lebanon and Taurus.[1] In Egypt the Copts rose several times, and were suppressed after much bloodshed. In Africa the old inhabitants—the Berbers—repeatedly shook off the Arab yoke. In Iraq conditions were different. (There, the Arab conquerors were numerous, and though there was a considerable foreign population—descendants of the old Babylonians and Assyrians—described by the Arabs as *Jarmaqi* or *Jarmaquani*—yet, owing to the peculiar formation of the country and absence of mountainous neighbourhoods, national resistance was hopeless and national uprising an impossibility.[2] But this inability of the native population to rise turned their talents to other directions. They flung themselves with fiery ardour into the political and religious warfares which only too frequently broke out in this province. Strongest and most violent was the anti-Arab feeling in the Eastern countries of the once Persian Empire—inhabited by people of supposed Aryan descent. At the earliest opportunity some provinces—such as Tabaristan and Sijistan—succeeded in securing a complete or partial independence. While in Syria and Egypt and Iraq the Christians were allowed to keep up their churches and cloisters, the Persians were conceded no such privilege. Their fire-temples were all to be destroyed, and, under the Omayyads, Obaidullah Ibn Ziyad—Governor of Iraq—appointed a special officer for this purpose. But it appears that this officer—as they say in the Levant—appreciated his position with much understanding—for he made, in this mission, a fortune of 40 million dirhams (Ibn Hamdun, I, 115). He left almost all the fire-temples intact, and received a suitable recompense. Thus most of the places of worship of the Parsis remained untouched, and the famous temple at Shyz in Armenia continued even into later times (Ibn Khurdedbah, p. 96, Shahrastani I, 299). As regards the synagogues there never seems to have been any objection or opposition. Even the heathen Temple at Harran continued up to the XIIth century with its genuine pagan worship.[1] Alongside of the Christians and Fire-worshippers to whom the majority of the subject-races belonged, there lived other smaller religious communities, such as the Jews—scattered all over the Empire—; the Samaritans—confined to Nablos—; insignificant from the point of view of civilization; the Manichæans and the Harranians. In addition to these there were quite a number of small sects which owed their origin to Christian, Persian and Manichæan influences, or were the surviving remnants of the old heathen, pre-Christian worship.

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[1] Diwan of Muslim Ibn Walid. Ed. De Goeje, 166, V, 10.

[2] The story of Mansur, the second Abbasid Caliph, who, before his accession, concealed himself in a Dehkan's house and married his daughter—Ibn Hamdun, Fol. 237.

[3] Dozy, Hist. des musulmans de L'espagne II, 49.

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[1] Ibn Athir, IV. 250, 251. Beladhuri, 159-163. *Cf.* Assemani, Bibl. Orient, I, 50.

[2] Ibn Kutaiba, 317. Ibn Athir, IV, 386.

The Christians of the East stood then, as they do now, under the influence of a power-loving, place-seeking clergy. The influence thus exercised was somewhat similar to that subsequently exercised by Muslim *Ulemas* over their co-religionists. The Christian clergy, in Byzantine times, when that empire was too weak to control them, had grown considerably in number and influence. They were well endowed. They acquired landed property too, and possessed numerous cloisters, churches and chapels. In the towns the Muslim Government—not rarely even the rabble, always prone to plunder—made many an encroachment upon their power and wealth, but in the country they lived undisturbed, for to a certain extent the Arabs believed in the monks. With care and diligence the monks utilized the lands belonging to them. Partly they themselves personally cultivated and attended to the lands. Nor were the wines neglected; some cloister wines, indeed, acquired great fame and popularity. A good source of income to the monks was, doubtless, the wine-trade. Thus a poet speaks of a vintage: "It is a wine, preserved in casks, and is made in Rosafa, and at a high price do the monks sell it."[1] Many other trades were carried on in the monasteries. As now, so in the past, monasteries were the meeting centres of the neighbouring people for markets, fairs, popular festivals (Mujam, II, 650), and the like. There were nunneries too. Also there were places where nuns and monks lived together.

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[1] In Harran the last temple of the Sabians was only destroyed in 628 A. H. by the Mogols. Chowlsohn: *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, (Petersburg 1856), pp. 232, 667.

Usually the cloisters, situated amidst charming surroundings, were resorted to for change of air. Princes and magnates loved to pass the night there in their travels, or when on a hunting expedition. When cloisters happened to be on frequented commercial routes, even travellers found lodging and food there. Not infrequently the monks carried on medical pursuits. There were even places where miracles took place—holy shrines, graves of saints, whither the sick and the pious made pilgrimages for cure, for devotion, for fulfilment of vows. In Baghdad itself there were several Christian churches and cloisters. From all that has been said we may infer that Islam, in its early career, was by no means intolerant. Certainly, its religio-politics excelled by far those of the Middle Ages, which were conspicuously marked by a fierce spirit of fanaticism and persecution.[2] But not always did the position of the Christians remain so favourable. In fact we notice a striking difference between Christians who lived in towns and those who lived in the country. By trade and commerce and money-lending the former made fortunes for themselves and lived in affluence and security; while the latter suffered and sighed under the weight of a heavy land-tax and the oppression of extortionate governors. In the earliest times Christians were allowed free access to the Mosque,[1] and were held in high esteem at the court. The Christian poet Akhtal was the court poet in Damascus. The father of John of Damascus was the first councillor of the Caliph Abdul Malik. The Christians—as already mentioned—held the entire accounts department and the board of taxes in their hand. Often, indeed, Muslim jealousy sought to displace them from their position, but it was impossible to do without them. In Iraq they shared this influence with the Persians and the Dehkans, who were in precisely the same position as they were.[2] The short-sighted Omar II excluded them from all public offices, and a similar policy was adopted by the first Abbasid Caliph.[3] Ordinances hostile to Christians were issued even under Harun. In the year 191 A. H. (807 A. D.) he commanded all churches in the border-countries to be demolished, and directed the members of the tolerated sects to dress differently from Muslims.[4] In Africa Ibrahim Ibn Aghlab passed stringent measures against the Christians and Jews.[5] The Caliph Mutawakkil renewed, in an aggravated form, hostile measures against the Christians. The Caliph Muqtadir forbade the appointment of other than Muslims as physicians and money-changers, and added that they should dress differently from Muslims (Ibn Taghribardy, II, 175). These oft-recurring measures of severity only show that, despite the growing disfavour of the Muslims, people of other faiths succeeded in holding their own, and that by their activity and prosperity they incurred more and more the displeasure and aroused more and more the jealousy of the ruling class. But in dealing with this matter we must not overlook one important fact. If Harun is mentioned as the first Caliph who put forth the vexatious order that the Jews and Christians should dress differently from Muslims—*it was not without good cause.* Christians and Jews had lived together in large towns, and had adopted the language, the manners, the habits, of the ruling class to such an extent that it was impossible to distinguish one from the other. Precisely for this reason it was that the order in question was renewed from time to time. True, this *arabicization,* was more thorough in towns and in commercial centres than in the country, where, up to the present day, the old inhabitants in some places have clung to their own peculiar dialect. But such cases were rare and isolated.

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[1] *Muslim Ibn Walid.* Ed. De Goeje, 213, V. 2. Cf. *Mujam*, II, 642, 643, 644.

[2] Livingstone, in his *Greek Genius* at pp. 47-48 says: Between 1566 and 1619 Carnesecchi was burned alive; Bruno was burned alive; Paleario was burned alive; these three at Rome. Vanini was burned at Toulouse. Valentino Gentile was executed by Calvinists at Berne. Campanella was cruelly tortured and imprisoned for twenty-seven years at Naples. Galileo was forced to humble himself before ignorant and arrogant monks, and to hide his head in a country villa. Sarpi felt the knife of an assassin. In this way did Italy devour her sons of light." These, of course, are famous victims (see Symonds, *The Catholic Reaction*, II, 138). Symonds estimates that *in Spain alone*, between 1481 and 1525, 234,526 persons were condemned for heresy by the Inquisition. Compare with this assiduous and sterilizing tyranny (I am applying to the Muslims Livingstone's language on p. 48) the occasional infractions of liberty of thought in the Muslim Empire.

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[1] Aghani, IV, 182. VII, 179-187.

[2] Ibn Athir, V, 167. Aghani, XIX, 59-61.

[3] Ibn Athir, V, 49. Theophanes: *Chronographia* under 751 A. D.

[4] Ibn Athir, VI, 141.

[5] Amari, Storia dei Musulmani, II 56.

In course of about a couple of centuries Arabic became the language of the entire Caliphate; and the divers nationalities, living under the Caliph, coming closer and closer in contact, became more and more merged in the Arab nationality. This fusion of races profoundly affected the course of Arab civilization. No sooner did Arabic become the common literary language, than people of other faiths set themselves the task of translating foreign books into Arabic. From their languages—Syrian, Greek, Persian—they translated important works into Arabic, and thereby they brought home to the Arabs the learning and wisdom of antiquity.

This intellectual activity led, in Baghdad particularly, to philosophic and scientific studies and researches. Even, in a purely religious sphere, these new elements evoked an effective ferment. Foreign ideas made their way and provoked innovations. New sects came into existence and philosophico-religious polemics into fashion. In this connection the Manichaeans deserve the first place. Their religious system was an outcome of the combination of Christo-Gnostic philosophy with the Indo-Persian religious ideas. Their religious practices bore a remarkable resemblance to those of Islam.

They had a fixed number of daily prayers (4 or 7), and every prayer consisted of a series of prostrations and genuflexions. Like the Muslims, they too purified themselves by washing before prayer, and, like them, they observed the thirty days fast. It cannot be asserted with any degree of assurance either that ablution existed among them *before* Islam or that it was a *later* importation due to Muslim influence. This much, however, is certain, that Manichaeanism had a wide diffusion in the Roman Empire. Even in the time of the later Cæsars, the success of the new teaching was so great that it appeared quite dangerous to Christianity, particularly in Africa, where the Manichaean community was noticeably large. In the beginning the Manichaeans were mistaken by Muslims for Christians, or Zoroastrians, but later they obtained the recognition and the status of tolerated communities,—the main reason being the strange fascination which Manichaeanism exercised over the Arab mind. This fact, however, coupled with actual conversions to Manichaeanism, called forth fanaticism on the part of the Muslims. Several Caliphs (particularly Mahdi and Hadi) issued stringent orders against the tendency.[1] Furthermore, the Manichaeans were enthusiastic proselytizers, who deemed it their duty to spread the faith of Mani among the Muslims. By its outward asceticism Manichaeanism laid a powerful hold on the masses of Muslim population. It forbade flesh. It prohibited even the killing of insects or reptiles. The dualistic doctrine of Light and Darkness—closely allied to the Zoroastrian doctrine of Good and Evil—Ormuzd and Ahriman—must have made a powerful appeal to the Muslims of Persian descent, who had not altogether forgotten or forsaken their old ancestral cult.[2] Under Harun a special officer was appointed to conduct an Inquisition against the Zindiqs. (The Manichaeans were then known by that name.) A very searching enquiry was made. The poet Salih Ibn Abdul Quddus—having accepted Manichaeanism—was executed. The daughter of another scholar of that time—Moti Ibn Iyas—confessed that her father had taught her the doctrines of the Zindiqs, and that she had studied their books. In literary circles, particularly, Manichaeanism found ready and eager adherents. The Barmacides are said to have been secret Manichaeans ; and as, under Caliph Mamun, free-thinking ran no risk it was fashionable to play the sceptic and to profess disdain for orthodoxy. Especially wide-spread was Manichaeanism in the eastern provinces of the Empire—Persia, Khorasan, Transoxiana—but in other regions too, the Manichaeans had their places of worship. St. Augustine has called attention to the splendid get-up of their religious books. Their charming appearance allured the Arabs, and they soon had them rendered into Arabic.[1] In Kufa a Manichaean community appears to have existed early in point of time, which even in the unhappy days of persecution secretly assembled to perform their religious worship. They sang hymns in Arabic—a practice which they actually continued when in prison (Aghani, X II. 74).

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[1] Dhahabi, Ibar I. Fol. 50. Ibn Athir, VI, 41, 49, 53 especially p. 72.

[2] Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, p. 161 *et seq.* Jackson, *Zoroaster*, p. 197 *et seq.* Khuda Bukhsh, *Islamic Civilization*, p. 96 *et seq.* and the authorities cited therein.

Though the Harranians and Sabians—were not devotees of revealed religions, and as such were outside the pale of protection—yet, as a matter of fact, they received from the Muslim Government protection and recognition, as did the others of the tolerated cults. These mostly lived in the town of Harran in Mesopotamia, but were not quite unknown even in Baghdad and Northern Mesopotamia in the XIth century.[2]

From the most numerous—Christians, Jews, Zoroastrians and Manichaeans—to the least numerous communities—all had the completest freedom in the management of their domestic and religious affairs. It appears that even in matters[1] of civil and criminal justice—so long as they did not come into conflict with Muslims—they were entirely in the hands of their spiritual guides. The matter stood thus. In the capital of the Empire these religious communities were represented by their clergy, who looked after their affairs and defended their rights. The Christians who lived in Iraq and the neighbouring eastern countries belonged, in an overwhelming majority, to the Nestorian sect, which, by reason of the persecution of the clerical party, ascendant in the Byzantine Empire, had fled to and found safety in the Persian Empire. For this reason the Nestorian Patriarch had already, *i. e.*, even before the Islamic conquest, his seat at Ctesiphon, the capital of the Persian kings. Here he remained until its fall and the rise of Baghdad. Then he transferred his seat to a place not far from the residence of the Caliph. This happened in the year 726 A. D. (Ritter, *Erdkunde* IX. 671.) Here he occupied a special palace which stood on the western side of Baghdad and was known as *Dar-al-Rum*, *i.e.*, the palace of the Greeks. Here was also the church of St. Mary, where the Nestorian patriarchs were usually buried.[2] Round the seat of the Patriarch grew the Christian quarter of the town. The patriarchs appear later to have changed their residence to the eastern side, for a Greek cloister is specially mentioned, and it is further added that there was a beautiful Nestorian church besides, where the Katholicos had his residence.[3] Directly by the side of it stood the church of the Jacobites, which was also conspicuous by its rich decoration and architectural splendour.

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[1] Portions of the translation are preserved in the *Fhirist* and have been made known by Flügel.

[2] Further information on this subject will be found in the learned work of Chwolsohn : *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus.* Petersburgh 1856.

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[1] The Christians in Cordova had their own Christian judges. Makkari, I, 84. *On the Christians in Spain* : Baudisson. *Eulogues und Alvar.*—Leipzig, pp. 11, 16.

[2] In the *Kitabul-Mowashsha*, Fol. 171, a native of Baghdad relates what fine Christian girls he saw gathered, on a feast day, in the Church of St. Mary.

[3] *Dair-al-Rum* is often mistaken for *Dar-al-Rum* situated on the western side.

Moreover, there were several churches and cloisters in the eastern and the western quarters of the town. On the west side of the Sarah-canal the monastery of St. Phetion, the church of *Sabar-Jesu,* and a Nestorian monastery called *Khalil-Jesu.* The cloisters of Zandaward, Samalu and Darmalis lay to the east; the cloisters of Dorta were on the western side of the town. Often, to be sure, in times of stress and unrest, these Christian places of worship suffered; but in spite of such vicissitudes the Nestorian Patriarch remained on, and enjoyed great respect in Baghdad, right up to the fall of the Caliphate. So great was his position that he was accounted an important political factor. At the court of Baghdad the influence of the Nestorian Patriarch exceeded by far that of the head of any other Christian sect or party. The Jacobites especially were completely overshadowed by the Nestorians.

They were distrusted because of their avowed partiality for the Byzantines. The Nestorian Patriarchs made good use of this distrust and suspicion in forwarding their interest and maintaining their prestige. The Nestorian Patriarch, or *Katholicos* as he was called, always did his best to prevent the Jacobite Patriarch from obtaining official permission to reside in Baghdad. Thus, in the year 300 A.H. (912-3 A.D.), the Nestorian Patriarch procured an order from the Caliph prohibiting the Jacobite Metropolitan from permanently residing at Baghdad.[1] In 394 A.H. (1003-4 A.D.) a similar order was made afresh; namely, an order prohibiting the Jacobite metropolitan from having a permanent residence at Baghdad. But, despite all this, the Jacobite bishop did remain at Baghdad. The Jacobite metropolitan, however, had his seat at Tikrit, and only, from time to time, came to Baghdad. The Nestorians availed themselves of the favourable conditions, and secured a distinguished position for themselves. The Nestorian Patriarch posed before the Government as the chief of the entire Christian community—the Jacobites included among them—and was, in fact, recognized as such. In a letter of appointment of a Nestorian Patriarch which comes from the VIth century of the A.H. it is stated: "It has pleased the Supreme Authority to appoint thee in Baghdad as the Patriarch of the Nestorians as of the rest of the Christians residing in Muslim countries—the administrator of their affairs."[1] We see from this that the Caliphs regarded the Patriarch of the Nestorians as the head of the entire Christian community in the East. As their election took place in the capital the Caliphs could always manage to have their own man elected. For the election of the new Patriarch the seven metropolitans of Jundashapur, Basora, Mosul, Irbyl, Beth-Jarma, Hulwan and Nisib assembled, each accompanied by the three bishops of his jurisdiction. After receiving the confirmation of the entire conclave of bishops, the Patriarch-elect obtained investiture from the Caliph who exercised a potent influence in the election. That influence is beyond doubt: we have definite information on the subject.[2] The officers of the Diwan had practically the appointment in their hand, and the candidate had to secure their favour. Twenty-five was the number of the metropolitans in the entire Caliphate—with 6 to 12 bishops under each. These facts show that the position of the Christians was by no means unfavourable. Without interference they built churches. Thus, in the year 150 A.H. (767 A.D.), they built a church in Tikrit, and in Baghdad the Patriarch Timotheus (d. 204 or 205 A.H.) —who held office under five Caliphs—Māhdi, Hadi, Harun, Amin, Mamun—built the cloister of *Khalil-Jesu.* The Jacobite Patriarch had his seat at Antioch where, in the year

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[1] Assemani, Bibl, or II, 441. The Patriarch of Antioch had to give a written declaration on his own behalf and that of his successors.

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[1] Ibn Hamdun, I, Fol. 222. For this document, Z.D.M.G., Vol. VII, p. 215.

[2] Assemani, Bibl. Or II, 111, 442.

711, at the command of the Caliph Walid I; a Jacobite church was built. The number of Jacobite bishoprics was close upon fifty. This sketch should suffice to convey a correct idea of the position of the Christians and their clergy. We now pass on to the Jews, whose spiritual chief—the *Rosh-Galutha*, or "*Prince of the Captivity*" likewise resided in Baghdad, as he had done of old in Babylon. According to Benjamin Tudela who visited Bághdad in 1170 A.D., the *Prince of the Captivity*, as head of the Jewish community, enjoyed great esteem. At this time one Rabbi Daniel Ben Chisdai, a descendant of David, held this office. His authority over the Jewish community was confirmed by the Caliph. All—Jews or Muslims—had to rise before him. When he went for an audience with the Caliph, he was generally accompanied by a large retinue of horsemen. On such occasions he dressed in embroidered silk, and wore a white turban gleaming with gems. Ahead of him marched the herald, calling out loudly: "make room for the Son of David." His power extended over Mesopotamia, Persia, Khorasan, South-Arabia, Diar-Bakr, Armenia, Georgia as far as the Oxus, nay even as far as India and Tibet. He confirmed the election of the Rabbis and the appointment of the officers of the Temple; for without his consecration none could assume office. We must not, then, be surprised to hear that presents from the most distant countries flowed to him. This '*Prince of the Captivity*' had houses, gardens, plantations, large landed-estates in Babylonia, inherited from his ancestors. He collected the income from the Jewish inns and markets, and levied a toll on their merchandise. Daily dined at his table a number of Israelites. Nevertheless at his own investiture he had to pay large sums of money to the Caliph and the princes of his house. His installation and confirmation was effected in the Caliph's palace, by the Caliph laying on his hands. After this was done he returned home accompanied by music. There he, in turn, blessed the members and elders of his community by a similar laying on of hands. This traveller relates that in Baghdad lived many rich and learned Jews, and that there were 28 synagogues in and about Baghdad. The chief synagogue was adorned with pillars of variegated marble, and was richly ornamented with silver and gold. The pillars bore inscriptions and passages from the Psalms in letters of gold. Ten marble steps led to the altar where lay the roll of Torah.

Of the other religious sects we can only say this much, that the Supreme Spiritual Head of the Manichaeans had his seat in Babylon until the time of Muqtadir, whose severity compelled them to leave the Caliph's land (Flügel, *Mani*, 105, 108). It was under the Omayyads that they removed the seat of their spiritual chief to Babylon. Elsewhere did the Zoroastrians and the Sabians have their centre of gravity, and so also other small religious sects. Only in special cases did they send one or other to the capital to represent their cause. Generally they left their interests in the hands of such members of their community as held influential offices in Baghdad. Such was particularly the case with the Sabians, for several of their brothers-in-faith held high offices at the court.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE VALUE OF JURISTIC POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

Complexity of Modern Political Conditions.

The description which has already been given of the sphere and aim of analytical political philosophy has been sufficient to indicate, in general, the value of the results which its pursuit is able to obtain. It but remains to refer to the peculiar need which political scientists have for this analytical inquiry as a preparation for scientific discussion because of the unfortunate fact that political science lacks a characteristic nomenclature. Instead of employing terms which are peculiar to itself, and, therefore, without other connotations, Political Science is obliged to rely in very large measure upon terms which are in popular and, therefore, unscientific use. For this reason it is indispensible to precise political thinking that, when these terms are used, a clear understanding should be had as to the exact meanings attached to them. This need is one which, rather than decreasing, is constantly increasing by reason of the growing complexity of political relations whether regarded from the national or international point of view. With the development of constitutional forms of government operating under written instruments of government, with the growth of more or less autonomous local administrative or governmental organs, with the recognition of spheres of private rights of life, liberty, and property which are not open to legislative or executive control, and with the growth of the activities of government, the complexity of constitutional jurisprudence is increased, with a resulting necessity for clearly and finely drawn distinctions, which, under more autocratic form, such as absolute monarchy, do not need to be made.

So similarly, in the field of international politics, modern times have witnessed the development of complex relations, which, for their juristic analysis, demand the utmost exactness in the use of terms, and the most accurate employment of the processes of deductive reasoning.

At the same time that the principles of international law have, through the practice of nations and the efforts of commentators, been rendered fairly definite and systematised, and the formal rights and duties of sovereign States toward one another in the main made evident, the application of these principles and the determination in concrete cases of these rights and duties, have been made, if anything, more difficult than before by the great increase in the complexity of international relations that has marked the last half century. Instead of a family of nations composed of members completely autonomous in fact, as well as in name, we find nations, each sovereign in name and in theory, in some instances associated in the closest of constitutional bonds, and, in others, surrendering up the enjoyment of their international rights in whole or in part to alien powers. In certain cases, indeed, this surrender has extended to the exercise of domestic powers as well. Thus it has come about that, as in the middle ages the feudal state was the prevailing type, and, in the early modern age, the absolute monarchy, so, at the present time, the dominant type seems to be the composite or federated form. In Europe we have the federal states of Germany and Switzerland, and, until 1918 there was the dual empire-kingdom of Austria-Hungary. Australia and Canada are federated bodies, and, in the Americas, we have the federal states of the United States, Mexico, Brazil, Argentine and Venezuela. Each of the greater powers of the world has, within comparatively recent years, established political interests over the less developed peoples of Asia, Africa and the Pacific Islands. Where these political interests have taken the definite colonial form international conditions have not been greatly complicated: but where, as has been the case in so many instances, these interests have arisen, not out of the formal subjection of the territories in question to the sovereignty of the powers claiming the interest, but from treaties providing for the establishment of a protectoral relation, or for the lease for a number of years of a particular tract of land, or, still more indefinitely, the setting up of simply a "sphere of interest," or, most extreme of all, the lease of a sphere of interest, where these have been the international relations which have been established, a host of novel international problems have been born, for the solution of which, in most cases, only purely political theory is competent.

Juristic Problems presented by League of Nations.

The establishment of a League of Nations carrying with it a system of mandated territories raises still other intricate questions of public jurisprudence. In an address before the American Bar Association, ex-Secretary of State Lansing, referring especially to the proposed system, pointed out that, while simple in principle and application, it is a novelty in political authority which, the more it is studied from the legal standpoint, the greater the number of problems it presents. Continuing, he said:

"The determination of the possession of the sovereignty over territory is essential to the determination of international rights and obligations. In the case of territory subject to a mandatory the question therefore arises as to who possesses the sovereignty of such territory. Certainly not the mandatory which derives its authority solely from an agreement conferring upon it a limited exercise of sovereign rights. Is it, then, the League of Nations which possesses the full sovereignty, the exercise of which is delivered in part only to an agent or trustee? That would seem to be the logical answer, and yet consider the questions which that answer raises. Does the League of Nations possess the attributes of an independent State so that it can function as the possessor of sovereignty over territory? Is the League then a supernational World-State clothed with world sovereignty? If the League possesses the sovereignty can it avoid responsibility for the misconduct of its agent, the mandatory? If the League is not capable of possessing sovereignty, then who does possess it, who is responsible for the acts of the mandatory; and upon what ultimate authority does the League base the issuance of a mandate? I might present a score of other questions of a similar nature which with those propounded will have to be definitely answered sometime if the mandatory system comes into operation. To-day these questions are academic and may be considered technical and no doubt to many are so considered, but it may not be long before they become concrete and very practical. It is not an overstatement to say that nine-tenths of all international controversies arise over questions pertaining to the possession of sovereignty and the conflict of sovereign rights. I do not think that mandatories and the source of their authority can escape from the test of the legality of their exercise of sovereign rights. The system must be philosophically and logically worked out from the legal point of view or it will result in confusion."

In this same address, Secretary Lansing went on to observe that modern conceptions of national needs and corresponding rights would make it necessary to work out new fundamental principles upon which to base doctrines of international servitudes,—not the older recognized servitudes on land based upon expediency and mutual advantage, but servitudes founded upon the principle that nations ought not, against their will, to be barred from access to the sea, "the common property and high way of mankind."

Still further, Secretary Lansing adverted to the difficulties inherent in bringing the German Emperor to trial for his personal responsibility in bringing about the Great War and for the acts of cruelty committed by the German armies in its prosecution—that is, difficulties involved in the creation of a competent tribunal, the determination of the law to be applied by it, and the enforcement of its judgment, without doing violence to accepted principles of international and municipal jurisprudence.

Aerial Jurisdiction.

Another new problem of public law that has recently been created is that of the jurisdiction of the air. The fundamental principles which are to govern the exercise of sovereign rights in the air by territorial Powers remain yet to be fixed. They can be satisfactorily determined only by employing the methods of analytical political philosophy.

Need for more exact Terminology.

Enough has been said to show that present political conditions, international as well as constitutional, make it imperative that the connotations of such terms as sovereignty, suzerainty, half-sovereignty, protection, vassal, allegiance, will have to be examined with a carefulness never before required. Among other problems it will be necessary to determine anew what powers and attributes are incidental to the possession of sovereignty; whether its existence is an infallible and necessary test of statehood; to what extent the exercise of its powers may be delegated without parting with its possession; the distinction between governments *de facto* and governments *de jure*; whether states may be created by international compact; whether the origin of political authority in general is susceptible of a juristic interpretation; what is the essential character of positive law and whence its validity; and to what extent so-called international law is binding or is law at all *in sensu strictore*.

A collateral advantage which attends the pursuit of analytical philosophy is that it provides not only the intellectual training which enables, but the mental disposition which inclines, one to seek for the real meanings that lie back of current phrases and conceptions. Such training and disposition are especially valuable to those who live under a popular form of government. It is a fact upon which all political observers are agreed that a democratic group of people is particularly prone to be influenced by broad generalizations and high-sounding words and phrases. The Demos is a being whose actions are controlled as often by sentiment as by sense, and it eagerly seizes upon catchwords and aphoristic phrases with but slight reflection as to the meaning embodied in them. No one, for example, can doubt that Stephen A. Douglas obtained much support for his doctrine regarding slavery in the territories by endowing it with the seductive title "popular sovereignty." So, too, it is not unreasonable to believe that in the phrase "free silver" the word "free" had an influence other than that which its real meaning, as used in such connection, would legitimately give it. "Do you not feel sovereignty coursing through your veins?" said a French revolutionary orator to his hearers; and, no doubt, many of them thought that they did. As some one has said, it was the pride of every republican Frenchman of that time that when he looked in his glass he could see reflected a portion of a king, forgetting, that he saw at the same time the whole of a slave. Nor does the danger of being misled by mere words and expressions into false analogies and conclusions threaten the populace. It is one to which all of us are exposed; and it is only by the philosophical method, which looks to essential nature rather than to mere appearance or name, that we are able to keep ourselves aright.

Thus, it is one of the very first canons of analytical political philosophy that names are not conclusive of facts. Of a given political body the analytical political philosopher does not ask the name by which it is called, but seeks the extent of its powers and the legal sources of its authority. Nor does he look to prior historical facts for the determination of political essence. To him, sovereignty is a matter of fact, but not a fact that may be demonstrated by the historical conditions precedent to its establishment. It is a fact which has to be determined by existing powers and competences, irrespective of the conditions out of which such powers and competences may have sprung. In the analysis of the federal state he does not feel himself precluded from further inquiry by the fact that the constitution expressly declares this or that organ or body to be sovereign ; but he determines where the supreme control is placed by the actual distribution of powers that is provided for. Mr. Bryce, in his "Impressions of South America," tells the story of a white man who, when driven by urgent need to hire himself to a native chief, preserved his *amour propre* by stipulating in the contract that he should be called "Boss" by his employer. In scientific political thought the fact that a thing is called by a certain name is not more conclusive as to actual legal character than was the title "Boss" of the real status of the white man of Bryce's story. Yet it is the most common occurrence to find names used as conclusive arguments in political discussions.

Value of Juristic Theory in interpreting United States Constitution.

It seems scarcely necessary to call attention to the fact that, as an interpreter of the past, analytical political philosophy is of especial interest to students of American history. The theories which have centred around the nature of the Union established in 1789 have all of them depended upon presuppositions as to the nature of sovereignty ; whether it could be alienated or divided, the tests by which its existence might be determined, and the consequences logically deducible from the definitions given to it. Much of the discussion was inconclusive because of a failure to agree upon the juristic significance of the facts regarding which there was no dispute. Had the framers of the Constitution had a conception of sovereignty as indivisible and as connoting supreme legal omnipotence, the essential distinction between a national state federally organized and a confederation of State severally sovereign would have appeared, and, as a consequence, it may be presumed, an instrument of Government would have drawn that would not have contained in it the seeds of future secession and civil strife. But whether this be so or not, it is certain that the acceptance of the illogical and unworkable theory of a divided sovereignty has unduly complicated the working of the American federal system and hindered the harmonius development of its constitutional jurisprudence. That, despite the formal acceptance of this theory, national sovereignty has been realized in the law and in fact was in very large measure due to the fortunate chance that for more than a generation the supreme judicial tribunal had as its Chief Justice one who had an adequate conception of the requirements of his country's national life, and an appreciation of the corresponding spirit in which its fundamental instrument of government should be interpreted. Reference is, of course, to Marshall, who exhibited his transcendent abilities rather as a political philosopher than as a technical jurist. All of his chief opinions were almost wholly essays in political theory, as was evidenced by the fact that in them very rarely was a legal authority or precedent cited to sustain the reasoning employed or the conclusions reached.

Since Marshall's time, though references to previously decided cases have abounded in its written opinions, the *ratio decedendi* of the decisions of the United States Supreme Court has, in many of the more important cases, been derived from principles established by pure political theory. Thus, to cite but two instances, in *United States* vs. *Lee*,[1] the right of a private citizen to recover possession of property held by a federal officer under authority of an unconstitutional executive order was sustained by basing it upon the principle declared to be essential to the idea of a free and constitutional government that no authority can be so high that an order by it, unauthorized by a valid law, can operate to divest the private citizen of a legal right. So also in *Texas* vs. *White*,[1] the distinction between a State and its Government,—a distinction emphasized by political theory—was seized upon by the court to enable it to assert the continuation of a State in the Union at the same time that the legitimacy of its government was denied. Finally, in the more recent cases dealing with the constitutional rights of the inhabitants of our insular possessions, the decisions were based upon the purest of political theorizing regarding the nature of the rights enumerated in the first eight articles of amendment to the constitution, and the essential character of the American Federal Union.

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[1] 106 U.S. Reports, 196.

During the period of the Civil War and of the "Reconstruction" which followed the necessity for clear analytical thinking in the field of constitutional jurisprudence was especially evident. Starting with the theory upon which the war was waged by the Northern party, the validity of the acts of secession and the status of the seceding states, as well as that of the confederacy which they formed, had to be determined. The character of the governments of the Southern States and the validity of their acts, in both public and private law, had to be considered. The respective rights and liabilities of the loyal as well as the disloyal inhabitants of those districts which were in rebellion demanded determination in the civil and criminal courts. The status of Southern property and the powers of confiscation by our Congress had to be fixed, and a host of international problems also arose for settlement. Aside from these, there were, of course, the questions which arose out of the so-called war-powers—questions as to their actual scope, and as to the extent to which their exercise lay, respectively, with Congress and with the President. After the close of the war the necessity of reconstructing the governments of the states lately in rebellion involved problems still more perplexing. Was their re-habilitation as members of the federal union to be based upon the "conquered territory" theory of Stevens, upon the "state suicide" theory of Sumner, the "forfeited rights" theory, or the "full rights" theory? The confusion of thought which reigned supreme during these years bears eloquent testimony to the absence of true principles of political philosophy.

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[1] 7 Wallace, 700.

W. W. WILLOUGHBY

FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN INDIAN BANKS

Foreign Exchange is believed to be a difficult subject, but the following quotation from Hansard's Parliamentary Report may console the reader:—

From Hansard, 21/12/20, Col. 1657: Lt.-Col. Hurst...... "Of course this subject of foreign exchanges is one I know very little about and I believe very few people do know anything about it. Indeed, I have read that only one person knows the real arcana of foreign exchanges, and he is in a lunatic asylum."[1]

Foreign Exchange may be defined as the ratio of exchangeability between the currencies of two different countries. Unfortunately, the currency system of India is anomalous. She has neither a gold standard, nor a silver standard but the gold exchange standard. That is to say, the currency in circulation within the country is silver but for foreign payments, it is linked with gold. The value of the rupee like other things is dependent on its demand and supply. If by contraction and expansion of the currency, the value of the rupee can be maintained within certain fixed limits in relation to gold, the exchange problem of India becomes practically the same as of gold standard countries.

We shall first of all consider what the rates of exchange actually are. As an example, let us take the following

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[1] Also quoted in Gregory's "Foreign Exchange."

Money Market Report published by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce :—

Calcutta, Friday, 17th August, 1923 [1]

Exchange on London

Local Bank Ready Wire		1-4	Bank's selling rate
,, Forward Wire		...	,,
,, Bills on Demand		1-4 $\frac{1}{32}$	,,
,, 3 months' sight		1-4 $\frac{3}{32}$	,,
,, 4 ,,		...	,,
Credits and Document Bills for Acceptance O/D		1-4 $\frac{1}{8}$	buying rate
Ditto	3m/s	1-4 $\frac{1}{4}$	,,
Ditto	4m/s	1-4 $\frac{5}{16}$	,,
Ditto	6m/s	1-4 $\frac{1}{2}$	,,
Document Bills for Payment 3 months' sight		1-4 $\frac{9}{32}$	,,
Ditto 6 ,,		1-4 $\frac{11}{32}$	,,

To explain the first quotation, any of the Exchange Banks of Calcutta was on the 16th August, 1923, prepared to cable its London Office to pay out 1*s.* 4*d.* in exchange for every rupee received by it in Calcutta. Conversely, where the bank has been mentioned as buying, the rate quoted is the rate at which it was prepared to buy sterling bills of the tenor stated on that day. In other words, when the bank is said to buy or sell, the commodity dealt with should be taken to be *foreign* money.

It has been explained above, that if the supply of the rupee is restricted, it will appreciate in value and will be exchanged for *more* of foreign currency. When the rate *rises* in this way, the exchange is *favourable* to us. *From the national point of view, therefore, high rates are for us and the low rates against us.*

Let us now consider the position of the importers and the exporters separately, for obviously what is favourable to one must be unfavourable to the other. Suppose for example, a Calcutta merchant has imported piece-goods from Manchester and there is a bill on him for £5,000 on account of the consignment. He is a *buyer* of sterling and naturally wishes to spend as few rupees as possible in discharge of his obligation. If the rate is *high*, he can procure a greater number of pence for the same number of rupees. Thus *high rates are favourable* to the importers, *i.e., to the buyers* of foreign money. The importer's standpoint is thus the same as the national standpoint.

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[1] Reproduced with the kind permission of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce. The last column has been added by the writer. The quotations are for the previous day.

Conversely, a merchant who has exported hessians to Liverpool for £5,000 wishes to get as many rupees as possible, by *selling* his sterling bill for £5,000. Now if the rate is *low*, he gets one rupee in exchange for a smaller number of pence. Hence for the same amount in sterling, he gets more rupees. Thus *low rates are favourable* to the exporters, *i.e.*, to the *sellers* of foreign money.

Now the exporter may draw on the Liverpool merchant at 3 months' sight or at 6 months' sight according to his arrangement. Will the rate for the two bills be the same? The former is certainly the *better* bill and will be discounted at such a rate that a greater number of rupees will be paid for the same sterling amount. A less number of pence will, therefore, be equivalent to one rupee and thus the rate will be *lower*. Hence, *the better the bill, the lower the rate.*

To sum up: *from the national standpoint, high rates are* for *us and the low rates* against *us*: *from the point of view of individuals, buy high, sell low; the better the bill, the lower the rate.* These rules are applicable not only to sterling quotations but also to all other quotations, in which foreign currency is expressed in terms of units of local currency.

The first quotation, *i.e.*, the Ready Wire or the T. T. selling rate has already been explained. The Demand selling rate is given to be $\frac{1}{32}$*d.* higher. What is the reason for this difference? The answer is that when a banker sells a demand draft, he undertakes to pay the sterling amount not immediately as in the case of the Telegraphic Transfer but on presentation of the draft in London. Thus he has the use of the money for the period of the voyage, 18 days at the time we are considering. This money he can lend at not less than the Imperial Bank of India rate which on that date was 4 per cent. The interest is seen to be approximately equivalent to $\frac{1}{32}$*d.* on calculation, which should, therefore, be the difference between the T. T. and Demand rates. Similarly the 3 months selling rate may be verified.

Next we come to the buying rates. The rule is *buy high, sell low*; so that the quotations for buying will be higher. On reference to the Report, we find that the Demand selling rate is 1-4$\frac{1}{32}$, whereas the Sight buying rate is 1-4$\frac{1}{8}$, *i.e.*, $\frac{3}{32}$*d.* higher. This is the banker's " turn " or profit.

Again, this buying rate for sight bills, 1-4$\frac{1}{8}$ is lower than the buying rate for 3 months bills, *viz.*, 1-4$\frac{1}{4}$, *for the better the bill, the lower the rate.* The difference is due to the discount which will be charged on the 3 months bill according to the London market rate, the foreign bill stamp to be affixed in London at the time of presentation at $\frac{1}{2}$ per thousand and brokerage at $\frac{1}{16}$ per cent. The 4 months and the 6 months rate may be verified in the same way.

On reference to the Report, it will be seen that the bank's buying rate for Documents on Acceptance bills is not the same as for Documents on Payment bills, although they are of the same tenor. The financial standing of the drawee of a D/P bill is certainly not the same as in the case of a D/A bill, for otherwise the documents of title to goods would have been surrendered to him on acceptance. The banker has, therefore, to cover the extra risk in the former case by a difference of, say, ^{1} *d.* Now, the rule is, *the better the bill, the lower the rate ;* hence the quotation for D/A bills will be $\frac{1}{32}$*d.* *lower* than for D/P bills.

Another point to be noticed in the Report is that there are two quotations for the T. T. selling rate, the " Ready

Wire" and the "Forward Wire." For the former, the rupee equivalent has to be paid at once. For the latter it is agreed between the vendor bank and the purchaser import merchant that the rupee equivalent will be paid to the bank at the contract rate at some specified future date, when the T. T. will have to be sent. No money passes at the time of the contract; only the rate is fixed. The importer is thus able to know beforehand the exact rupee amount he will have to pay for the sterling bill on him in respect of the goods he intends to import, although the exchange rate may fluctuate in the meantime.

Similarly there are two rates for buying bills,—the ready and the forward quotations. Thus an exporter may also make a contract with an exchange bank for selling his sterling bills at some future date when he will be able to export his goods, but the rate is fixed in the contract beforehand.

Now as both the exporter and the importer shift all risks due to fluctuations in exchange to the banker, what is the banker to do to protect himself? Well, it is this double risk which is his salvation, for he is able to set one operation off against the other in the following way. Suppose on the 16th August, 1923, the exporter enters into a contract with the banker to deliver his 3 months bill by the first mail of November and the importer also contracts to pay for his T. T. during the second half of the same month. Suppose also that the sterling amount is £5,000 in each case. The rates are, of course, different, one being the bankers' 3 months buying rate and the latter his T. T. selling rate. Suppose the rates are 1-4$\frac{1}{4}$ and 1-4$\frac{1}{32}$ respectively. Is the banker in any way affected, whether the exchange rises to 1-5 or drops to 1-3 in November? No, for in terms of his contract with the exporter, he buys the 3 months bill for £5,000 @ 1-4$\frac{1}{4}$ and sends it to London on the 1st November, the first mail day of the month. The bill reaches London by the middle of the month and is immediately discounted. On the 21st November, the importer pays the rupee equivalent of his T. T. for £5,000 @ 1-4$\frac{1}{32}$, as arranged in his contract, and the banker cables his London Office to pay out the sterling amount. As we have seen, the London Office is already in possession of £5,000 by discounting the bill. The banker is thus quite independent of the ruling rate of exchange, either on the 1st or on the 21st November. For these two operations he has not to touch his sterling resource at all. He simply lends out the rupee equivalent of £5,000 from the 1st to 21st November, *i.e.*, from the date of purchasing the bill from the exporter to the date when he received the proceeds of the T. T. from the importer. This setting off of a sale by a purchase or *vice versâ* is technically called " covering."

It is not always that the banker is in the happy position of being able to square his transactions in this advantageous way. But it should be his aim to have his total purchases equal to his total sales, and to have these distributed in such a way that equal amounts of each kind may be delivered during the same period. This is not always possible, for India is an agricultural country and there are particular seasons for export. During these times, the supply of bills will be greater than the demand. The banker's purchases will exceed his sales; his sterling resources will be augmented and the rupee resources depleted. The position will, of course, be reversed when the exporting season is over.

To equalise funds at different centres and to take advantage of the difference in rates of interest at those centres, the banker does what is called a " budla " or a "budlee " operation. During the busy season, the rate obtainable in Calcutta may be as much as 8 to 10 per cent., while the rate charged in the London Market for short borrowings at that time may be only 3 per cent. The banker then sells as much of his sterling resources as he possibly can to the importers, and covers this by a forward purchase to be taken up, say, three months hence by the exporters. Such a transaction is technically called a "budla" or a "budlee" operation. Even if the purchase rate is not higher than the selling rate and there is no direct profit in exchange, the banker has the use of the money for three months at a favourable rate. On the other hand, when there is "a superfluity of local resources," a "budlee" operation may be done, in which a ready purchase is covered by a forward sale.

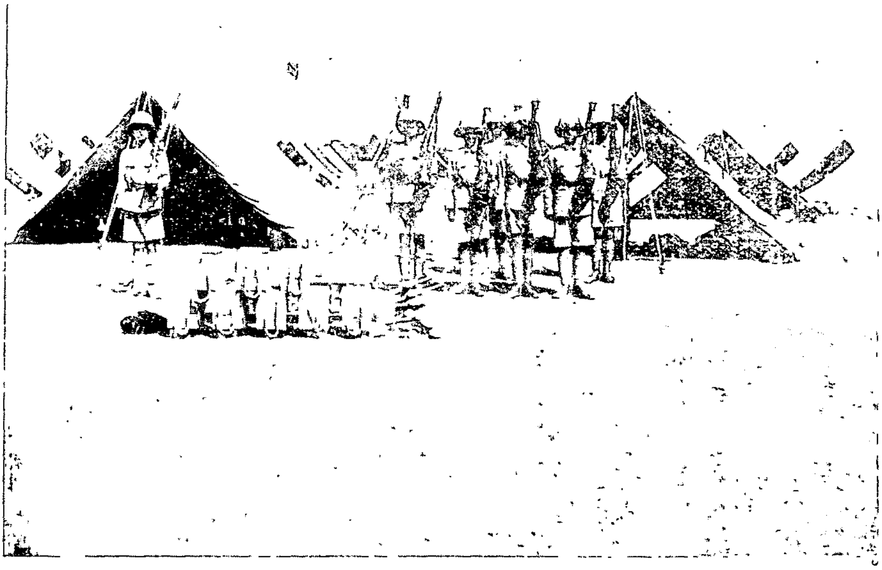
H. SINHA

NIGHT

All hail, O Night! Thou sable goddess hail!
With mantle black thou wrappèd art in dull array,
Thy garments shimmering with a thousand stars,
Woven in mock confusion on thy robes;
Here shines a cluster bright, there lies a spray,
Which, creeping round thy folds and bursting forth,
Gleams as a spangled zone—the Milky Way;
On thy soft bow a bright tiara rests,
The silvery hornèd moon, thy peerless crown.
But who so bold to paint those subtle charms,
That brow serene, in raven locks entwined,
And under it those dark and shaded eyes;
For faded to the view they lie, enveiled,
Like some dark beauty, in an Eastern dome,
That stands at latticed window, close confined,
And coyly peeps, while to the vulgar gaze
Her charms but half revealed show lovelier still?
Slumber, thy Daughter, now in silence reigns
Triumphant over Nature. In her hand
Her ebon sceptre proudly forth she holds,
Demanding mute submission to her will;
And yielding subjects nestle 'neath her pall,
A massive canopy unfurlèd over all;
And nought save dreams and visions flit around,
With noiseless wings of bats, both to and fro,
Lulling the sleepers into depths profound,
That Life reposing seems but heaving Death.

H. W. B. MORENO

OUR UNIVERSITY CORPS IN CAMP



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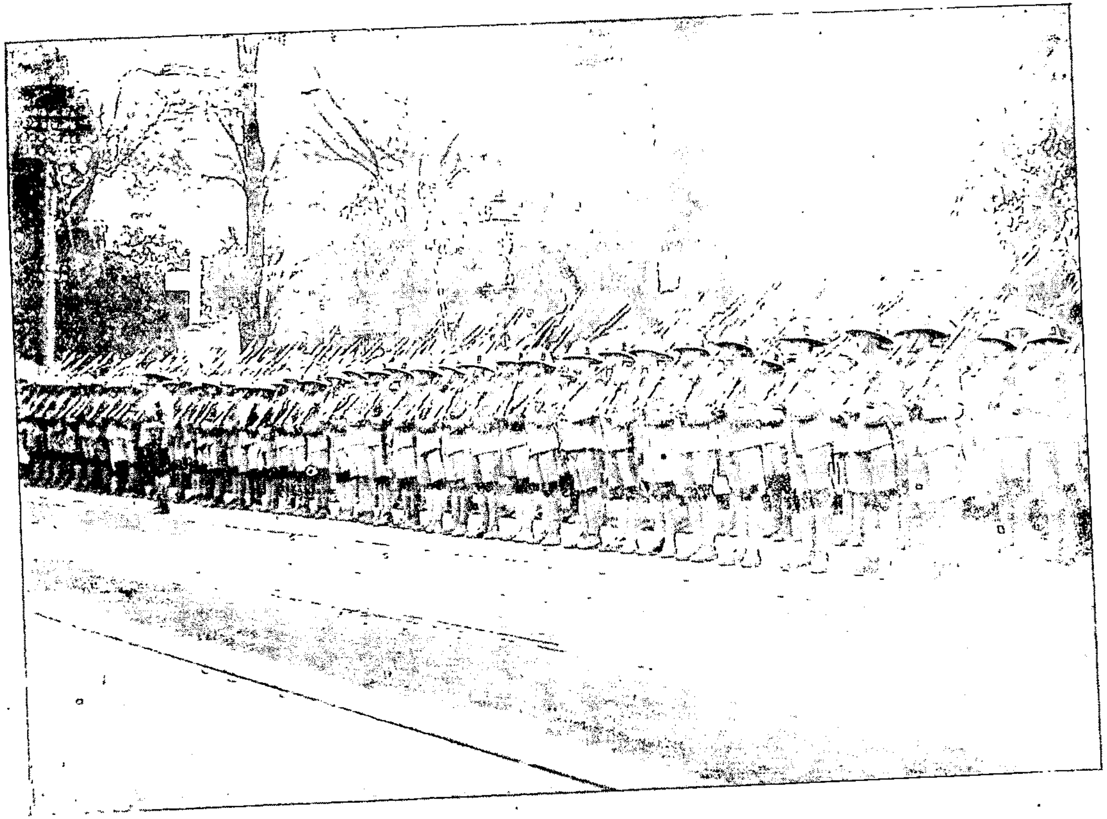
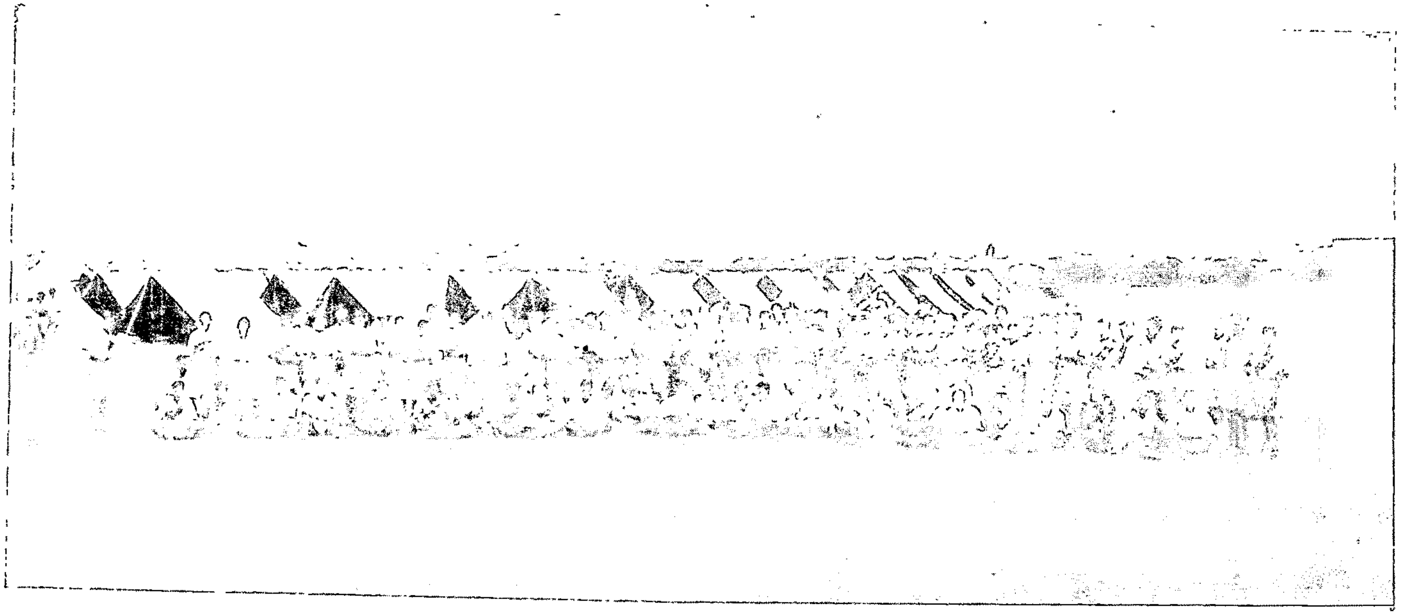


GUARDS OF HONOUR



OFF PARADE

THE BENGALI THEATRE

The theatrical amusement that we find in vogue now-a-days in India has its genesis in the influence of western civilisation. The precursors of the modern theatre in Bengal were a handful of Europeans who had established, towards the commencement of British rule, amateur music halls in Calcutta and played for their own recreation. Before the introduction of the stage, the musical diversion of the people of Bengal chiefly consisted in balladic and rhapsodical performances known as *Yātrā*, *Kāthā*, and in other entertainments of logomachy such as *Kavi*, *Pāñçāli*, *Tarjā* and *Ākdai*. There was a time in the dramatic history of India when performance by means of the stage was very well-known, as is evident from the memorable work of Bharata on dramaturgy which very comprehensively deals, among others, with details of building the stage and the auditorium with all the paraphernalia of musical establishment.[1] It is true that dramaturgy in ancient India had reached the high-water mark of perfection, but it is equally true that in the 18th century the Bengalees were living at a time far removed from the glorious days of old, when all their precious heritage was but a thing of the past; it was their contact with the Europeans that awakened in them the dormant love of the stage. The Old Playhouse in Lal Bazar was the first English theatre in Calcutta and appears to have been established a few years before the siege of Calcutta in 1756. The earliest adaptation of European dramatic form to the Bengali stage can be traced to the efforts of a Russian adventurer, Herasim Lebedeff, who in 1795 built 'by permission of the Hon. the Governor General,' an Indian theatre in 'Dom Tollah' (in the 'centre of Calcutta'), for which two English plays—*The Disguise* and *Love is the Best Doctor*—were translated by him into Bengali and performed in November 1795 and March 1796 with the help of 'native actors of both sexes.' There is no record of any other Bengali play till 1831; but the English theatre went on thriving. Prominent among the playhouses that followed was the "Chowringhee Theatre" which the English had established in 1813 but which had at first no attraction for the Bengalee, except, of course, a few aristocrats like Dwarakanath Tagore.[1] There was another English theatre of the name of "Sans Souci" which, established in 1841, acquired great reputation inasmuch as it counted among its actors respectable and cultured Europeans of rank, such as Horace Hayman Wilson, the distinguished Sanskritist, Torrens, a member of the Board, H. M. Parker, junior member of the Board and Hume, the Barrister, who rose to be Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta. The rich Bengalees who patronised these theatres were charmed by the wonderful novelty of foreign representation, specially by the beautiful scenes and their magical transformations, and they felt a keen desire to improve and embellish their own amusements after the model of the European stage.

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[1] It is interesting to note that a few years ago the late Dr. Bloch unearthed an ancient theatrical stage in a cave in Sirguja in Ramgarh, the ruins being proved to be 2300 years old. It is still more interesting to find that the description of the stage discovered in Ramgarh substantiates the account of stage-building in Bharata's work. See yotirindranath Tagore's article "প্রাচীন ভারতের নাট্যগৃহ নির্ম্মাণ পদ্ধতি" in the "Rangamanca," an ephemeral Bengali monthly of great interest, which was published in 1909 and survived only three months.

Thus was it that in 1831 a popular play of the name of *Vidyā-Sundar* was staged at an enormous expenditure in the house of Nabinchandra Basu in Shambazar.[2] The peculiarity of the performance lay in the fact that although it was not a true copy of the scenic representation of the English theatre, it displayed a clear attempt at renovation ; the female characters were enacted by the women of the town and the play was not performed at one and the same place in the house, but different scenes were put up and enacted in different parts of the building, where the audience had to shift with change of scenes.[1] Despite the inconvenience of a continuous scrimmage for seats in the different places of performance, the zeal of the spectators never flagged on account of the novelty of the amusement. The success of the performance was tremendous and its appreciation was commensurate with its cost, which amounted to the heavy sum of two lakhs of rupees. The performance became so very popular that it was continued, whenever there was an opportunity, for three or four successive years, in spite of the fact that there was considerable clamour against a certain feature of the performance, namely, that the representation of the female characters had to be done, not with the assistance of males as usual, but with that of low women. It is interesting to note that in the denunciation of the play in that particular respect the educated Englishmen also joined. Nevertheless, it was the scenic accompaniment of the performance of *Vidyā-Sundar* that created a general taste for enacting plays on this newly discovered line.

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[1] Life of Michael Madhusudan Dutt (in Bengali) by Jogendranath Basu, p. 209, f. n.

[2] The house was situated at the end of Krisnaram Basu's Street on the spot where we now find the Shambazar Tramway Depot.

But a great difficulty lay in the way, for there was, properly speaking, no such Bengali drama which would have served the purpose of the enthusiasts. In the absence of original Bengali plays they proceeded, influenced as they were by the charm of the English performances, to meet their want by enacting plays in English.[1] But it hardly satisfied the 'dramatic appetite' of the general public, for it was all Greek to them; they had already imbibed an inordinate taste for theatrical amusements and naturally looked forward to being entertained by appropriate plays written in their own language. Opportunities seemed to present themselves in the appearance of one or two sporadic compositions in Bengali, but they suffered from manifold defects and failed to satisfy the growing appetite of the people.[2] The imperfections of their language, of their diction and style, the want of attraction in the subject matter, the lack of the most elementary knowledge of dramatic devices on the part of their authors, such as "appearance" and "exit" and division of the play into different scenes, were all responsible for the apathy of the people who had already been profoundly impressed by the excellence of the English play. Things went on in this way until the appearance and performance in 1857 of a Bengali drama composed by Pandit Ramnarayan Tarkaratna.

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[1] For instance, the court of Bir-Sinha was got up in a spacious drawing room; Sundar's seat under a Bakul tree had to be fashioned beside a tank in the precincts of the house; while, the tunnel of Sundar had to be displayed by digging a subterranean way from one room to another.

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[1] Their first attempt in this direction was marked by the performance of *Uttara-rāma-çarita* rendered into English from the original Sanskrit by Prof. Wilson of the Sanskrit College at the behest of Prasannakumar Tagore in whose garden-house the play was staged in 1832. Wilson himself took part in the performance along with a number of students of the Sanskrit College and the Hindu College. Performance after the English mode gradually became an infection amongst college students and there was no want of enthusiasts to accentuate them in their new digression. Prominent amongst these were Captain Richardson of the Hindu College and a Frenchman of the name of Hermann Jeffroy, Principal of the Oriental Seminary, both of whom were veteran theatre-lovers. The next English performance by the Bengalees was that of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, enacted on the 29th of March, 1837, by the students of the Hindu College at the "White House," the residence of the then Governor-General, Lord Auckland. In 1840 a perfomance on a larger scale of *Julius Cæsar* was being arranged by Jeffroy with the help of College students in honour of Lord Auckland's projected visit to the Oriental Seminary, but it had to be dropped on account of the enormity of the cost the paraphernalia would entail. Twelve years later *Julius Cæsar* was performed in the Metropolitan Academy (then situated on Chitpore Road) by the neverfailing Jeffroy and another Frenchman who was a friend of his, and by Clinger, a distinguished actor of the "Sans Souci." The play was again staged in the same year (1852) at the house (situated on Baranashi Ghosh Street) of the late Pyarimohan Basu, the nephew (brother's son) of Nabin Basu, the patron of the performance, of *Vidyasundar* already mentioned. It is interesting to note that amongst others who took part in the representation of *Julius Cæsar* was Brojanath Basu, the father of Mahendralal Basu, the great "tragedian." The success of *Julius Cæsar* encouraged a number of old students of the Oriental Seminary, who were all lovers of the dramatic art, to establish a theatre in their school, to which they gave the name of the "Oriental Theatre"; the training was imparted by three experts namely, Roberts, Clinger, both of the "Sans Souci," and Parker of the Chowringhee Theatre. Amongst the four plays staged by the Oriental Theatre, which survived till 1855, three were by Shakespeare, *viz.*, *Othello*, *Merchant of Venice*, *Henry IV*, the fourth one being a play named *the Amateurs*.

[2] In the 8th number of the "Saṁbād Kaumadī," a Bengali newspaper published in 1821, there is a criticism of the performance of a Bengali drama named *Kalirājār Yātrā*. No trace has, however, hitherto been found of its existence. Again, as late as the year 1853 or 1854, there appeared a Bengali drama named *Bhadrārjun*, written by one Tarachand

The year 1857 is a memorable year in the history of the dramatic literature of Bengal, for it witnessed the publication of a drama which, by its originality and purpose, removed a want, long standing and keenly felt, and sounded the death-knell of the practice, that had hitherto gained ground, of enacting dramas written in English. *Kulin-kul-sarvasva*, for such was the name of the play, found ready acceptance at the hands of the Bengalees, who had the satisfaction to feel that they were doing immense benefit to society by playing a drama the sole purpose of which was to point out the glaring evils of polygamy and of that exceptional social custom known as "Kaulinya."[1] The year 1857 further marks an epoch in the history of the Bengali stage as herein is to be found the beginning of the mode of scenic representation that is now in vogue in Bengal. The play

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Sikdar, a mathematician. This work along with another named *Bilvamangal*, belonging perhaps to the same time, is referred to by the biographer of Michael Madhusudan Dutt on page 211 of his memorable work.

[1] The genesis of the play is full of interest. Grieved at the degradation of the Hindu society of Bengal from over-adherence to the custom of Kaulinya and polygamy Kali-chandra Roy Chaudhury, a benevolent and patriotic Zemindar of village Kundi in the district of Rangpur had, in order to bring home to the public of Bengal the baneful influence of such a social custom, issued a notice, dated the 6th Kartic 1260 B.S., in the "Rangapur Bartabaha" to the effect that he would bestow a reward of rupees fifty upon the best producer of an elegant drama bearing the name of *Kulin-kul-sarvasra* to be composed in the Bengali language (গৌড়ীয় ভাষায়) within six months. It is needless to say that Pandit Ramnarayan Tarkaratna was the honourable recipient of this reward

was mounted with all the novelty that latest designs of the stage could produce. Its originality, combined with the excellence of its drapery, forthwith gained the applause of the people and expectation ran high with regard to the immediate production of further original plays.

It is worth while to note that the Bengali plays that immediately followed were not original but mere translations from well-known Sanskrit texts, a fact which abundantly proves that the days had long gone by when preference for English representation had made English translation from Sanskrit possible and necessary. It is true that there was still as much lack of original plays at that time as there was in 1832, but at the same time it is doubly true that the prospect of appearance of original plays was not very remote. The exploitation of Sanskrit plays had laid the ground for original conception and a very near approach to originality was clearly visible with the approach of Madhusudan's *Sharmiṣṭhā* in 1859. Before proceeding further, it would be of interest to study the incidents of dramatic history chronologically from the appearance of *Kulin-kul-sarvasva* till the staging of *Ratnávalī*, a period of dramatic activity characterised mainly by literary endeavours at translation:

1857 (1) First performance of *Kulin-kul-sarvasva* at the house of Jayaram Basak in Çarakdanga, Pathuriaghata. It is worthy of note that amongst those who took part in the performance was Beharilal Chatterjee, who later on became actor, dramatist and manager of the "Bengal Theatre." Behari Chatterjee had to enact a female character in the play.

(2) Performance of *Shakuntalā*, on the day following the performance of *Kulin-kul-sarvasva*, at the house of Ashutosh Deb, better known as "Chātu Babu," under whose patronage a

Bengali translation of *Shakuntalā* had been rendered from Sanskrit. Saratchandra Ghosh, the future proprietor of the "Bengal Theatre" was amongst the actors, and noticeable among the spectators were Rajas Pratap Chandra Sing and Iswar Chandra Sing of Paikpara and Babu (afterwards Maharaja) Jotindra Mohan Tagore.

(3) First performance of *Beṇī-saṁhār*, translated from Sanskrit by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, at the Jorasanko residence of Kali Prasanna Singh, the well-known translator of the Mahabharata. Notable among the persons who took part in this performance were Kali Prasanna Singh himself, Umesh Chandra Banerjee (afterwards known as W. C. Bonnerjee, Bar-at-Law), and Beharilal Chatterjee.

(4) First performance of a Bengali translation of *Békramorboshī* at the house of Kaliprasanna Singh, eight months after the performance of *Beṇī-saṁhar*. Encouraged by the success of *Beṇī-saṁhār*, he had himself translated *Bikramorboshī* into Bengali with the assistance of a number of Pundits, and appeared in the role of "Purūrabā." Sir Cecil Beadon, the then Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and a few other officials of rank were among the distinguished spectators who were invited to witness the performance.

1858 First performance of a Bengali version of *Ratnávalī* on the 31st July, at the Belgachia garden house of Raja Iswar Chandra Singha, with unprecedented pomp and eclat.

The year 1858, the year of the performance of *Ratnâvalī* marks a further step in the development of the Bengali theatre. Unlike the previous plays it was performed on a stage which had been permanently constructed through the munificence of the Rajas of Paikpara in their garden house at Belgachia. Another new departure was noticeable in the fact that it was the first Bengali drama that was played to the accompaniment of the orchestra after the manner of the English theatres.[1] The production of *Ratnâvalī* was, moreover, a turning point in the history of dramatic literature in so far as it was the precursor of a host of original compositions in Bengali, pioneered by *Sharmiṣṭha* of Michael Madhusudan Dutt. The following is a list of plays and performances that followed *Ratnâvalī*:

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[1] The construction of the permanent stage at Belgachia has an interesting history. The performance of *Shakuntalā* on renovated lines, held at the house of Chātu Babu had left a profound impression on such admirers of drama as Jotindra Mohan Tagore, Rajas Protap Chandra and Iswar Chandra, who were present at the performance as spectators. At the conclusion of the play Jotindra Mohan incidentally pointed out to Raja Iswar Chandra the utility of establishing a permanent stage instead of spending thousands over the amusement of a day. The suggestion was extremely liked by the Raja and his brother who had all along been great enthusiasts of performances in Bengali, and their friends, too, were delighted at the suggestion. They decided to construct a permanent stage in the beautiful garden house of Belgachia which they had recently purchased from Dwarkanath Tagore, and Raja Iswar Chandra volunteered to bear the cost of construction and other incidental expenses of performance. It was further pointed out by Jotindra Mohan Tagore that the creation of a national orchestra was as much a necessity as that of a national stage, a suggestion which was also turned into account. An orchestra was formed after the manner of the English theatres under the direction of Kshetramohan Goswami, a professor of music. This was the beginning of the modern concert party which is indispensable to theatres. At the request of the Rajas, Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, the reputed author of *Kulin-kul-sarvasva*, wrote a drama in Bengali as an adaptation from *Ratnâvalī* of Srīharṣa. The songs were composed by Guru Doyal Choudhury, the friend and pupil of Iswar Gupta and the training of the actors was entrusted into the able hands of Keshab Chandra Ganguly. In order to make the play intelligible to Europeans, Parsis and Jews, amongst whom the Rajas had a good many friends and acquaintances whom they invited, an English translation of the play was made with the assistance of Michael Madhusudhan Dutt. The play was witnessed by men of all communities and of the highest rank and position, amongst whom are to be mentioned Sir Frederick Halliday, Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Harish Chandra Mukherjee and several Judges of the High Court, Magistrates and Commissioners.

1859 (1) First performance in September of Michael Madhusudhan Dutt's *Sharmiṣṭhā* at the Belgachia theatre.[1] It was performed with the same splendour as marked the production of *Ratnâvalī*, and like *Ratnâvalī*, too, it was translated into English by the author. It was composed on the model of English plays and secured many admirers amongst the cultured class, although it was looked down upon by the orthodox Pundits of the day. With the appearance of *Sharmisthā* the reputation that was Ramnarayan's passed on to Madhusudan, for people felt an *ennui* in translations from Sanskrit and seemed to prefer the western mode of presentation to the antiquated diction of the Sanskrit drama.

(2) Second performance of *Shakuntalā* at the Ahiritola residence of Chandra Nath Mookerjee, the well-known Zemindar of Janāi.[2]

1860 Performance of a play named *Biāhabā-Bibāha* [3] under the training and supervision of the renowned Keshab Chandra Sen, at the house of Gopal Lall Mullik in Sinduriapaty, Barabazar. Its principal object was to eclipse the reputation of the Belgachia Theatre, and with that end in view its organisers worked steadily and well. The scenes were painted by a distinguished English artist and the songs and orchestra were entrusted to expert hands. According to the "Biswakosh," the performance was in no way inferior to that of the Belgachia Theatre, and the cost amounted to four thousand rupees.

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[1] Although Michael's English rendering of *Ratnâvalī* was applauded by the educated—and Sir Frederick Halliday was one of them,—he himself had no high regard for the work and he took exception, as he said to his friend Gourdas Basak, to the lavish expenditure of the Rajas of Paikpara over this 'worthless' play. When Gourdas told him that there was a dearth of suitable dramas in Bengali, he forthwith set to compose a play in that language. The task of translating *Ratnâvalī* into English had compelled him to make a somewhat critical study of the language, with the result that when the time came for him to compose in Bengali, he did it with great facility. This accounts for his speedy production of *Sharmiṣṭhā*.

[2] Appreciations of the play appeared in the "Saṁbād-Prabhâkar" and the "Bhāskar." The performance was witnessed by notable men like Iswar Chandra Gupta, Kali Prasanna Singh, Sarat Chandra Ghosh, the founder of the "Bengal Theatre," Pandit Dwaraka Nath Vidyabhusan and the Magistrate of Serampur.

[3] The *Harkaru*, a Bengali newspaper of the time, contains notices and criticisms of the play. The cast included a few notable names, *e. g.*, Krishna Behari Sen, brother of Keshab Chandra Sen, Protap Chandra Majumdar, Bhola Nath Chakrabartty, and Narendra Nath Sen of the "Indian Mirror."

1864 (1) Madhusudan's *Eke-i-ki-bale-sabhyatā*, performed at the residence of Raja Devi Krishna Deb. The Rajas of Shobhabazar established a theatrical company under the name of "the Shobhabazar Private Theatrical Society," which was accommodated in the outhouse of Chamatkar Krishna Ghosh. The Society held three performances of the play and the renowned poet Hemchandra Banerjee, was one of the spectators.[1]

(2) Performance of a drama named *Nala-Dama-yantī*[2] composed by Kalidas Sanyal under the care and supervision of Gopal Chandra Chakravarty of Baghbazar. The cast included among others the name of Girishchandra Ghosh, not the celebrated poet and dramatist, but the one who was known as "Girish, the chubby" ("ল্যাদাড় গিরিশ").

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[1] A detailed account of the play appeared in the "Hindu Patriot."

[2] The play was also produced outside Calcutta, in Burdwan, Bhatpara and other places. It is said that Mahatapchand, the Raja of Burdwan, was so greatly delighted to witness the play that he gave the author a responsible post in his estate.

Two years later another drama named *Induprabhā* by Girish Chandra Banerjee of village Cata Maheshtala was acted by the same staff for at least seven successive times.

1865 *Mālabikāgnimitra*, performed at the Pathuriaghata Rajbati, at the instance of Jotindra Mohan Tagore. He had a permanent stage erected in his palace where his own works were produced from time to time—namely, *Jeman karma temni phal*, *Vidya-sundar*, *Mālati-mādhab*, *Ubhai-samkat*, *Chakshu-dān*, *Bujhle ki*, *Rukmini Haran*. It is to be specially noticed that free tickets were issued, and those who could not produce tickets at the gate ran the risk of being insulted by the durwans and had often to come away.

1866 (1) The following plays appeared and were performed in the month of Baishāk (April-May) :—*Mahāshvetā*, *Shakuntalā*, Madhusudan's *Buro shaliker ghare rom*, Nimai Charan Seal's *Chandrābalī* and a farce named *Erāi ābar Baro lok*.

(2) Performance in the month of Çaitra (March) of a drama named *Sītār Banabās* by Umesh Chandra Mitra at the house of Nilmani Mitra, the old family residence of the late Sir Ramesh Chandra Mitter.

(3) Madhusudan's *Padmāvatī*, performed in Simulia (Suripara). It is noteworthy that Nagendra Nath Banerjee, one of the founders of the public theatre, used to coach the actors.

1867 (1) Madhusudan's *Kṛṣnakumārī* performed on the 12th February at the Sobhabazar Rajbati. It is of special interest to note tha the spectators who had assembled that night was Girishchandra Ghosh, the father of the public stage of Bengal, who was only 23 years old at that time. The hero "Bhīm Singha" was enacted by Beharilal Chakravarty, who, it is not out of place to point out, was far outshone by Girish Chandra six years later when the latter acted the part with unprecedented success.

(2) *Nabanāṭak*,[1] a prize-composition by Ramnarayan Tarkaratna, dealing with the evils of polygamy, performed on the 6th January by the "Jorasanko Natya Samaj" at the residence of Girindranath Tagore, son of Dwarkanath Tagore.

(3) Second performance, on the 14th September, of Madhusudan's *Padmābatī* at 309, Upper Chitpore Road, the house of Panchkauri Mitra, son of the renowned Joy Chand Mitra. The rehearsal master was Beharilal Chakrabarti and the music masters were Jowala Prasad, the reputed musician, and Nitai Chakrabarti.

(4) Performance on the 2nd November at the Kaylahata house of Harendra Mookerjee (Ratan Sarkar's Garden Street, Jorasanko) of a farce named *Kichu Kichu Bujhi* composed by Bholanath Mookerjee, an able hand in composing plays and retaliatory verses for *Yatra*, *Panchali*, *Tarja* composed as a retort

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[1] Ram Narayan Tarkaratna had, by his original writings, gained by this time the appellation of "Nāṭuke Nārān." The play was natural and consistent to a degree. If we are to judge by the subsequent verdict of Ardhendusekhar Mustafi, one of the founders of he modern stage, who was a cousin of Jotindra Mohan Tagore and used to live with
t was this performance of "*Nabanâtak*" that afforded a finish to what yet rem
to learn about the dramatic art.

to Jotindra Mohan Tagore's *Bujhle-kinā.* The performance is noteworthy as it marked the beginning of the dramatic activities of two of the leaders of the future public stage—Ardhendusekhar Mustaphi and Dharmadas Sur. The former was the rehearsal master and acted the parts of "Dantabakra," "Murad Ali" and "Candanbilās"[1] and Dharmadas Sur, the renowned stage manager of the later days, was entrusted with the construction of the stage and acted the part of "Candanbilāsī."

1868 Another performance of *Ratnābalī* at the house of Jadu Nath Chatterjee (Rajballabhpara, Baghbazar) and of a new farce (the title of which is not known) by Priyamadhab Basumallik, as a counterblast to *Kichu Kichu Bujhi.*

The time had now come when this mode of digression had caught hold of the popular mind and spread through the length and breadth of Calcutta. Among the places that could boast of having theatrical companies were such quarters of Calcutta as Chorebagan and Bowbazar, and such places in the suburb as Bhowanipur and Shibpur. The activities extended even beyond the limits of Calcutta and we have references to performances in Chinsurah and other muffasil towns. Of the theatrical parties that were formed in 1868 perhaps the most remarkable was the amateur party of Bowbazar known

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The diverse intonations and gesticulations of Ardhendusekhar, an expert in mimi-
vere so charming that Madhusudan who was among the spectators exclaime
করে বাবা বুঝিকে !" meaning that the original play of J. M. Tagore to which th
t one was a reply, was absolutely worthless. Ardhendu's participation in this rival
nance gave umbrage to J. M. Tagore; and especially to his brother Saurindra
Tagore, whose chronic toothache had been caricatured in the part of "Dantabakra"
Ardhendu had the misfortune to enact; the result was that Ardhendu had to leave
of the Tagores.

as the "Bahubājār Abaitanik Nātya Sāmaj.") It made no insignificant contribution to the history of the growth of the Bengali theatre, inasmuch as it was on board the permanent stage constructed by the well-known Boses of Bowbazar (then living at 25, Biswanath Motilal's Lane, now 1, Govind Sirkar Lane) that the dramatic productions of Monomohan Basu had found a convenient place of nourishment. The Boses were represented on the stage by Motilal Bose and Chunilal Bose in collaboration with a few members of the neighbouring family of the Dhars—all led by the energetic organiser and actor Protap Chandra Banerjee. (It was the Boses who bore all the cost of the performances) usually held on Saturdays, and also the inordinate expenses involved by the entertainment of distinguished guests, week in, week out, for a period of over six years, after which the amusement had to be stopped for want of funds. (The plays that were staged by the Bowbazar theatre were *Rāmer Rājyābhisek*, *Satinātak*, *Harish Chandra*, all composed by Monomohan Basu.) The perfection of the whole spectacle, in song, scenery, dress, acting, orchestral performance and general management created a sensation in the town and elicited prompt applause of Indians and Europeans alike.

The record of plays and performances that we have hitherto noticed since the indigenous attempt of 1831 is by no means meagre and insignificant. It must be admitted that the endeavours of individual organisers do no little credit to them, but the fact still remains that they could not be said to have taken interest in the performances for the delectation of the public. Although there was a time when a desire had grown in the Tagores to make their performances more and more popular by the issue of "free tickets," it must be rememl that a close discrimination was, as a rule, made in selection of guests, who were mostly men of rank and tion. Thus, the "free tickets" were not meant for general public and they were sadly disappointed, however deeply they might have been fascinated by the dramatic art. But herein was laid the germ of a conception that animated a number of young enthusiasts for the establishment of a play-house that would minister to the joy and pleasure of the people.

The restriction in the distribution of "free tickets" and the rigidity of the rules for admittance observed in the Tagores' performances had left a deep impression on the mind of a spectator whose immediate thought was to find means by which the conservatism of the Tagores might be replaced by extensive and unrestricted exhibition of plays, where catholicity would not recognise barriers of wealth or position, colour or creed. The spectator was no other than the young Girishchandra Ghosh himself. The question of expenditure was, however, a stumbling block to any scheme that did not carry with it the prospect of patronage by the wealthy aristocrat. Nevertheless, hope had sprung from the depth of despair. Girishchandra in consultation with some of his friends and neighbours such as Nagendra Nath Banerjee and Dharmadas Sur, decided that the idea of a "Yātrā" party was not altogether bad from the point of view of costs, and he accordingly formed a company at Baghbazar in 1867 and arranged to play Madhusudan's *Sharmiṣṭhā.* Owing to the necessity for a few additional songs, the renowned composer Priya Madhab Mullik was approached but his unconcealed indifference threw the enthusiasts back upon their own resources. The task fell upon Girishchandra, who in collaboration with a friend, Umesh Chandra Choudhury, composed all the required songs. *Sharmiṣṭhā* was produced and had a successful run at Baghbazar. Meanwhile, Girishchandra had not banished his cherished desire of forming a theatrical company, although the impossibility of such a contingency was ever staring him in the face. A nice opportunity, however, soon presented itself before him. At about this time Dinabandhu Mitra had produced his memorable work *Sadhabār Ekādashī* which gained unprecedented popularity and became a talk of the town. One could almost hear the utterances of "Nimchand" coming out with glee and enthusiasm from the lips of Young Bengal. The foresight of Girishchandra immediately discerned the fitness of the play for a moderate scale of performance, beyond which funds would not permit them to proceed. The fact of its being a social drama obviated much of the difficulties with which the organisers had been hitherto beset. For, so far as dress and drapery were concerned, the play would entail no cost whatever, as the parts could well been enacted with the help of the simple and ordinary raiments used by the Bengalee. As for the scenes, Girishchandra pointed out they could be tolerably improvised. The suggestions were excellent and the young men immediately set to work. The rehearsal was commenced and held at the residence of Arun Chandra Haldar, Hara Lal Mitra's Lane ("Mookerjee Para"), Baghbazar, the actors having been selected from the same amateur company of Baghbazar as had lately held the performance of the "Sharmiṣṭha Yātrā." The necessity was felt for the introduction of songs into the play, and Girishchandra, who had already gained some reputation as a man of learning and culture, having been seriously engaged in literary pursuits even while working as a Book-Keeper at Messrs. Atkinson Tilton & Co., was naturally approached, and he composed a few songs according to the tune of some popular Hindi verses current at the time. He further introduced, following the practice of the day, a prologue to the drama which was wanting in the original.

Meanwhile, new strength was infused into the staff of the Baghbazar Amateur Company by the acquisition of an actor who was destined to leave an illustrious name in the history of the Bengali stage. This was the great

Ardhendusekhar Mustaphi.[1] The interest which Ardhendu used to take in plays and performances had induced him to appear at the rehearsal of *Sadhabār Ekādashī,* which was being conducted by Girishchandra. This accidental visit was the origin of the strong link that was forged between two master-minds, himself and Girishchandra, a union which made it possible for the Bengali stage to be what it is to-day. Girishchandra had heard of the talents of Ardhendusekhar from some mutual friends and welcomed their suggestion to include him in the company. He was relieved of the strain he was undergoing by having had to work at office during day time and conduct rehearsal at night, for Ardhendu undertook to coach a number of actors who were given minor parts. The extraordinary powers of Ardhendu were immediately discovered,[2] and Arunchandra Haldar who had been entrusted with the role of "Kenārām," gladly offered to give it up to make room for him.

Then came the memorable evening, the evening of the Saptami of the Shāradiyā Pūjā of 1275 B. S. (1869), when the long cherished ambition of the distinguished band of young enthusiasts found [illegible] in the first performance of Dinabandhu's maiden enterprise. The personnel of the staff included, besides Girishchandra and Ardhendusekhar, a few noteworthy names that later on contributed to the grace and glory of the Bengali stage, such as Nagendranath Banerjee, Radha Madhab Kar and Amritalal Mookerjee, better known as "Captain Bell." The success that attended the performance was unique and Girishchandra's representation of the most difficult role of "Nimchand" eclipsed the glory of all his predecessors. Although it was his *debut*, his pronunciation of the copious English quotations in the drama, accompanied by his thorough understanding of the principal character, inspired the audience with awe and reverence. This was an achievement which for a long period of time remained fresh in the memory of people and is still fondly cherished by many.[1] The organisers of the play had hardly foreseen that the seed they had sown in a spirit of gaiety and sport would germinate in the fulness of time and spread broadcast with all its thick-grown ramifications. Dinabandhu's *Sadhabār Ekādashī* was the harbinger of what we now know as the "public" theatres of Bengal—a fact which was clearly admitted by Girishchandra in his dedication of *Shāsti-ki-Shānti* to Dinabandhu Mitra, whom he saluted in genuine humility as the creator of the Bengali stage. Between 1869 and 1870 this drama was staged no less than six times in different places in Calcutta. The third and the fourth performances were most noteworthy. The former was witnessed by the author himself, his friends and many respectable gentlemen, amongst whom were "Bijoo—Bahadur" of Sobhabazar, Gopal Lal Mitter, Vice-Chairman of the Calcutta Municipality and Durgadas Kar, the reputed physician. So profoundly was the author impressed by the talents of Girishchandra who had appeared as "Nimchand" that he offered his congratulations to him, saying: "But for you this play would not have been staged. It appears as if 'Nimchand' were conceived for you and you alone." No less was his appreciation of Ardhendu who had appeared on that occasion in the rôle of "Jībanchandra." In Act I, Scene II, Ardhendu, as "Jībanchandra" had transgressed the author in that he gave a kick to "Aṭal" at the time of his exit, an action which drew the approbation of Dinabandhu who had the magnanimity to confess that it was surely an "improvement on the author." The fourth performance was no less excellent and the unique success that it achieved is amply borne out by the eulogistic references which Babu (subsequently, Mr. Justice) Sarada Charan Mitra, himself a spectator, made in the Agrahāyan number (1321 B. S.) of the "Banga-darshan."[1] The seventh performance which was held at the Chorebagan residence of Lakshminarayan Datta, grandfather of the renowned actor, the late Amarendra Nath Datta, had a special feature in that it was supplemented by a new farce by the same author, named *Biye Pāglā Buro.* As a prologue to the farce the following lines were composed by Girishchandra and recited by him (*i.e.*, by "Nimchand," in which role he was appearing) at the close of *Sadhabār Ekādashī*, by way of ushering in the new farce:—

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[1] For the antecedents of Ardhendusekhar, see *ante* and the paper entitled "বঙ্গীয় নাট্যশালায় নটচূড়ামণি স্বর্গীয় অর্দ্ধেন্দুশেখর মুস্তফী" read three days after his death by Girishchandra on a play-night at the Minerva Theatre on the 19th September, 1908.

[2] Girishchandra himself has borne witness to the excellence of Ardhendu's mode of teaching, especially the latter's coaching of the parts of the "Darwans" in the play—*Ibid.*

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[1] The *Bengalee*, writing on the day following Girishchandra's death, had the following lines in its columns:—"About forty-five years ago Girishchandra appeared in the inimitable role of Nimchand in Dinabandhu's *Sadhabar Ekadashi* and when he awoke the next morning he found himself an actor."

> " মাতলামীটে ফুরিয়ে গেল, দেখুন বুড়োর রং।
> বাসর ঘরে টোপর পরে কিবা বিয়ের ঢং ॥
> আয়না নসে, রতা কোথা যা পারিস তা বল।
> ক্ষমা করিবেন দোষ রসিক মণ্ডল ॥
> আসছে এবার ছোঁড়ার দল, ভুবনো নসে রতা।
> সভ্যগণ নমস্কার, ফুরালো আমার কথা ॥ "

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[1] The following is an extract from the article entitled "Dinabandhu Mitra," bearing on the fourth performance of *Sadhabār Ekādashī* :—"১৮৭০ সালের ফেব্রুয়ারী মাসে সরস্বতী পূজার রাত্রে কলিকাতার শ্যামবাজারে রায় রামপ্রসাদ মিত্র বাহাদুরের বাটীতে আমি 'সধবার একাদশীর" অভিনয় প্রথম দেখি। সেই দিন আমাদের এম,এ, পরীক্ষা শেষ হইয়াছিল। * * নিদ্রাদেবীর আরাধনা ত্যাগ করিয়া আমি রামবাবুর বাটীতে অভিনয় দেখিতে গিয়াছিলাম। বাবু গিরিশচন্দ্র ঘোষ বাঙ্লার নব্যধরণের নাটকের সৃষ্টি-কর্ত্তা; সেদিন কবিবর "গিরিশ" স্বয়ং "নিমচাঁদ"। "সধবার একাদশী" পূর্ব্বে পড়িয়াছিলাম, কিন্তু সেদিনের অভিনয় দেখিয়া, বিশেষতঃ "নিমচাঁদের" অভিনয় দেখিয়া আমি আনন্দে আপ্লুত হইলাম। বয়োবৃদ্ধি বশতঃ ক্রমশঃ অনেক জিনিষ ভুলিয়াছি, আরও কত ভুলিব, ইংরাজী, বাঙ্লা, সংস্কৃত, অনেক নাটক পড়িয়াছি, অধিকাংশের নামমাত্র স্মরণ আছে। কিন্তু সে রাত্রের নিমচাঁদের অভিনয় বোধ হয় কখনও ভুলিব না। সেই রাত্রি হইতে কবি দীনবন্ধুর উপর আমার শ্রদ্ধা-ভক্তি পূর্ব্বাপেক্ষা অনেক বেশী হইল, অভিনয়ের নৈপুণ্যের জন্য গিরিশের উপর বিশেষ শ্রদ্ধা হইল। গিরিশবাবুর ভ্রাতা অতুলকৃষ্ণ আমার সহাধ্যায়ী ও চিরবন্ধু। সুতরাং অনতিপরেই আমি গিরিশবাবুর সুপরিচিত হইলাম। গিরিশবাবু এখন আমার শ্রদ্ধেয় পরম বন্ধু।"

—Ardhendu and Radha Madhab appeared in the roles of "Rajib," and "Ratā," respectively.

The next achievement of the enterprising youths was the performance of *Līlābatī* another drama of Dīnabandhu. This performance was important in more ways than one, as it not only pushed further the cause of the Bengali theatre but also afforded a convenient opportunity of erecting a permanent stage. The beginnings of the "National Theatre" are laid in the performance of "*Līlābatī*," the history of which is as important as it is interesting. Impressed with the success of *Sadhabār Ekādashī*, Dīnabandhu had offered a suggestion to Girishchandra to take up his recent production *Līlābatī* as a subject for performance; to this he forthwith agreed and commenced the rehearsal of the play. Meanwhile, the organisers had succeeded in raising a small sum through the subscription of the neighbours, which, however, was wholly spent to cover the cost of a single scene painted by a native artist, named Gobordhan. The idea of holding the performance on an improved scale was ever present in Girishchandra's mind, and he was bent upon having a permanent stage erected and the play produced with scenic representation—a project which received the hearty support of, and was considerably pushed on by, another enthusiast who, however, was not destined to live to see its fulfilment. He was no other than Brajanath Deb, the brother of Girishchandra's wife. He and Girishchandra had thought out a happy plan for the purpose of raising funds,—and that was to persuade the brokers of the firm of Messrs. Atkinson, Tilton and Co., where both were working as Book-keepers, to contribute to the cost of a stage in lieu of the "commission" which was due to them, but which they had never been in the habit of claiming. With the sum that was thus collected they proceeded to erect a stage on the courtyard of a house in Shampukur. Simultaneously with the construction of the platform, Brajanath, who was the chief organiser, fell seriously ill and soon after died. The work had to be stopped and the planks removed nearer home to Baghbazar, where on a plot of land facing the house of Dharmadas Sur in Kaliprasad Chakrabarty's land, they were fitted into a platform. At this juncture help came through an unforeseen circumstance. A poor English sailor named McLean used to come for alms occasionally to Baghbazar. His duties in his ship had taught him to prepare paint, and his merit did not pass unnoticed in Baghbazar, for Dharmadas who was busy with the preparation of the scenes was the first to realise the usefulness of McLean. He stipulated with the latter that he would provide him with boarding if he would undertake to prepare paint for the scenes and look after the planks. They were thus proceeding with the preliminaries when an incident happened which gave a further impetus to the cause of the Baghbazar party.

The "Amrita Bazar Patrika" had reported in its columns that the very play *Līlābati*, slightly altered and abridged by the great Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, had been staged in Chinsurah under the direction and training of Bankim Chandra and Akshay Chandra Sarkar; the play, it was added had won the applause of the town. Nagendra, Ardhendu, Dharmadas and a few others, discouraged by the success of a hitherto unreckoned rival company, hastened to Girishchandra and said, "Will you bear to see us defeated by the Chinsurah party?" At this Girishchanda was intensely stirred and burst forth with the words, "We shall have to stage the play without altering a single word of it, and, what is more, we must defeat the Chinsurah party by all means." Everyone of them went about his business with renewed vigour and energy, working day and night. The rehearsal was conducted by Girishchandra himself, who brought to bear upon his task all that was best in him, and moreover composed, as he had done in the case of *Sadhabār Ekādashī*, all the songs that were thought necessary to be introduced. Dharmadas, too, hurried on breathlessly with painting scenes and constructing the stage, having fortunately been relieved by a generous substitute of his duties as teacher in a preparatory school.[1] The preliminaries having been rushed through, the sedulous endeavours of the Baghbazar Company, which now assumed the name and title of the "Calcutta National Theatre" and subsequently the "National Theatre,"[2] found expression in the long looked for performance of *Līlabatī* (July, 1871) on the permanent stage erected at the residence of Rajendralal Pal in Shambazar. The success that attended the performance was beyond all expectation, and the delight of Dinabandhu, who was himself present, knew no bounds.[3] The play was witnessed by a number of respectable and influential gentlemen including the author himself and Dr. Mahendra Lal Sarkar, all of whom had their words of appreciation for the men in the cast. *Līlabatī* became so popular that it had to be staged every Saturday. Spectators came in thousands, and in order to avoid rush and ensure proper accommodation, free tickets had to be issued only to those who were capable of understanding the play. It is amusing to note that people kept on pouring in large numbers for tickets, armed with certificates of their eligibility. After a successive run of five nights the play had to be stopped owing to tremendous rain and storm.

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[1] It is interesting to note that the substitute was no other than the renowned dramatist Amritalal Basu, who is still alive. He and Ardhendu had volunteered to do the school work on behalf of Dharmadas in order to enable the latter to pay undivided attention to his scene-painting so as to bring the projected performance to perfection. Amritalal's dramatic tastes had induced him to come and watch the progress of the work of Dharmadas, during the short time he came to stay in Calcutta from Benares, where he was practising as a Homeopath. Although he did not identify himself with the party on this occasion, this was the beginning of an association which proved most valuable to the interests of the stage and the drama in Bengal.

[2] The name "National" was given to the Baghbazar Amateur Theatre according to the suggestion of Nabagopal Mitra, the editor of the National Magazine. He was so very fond of the word "National" with which he stamped every work of his, that people gave him the nick name of "National Nabagopal."

[3] Girishchandra has written in his pamphlet entitled "বঙ্গীয় নাট্যশালায় নটচূড়ামণি স্বর্গীয় অর্দ্ধেন্দুশেখর মুস্তফী": "The performance of Lilabati elicited great applause. Charmed by our representation Dīnabandhu Babu said to me: 'The Chinsurah Party cannot bear comparison with you, I shall write to Bankim crying shame on him.' Moreover, the late distinguished physician Kanailal De, after a comparison of our perfomance with the Tagores' had expressed to us that he would go to the Tagores and tell them that their performance was somewhat like 'rearing the crow in a golden cage.'"

The "National Theatre" now took up *Nīldarpan*, that ever famous production of Dīnabandhu, at the suggestion of Girishchandra and the author himself, and Bhuban Mohan Niyogi, a neighbour and kinsman of Dharmadas Sur, offered a house on the bank of the Ganges for the rehearsal of the new play. Just on the eve of the staging of *Nīldarpan* there arose a great misunderstanding amongst the staff over the question of holding the performance by 'sale of tickets,' with the result that the party was split up into two opposite camps, of which the one, led by Ardhendu, supported the new proposal and the other, headed by Girishchandra, was decidedly against it. The reception which *Līlābatī* had at the hands of the public, had emboldened some of the actors to give up playing amateur, for, they thought that was calculated to be profitable in that it might open a source of income which would benefit many a poor member of the party. But Girishchandra argued otherwise. He thought that such a course, if adopted, would hold them up to the ridicule of men belonging to other nationalities who were already in the habit of turning up their nose at the very mention of the name "Bengalee." The poor and backward condition of their stage would hardly warrant selling of tickets under the name and style of the "National Theatre," a presumption which Girishchandra regarded as most unhappy and premature. But the majority was against Girishchandra, who, however, instead of giving in, severed his connection with the theatre and was followed by a number of his supporters such as Radhamadhab Kar, Jogendra Nath Mitra, Suresh Chandra Mitra, Mohendra Lal Banerjee. Beni Madhab Mitra was elected President and the role of "Mr. Wood" in which Girishchandra was to have appeared was transferred to Ardhendu, and the other forsaken roles were distributed amongst Ardhendu, Matilal Sur, Mahendra Lal Bose and Amritalal Bose, [1] the latter having just come from Benares to stay a few days in Calcutta. They rented the courtyard of the residence of the late Madhusudan Sanyal of Jorasanko (the house is now numbered 365, Upper Chitpur Road and is well-known as the "clock-set house" of the Mullicks), constructed a stage and held the first public performance of *Nīldarpan* on the 7th December, 1872. This was a red-letter day in the history of the Bengali stage, for it marked the commencement of a new era which completely did away with the amateur character of the Bengali theatre. The success of the performance was unique and the proceeds of the sale of tickets amounted to Rs. 550. *Nīldarpan* had a short run of two nights, after which the "National Theatre" successively took up Dīnabandhu's *Jāmāi Bārik*, *Nabīn-tapaswini* and *Biye Pāglā Buro*,[2] Dīnabandhu's works were gradually exhausted; a certain langour came upon the spectators and the audience fell off and with it the sale of tickets too. The company now selected Madhusudan's *Kṛṣṇa Kumārī*, but they were in sore need of an actor who could do justice to the difficult role of "Bhīm Singha." Girishchandra's absence was now keenly felt and they approached him and earnestly solicited his assistance. He agreed to join the company as an amateur actor. Under his training and supervision *Kṛṣṇa Kumārī* was staged on the 22nd February, 1873, Girishchandra himself appearing in the role of "Bhīm Singha." The play-house was again thronged with spectators and the company continued its performances with unabated success.

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[1] The names of those who were connected with the perfomance of *Nildarpan* appeared in a satirical composition of Girishchandra, which was sung in the "Yatra" party that he had meanwhile formed. The satire, as every one knows, commences with the line "লুপ্ত বেণী বইছে তেরো ধার."

[2] So long the custom had been to hold performances on Saturdays, but with *Biye Pāglā Buro* Wednesday also came to be adhered to as a play-night. *Biye Pāglā Buro* was supplemented by a farce named *Mustafi Sahib kā pucka tamāsā* which was a happy repartee to a number of satires, (*e.g*, *The Bengali Babu*, *The Professor*, *The School Master*, *The Parsee*) which a European named Dave Carson used to stage occasionally on the boards of the "Opera House" in Chowringhee under the name of *Deva Carson Sahib Ka Pucka Tamasha* (দেব কার্সন সাহেব কা পাক্কা তামাসা). Ardhendu made a great name by his delineation of the comic characters and henceforth became known as "Mustafi Saheb." The following farces were also staged by the National Theatre:

Abiswasi Nāri, *Kubja Darji*, *Sub-Deputy Examination*, *Jeman Karma temni phal*, *Paristhān*, *Model School* and *Naiso Rupeya*.

But, notwithstanding the increase of income, there soon became manifest all sorts of disorder in the administration of the company. To facilitate good management the company was put under three directors, Girishchandra, Shishir Kumar Ghosh (the editor of the "Amrita Bazar Patrika"), and Devendra Nath Banerjee (the elder brother of Nagendra Nath Banerjee). Nevertheless internal dissensions could not be stopped, and in March, 1873, after a period of four months, the "National Theatre" ceased to exist. The party was split up into two, one including Ardhendu, Amritalal Basu, Amritalal Mukherjee and a few others, headed by Nagendranath Banerjee; and the other consisting of Mahendra Lal Basu, Matilal Sur, Abinash Chandra Kar, and Rajendra Lal Pal, who were led by Dharmadas Sur. The activities of the two parties henceforth centred round a spirit of competition, the keenness of which was ever on a par with its malignity.

At this juncture Sharat Chandra Ghosh (the grandson of the renowned Chatu Babu) who had been a regular visitor of the "National Theatre" and was animated by a desire to establish a public theatre in Calcutta, patched up in August, 1873, in collaboration with the veteran Beharilal Chatterjee and Akhil Chandra Chatterjee, a tile-thatched house in front of Chatu Babu's house in Beadon Street, to which they gave the name of the "Bengal Theatre." Actresses were now introduced to enact fema [illegible] Notable amongst the plays staged by the "Bengal Theatre" were Madhusudan's *Sharmiṣthā* and *Māyā Kānan* and a sensational piece named *Uh! Mohonter aei ki kaj.* The income which the last-named play fetched to the company was beyond all expectation.

Meanwhile, the two rival branches of the original "National Theatre" had tended to reunite, as was evident from their combined performance at the residence of the Raja of Dighapatia. Their union was consummated by a little incident which commended to them the desirability and the immediate necessity of a new theatre. It had so happened that Dharmadas Sur and Nagendra Nath Banerjee, the leaders of the two opposite parties who were accompanied by Bhuban Neogi, had been to the "Bengal Theatre" to witness the performance of *Uh! Mohonter aei ki kāj*! But so great was the rush of spectators that they could not purchase a single ticket although they had offered to pay double the usual price. Bhuban Mohan was as much disappointed as he was disgusted and proposed to establish a new theatre at his own expense. Nagendra and Dharmadas readily agreed, forgetting their old difference, and the result was the foundation of the "Great National Theatre" which was constructed in 1873 on the model of the "Lewis Theatre" (conducted at that time by a European lady named Mrs. G. B. W. Lewis) on the spot where stood the "Minerva Theatre," recently destroyed by fire. Their maiden performance was of a drama named *Kāmya Kānan*, which was staged on the 31st December, 1873. It was all a tame affair, and to add to their misfortune, a fire broke out when they were halfway through the play. They had no alternative but to take recourse to the redoubtable Girishchandra who readily came to their rescue, still as an amateur, with his dramatised version of Bankim Chandra's *Mṛṇālinī.* The precedence created by the "Bengal Theatre" of having female characters enacted by actresses had become too popular to be overthrown ar the "Great National Theatre" henceforth followed the same course.

Then was initiated the glorious period in the history of the Bengali stage, no less of the Bengali drama, almost every page of which is embellished by some brilliant achievement of Girishchandra. Henceforth the history of the stage is mainly the history of his dramatic activities. The majority of the new institutions that followed the "Great National" are almost without exception, to be traced to the energy and inspiration of Girishchandra. "The Star," "The Emerald," "The City," "The Minerva," "The Classic," "The Grand," "The New Classic," "The Kohinoor," "The Monomohan" and the offspring of "The Bengal Theatre," such as "The Aurora," "The Unique," "The National," "The Great National," "The Grand National" and "The Thespian Temple" were and are in some way or other indebted to him, for it was his voluminous productions that supplied the life-blood to their growth and development, and that is why the veneration of a grateful posterity has cherished his name as the "father of the Bengali Stage."

But it would be neither just nor fair to leave unmentioned other illustrious workers who have also contributed their share in enriching the dramatic literature and supplying nourishment to the stage. Notable among these are the late Rajkrishna Ray,[1] the late Atul Krishna Mitra, the late Dwijendralal Roy, the late Amarendra Nath Dutta, the late Monomohan Goswami,

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[1] About 1888 Rajkrishna Ray, who was a poet and dramatist, had established a theatre in Mechuabazar Street under the name of the "Bīṇā Theatre," independently of any assistance of Girishchandra or his followers. It survived only about a couple of years; probably because Rajkrishna Ray followed the old tradition of representing female characters by males and because the plays that were staged in his theatre lacked in interest and attraction. About two years after the abolition of the "Bīṇā Theatre" Nilmadhab Chakrabarti, who had seceded from the "Star" with a number of actors, constituted a company which performed on the boards of the "Bīṇā Theatre" under the name of the "City Theatre," which also was short-lived.

Amritalal Basu and Kshirode Prosad Vidyabinode. Tl Bengali stage, it is undisputed, is now passing through period of transition with all the helplessness arising out of tl disappearance of a controlling power.

SYAMA PRASAD MOOKERJEE

VENGEANCE IS MINE

BOOK II—CHAPTER XXIV

A MEETING AFTER YEARS

Let us leave Raghubhai for a while and turn to Jagat just returned from Dumas. His heart was full of joy, but he was not yet sensible of the full implication of his position. Even at the moment of his parting he had no doubt as to the future. No thoughts as to how he should win Tanman, nor as to what such a deep love as his would lead to come to disturb his equanimity. His mind was full of joy and content. He felt himself strengthened a thousandfold by winning Tanman as his beloved. His only thought now was to finish his education as fast as possible, and then to fulfil his mission in life with Tanman at his side.

He came home to Surat. Gunavanti had brought on an illness by overwork and fasting. Within the last fortnight her weakness had increased seriously. She could hardly sit up in bed. Bachu had put her under medical treatment. Gunavanti's eyes filled with tears on seeing Jagat again.

"Well, Jagat, come back? I am quite pleased to see you so fit."

"But, mother dear, what is the matter with you?"

"Oh, it's nothing," replied Gunavanti, with studied indifference, "just a touch of fever, it will be gone to-morrow. And how did you enjoy Dumas?"

"Very much indeed," cried Jagat, with smiles mantling his face, "and, mother darling, *she* has sent you her loving duty."

"Who?"

"Why, don't you remember Tanman?" asked Jagat, in a careless tone as if he were speaking of an ordinary person. But his smiling face and the tremor in his voice showed what he really felt.

"Who, your Devi? Did you meet her? She must have grown quite a big woman now?"

Jagat wanted to say all he was feeling but could not.

"Yes, and Mr. Harilal has grown quite old."

"Of course he would. Why, you were a baby when we knew him, and you are a strapping young fellow now."

But Jagat had not many opportunities of talking to her about Dumas. Gunavanti's health got worse every day and Jagat had to nurse her all the time. So he had not much time to think of anything else. But all the while Tanman's form was present before his mind. And sometimes he amused himself with imaginary plans about what he would do and say when they met again. He had not the least inkling of the terrible ordeal through which she was passing. He was thinking of her as walking along the seashore at Dumas, or in the mango-grove, softly singing her favourite, "My love hath quite forgotten me."

He was thinking of beginning in earnest his attempts to be worthy of his Devi as soon as he became free from his nursing Gunavanti. He had had no ideal in his life so far, and now it had come to him in the shape of Tanman. His heart was full of pride and joy at this. His courage rose high and he felt it quite a simple matter to gain success in life. It is the highest ambition of many people to win the love and applause of a beloved woman, and through them alone do they start on their paths to greatness.

In such a pleasant garden of Jagat's dreams there entered one day a serpent. Coming back from the doctor's he suddenly ran across Raghubhai on the way. Raghubhai had but yesterday arrived in Surat exiled from Ratnagadh after his exposure by Anantanand, and he was busy thinking of his next move. Their eyes met and both were astonished. It was after six years that they met. Both would have willingly spared the "pleasure" of this chance meeting, and for a few moments both were considering whether they should recognise each other. But Raghubhai's diplomacy helped him.

"Hallo, Jagatkishor, how are you?"

"I am well," said Jagat rudely and without thanks. He remembered how and under what circumstances he and his adored mother had to leave Ratnagadh. In his heart the first drops of poison had begun to trickle.

"How is your mother?"

"She is well"; and quite abruptly Jagat turned on his heel and walked away from Raghubhai.

Raghubhai, too, remembered the old events. He was feeling bitterly his deportation from Ratnagadh, he was worrying his mind over the imaginary contempt which the good people of Surat might heap upon him, and this chance meeting was like pouring oil upon fire. He remembered the beauty, both of the body and of the mind, of Gunavanti; he remembered her quiet modest presence. He wished to see her again, but how could he have the face to go to her?

He had thought of going on to Bombay from Surat, for he thought that among its teeming *lakhs* he might mingle unobserved. And also there were the hopes of getting together in that cosmopolitan city a fresh band of congenial companions and of gaining anew fame and fortune among people unacquainted with his past. Such were his plans. But now he longed to see Gunavanti once again before beginning this new chapter in his life. And he was casting about for some opportunity and excuse to gratify his wish.

He returned to his lodgings deep in thought. Little Ramā was standing on the verandah looking at the boys playing in the street with her innocent big eyes. She looked as if trying to puzzle out the great question of the whence and wherefore of this world, and as if she had not quite made up her mind as to the wondrous possibilities of this life. Her brows were wrinkled as if with deep thinking and added a fresh beauty to her pretty baby face. When anyone spoke to her her lips parted a little in a sweet, soft smile. Just then she was a thin, pale girl, but she already showed the promise of a splendid womanhood.

Ramā was terribly afraid of Raghubhai. In the mind of her scheming father there was not much place for love. He talked to her only when he had some purpose to serve, and in his cold well measured sentences there was nothing to attract this innocent girl.

"Ramā, what is your mother doing ?"

"She is inside."

Kamala was arranging the luggage. One quality she had to perfection—faith in her husband. To her Raghubhai was God and his word Gospel Truth, so she had never paused to consider why they had suddenly left Ratnagadh, nor what had become of her husband's position as Naib-Divan. And moreover Raghubhai was a great terror to her also, so that between him and her there existed the relationship of a stone idol and its worshipper. As soon as they reached Surat she set about her household affairs just as usual.

"I say, did you go and see our sister Gunavanti."

"Yes," said she, polishing a mirror, "I was there yesterday. How could I remain a day longer without seeing her?"

"How is she ?"

"She is quite ill. What a noble soul!"

"But there is no danger yet ?"

"You scarce can tell. She has become like this—" replied Kamala, holding up her thin finger.

Raghubhai made no reply. Many thoughts were coursing through his brain.

(*To be continued*)

KANAIYALAL M. MUNSHI

THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS

The Calcutta University Training Corps associated with the hallowed name of Lt.-Col. Suresprasad Sarbadhikary came into existence in 1917 when the last great world war was at its height. It received words of praise from the Esher Committee and has since the passing of the Indian Territorial Force Act been incorporated with the Indian Territorial Force. No efforts have been spared to improve the clothing, the equipment, the discipline of the men and Honorary King's Commissions have been granted to Lt. Susita C. Chaudhuri, M.Sc., A. K. Ghosh, M.A., B.L. (Professor, South Suburban College, Bhowanipur) and B. K. Ghosh, B.A.

Training goes on throughout the year, in the mornings as well as in the evenings—giving the members an opportunity to put in the requisite number of parades, at their convenience. The Annual Camp has become a very interesting feature of the Corps. The last two Camps were held on the maidan in December, 1922 and at Kanchrapara in November, 1923. A very interesting and progressive programme was arranged including plenty of shooting, bayonet fighting, military manœuvres with instructions in different tactical schemes—sports and games. Social gatherings, variety entertainments and dramatic performances have also been organised from time to time by Prafulla Gupta and B. Sarkar and they have in a great measure helped to develop a healthy spirit of comradeship and mutual co-operation amongst members.

The Corps owes a deep debt of gratitude to Lt.-Col. Hobbs who has consistently accorded moral and financial support to it. Very recently he kindly awarded a beautiful costly shield for the best shot in the Corps.

The present state of the Corps,—its strength, organisation and success in different spheres—is entirely due to the untiring energy and active sympathy of Capt. G. L. Hyde, the present Adjutant of the Corps. He is a very keen worker, with wonderful power of organisation and possesses a warm heart which has endeared him to all. The Corps is also very fortunate in having the Hon. Mr. Justice G. C. Rankin as the Officer Commanding. Deeply engrossed, as he always is, with the onerous duties of his high position, he has always shown a never-failing interest in the welfare of the Corps and he is held in high esteem by the members. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has also been taking a very keen interest in the welfare of the Corps and the tremendous personal influence which he has brought to bear upon the progress of the University is sure to be a source of strength and inspiration to the Corps.

The Corps had the honour of a number of august visits by distinguished personages including His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, General Hudson, Major-General Cubbit and Col. Wilson who spoke highly in appreciation of the Corps and its work. One other fact which also deserves special mention is that the University Corps had the honour and privilege of furnishing the Guards-of-honour to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal on the occasion of the last University Convocation and the opening of the All India Exhibition, under the command of Lt. S. C. Chowdhuri. The members acquitted themselves so well, under the command of their own young Bengali officer, that His Excellency was highly pleased and " complimented Mr. Chowdhuri on his Commission in the Territorial Army and the University Corps for their remarkable steadiness and smart appearance on parade." The Corps may well be proud of this enthusiastic body of smart young men who are taking up this public service with such credit to themselves, their University and their country.

To turn for a time from the lecture room to the parade ground is, indeed, a welcome change, the rifle and the bayonet have an attraction all their own and the right of being able to defend one's hearth and home, in time of need, is no mean privilege.

PRAFULLAKUMAR GUPTA

Reviews

"Under London" by Stephen Graham (Macmillan, Empire Library, No. 681):

This is a realistic vivid presentation of "what happens on High Street and May Villas" in the eastern suburb of London during a quarter of a century since 1887 to enable the upper world which usually cares little for an accurate and detailed knowledge of the lower middle class to know something of that side of city life. Says the writer, "Thus we tell of five or six boys taken at random from the crowded streets" typical (we may add) of "the sixhundred thousand born down below" ever earnestly seeking a way up. The author has thus selected actually about a dozen of such boys with Freddy Masters as the central figure whose careers are fully described from their very infancy till the lads grow into responsible youths ready to enter the larger world of business and finally, when in their twenties, doing their bit in the Great War of 1914. The book contains a very interesting narrative of their home life, school life, street life, their hobbies, boyish absorbing interests, early friendships and quarrels, noisy games, daring adventures, naughtiness, holiday excursions, little loves, joys, sorrows and aspirations. Freddy, the hero, is set in sharp contrast with the rest by his unconventional ways, wonderful courage, his grief and resourcefulness. The Masters household—consisting of Father, Mother, Uncle Fred, Freddy and his two sisters—forms the chief centre of interest and has its happiness spoiled by Father's intimacy with Flo Edwards, the bar-maid of the "Sun" tavern, who wrought mischief on Uncle Fred too and Mothers' intense grief, disgust and indignation at her husbands' conduct bring an estrangement leading to intimate confidential relations between her and her son Freddy. This gives to the narrative the form of a novel of which the plot thickens with the return of Uncle Fred, after a long absence, from the West where he makes a fortune on the ranches. Bk. II, Chaps. VI, IX and XX make in this connection very interesting reading. Similarly, the author's reflections on Under-London life and its children population in Ch. XI and the graphic picture of that life from dawn to eve drawn in Ch. XIV have a firm hold on the reader—everything so minutely described in racy colloquial subject. Here and there one comes across shrewd observations (*vide* pp. 65-66, 67, 126-27 and 268) and nice bits of fine humour (pp. 1 8, 322 and 353). The modern note of absolute freedom for school children is sounded here in no uncertain voice.

Realism is, however, occasionally carried a bit too far as in the rather tiresome account of moths and moth-collection as a favourite sport or in the broad hints about the experiences of Fred and Bertie regarding the sex-life of the London Streets. Mr. Graham has succeeded in writing quite a readable book because (to quote his own words) he has "a life experience of some kind to write about."

J. G. B.

The Lay of Alha, A Saga of Rajput Chivalry as sung by ministrels of Northern India, partly translated in English ballad metre by the Late William Waterfield of the Bengal Civil Service with an Introduction and Abstracts of the untranslated portions by Sir George Grierson, K.C.I.E., Oxford University Press, pp. 278, price 7-6*d*.

Rajput chivalry has been the theme of many immortal songs in Northern India. The most well known among them is Chand Bardai's *Prithiraj Rasau* and the most unique is the anthology that goes by the name of Alh Khand or Lay of Alha. While almost all the bardic songs of Rajputana have been preserved in manuscripts not a single song that celebrates the brave deeds of Alha Udan and other heroes who once defended the honour of Mahoba has yet been discovered. This, however, has been preserved by professional singers in different parts of Hindustan and has been orally transmitted from generation to generation. As Sir George Grierson observes, " under such circumstances the test varies from place to place, and the language has changed as time elapsed. It now presents the singular appearance of a poem composed in the twelfth century, yet containing such English words as ' pistol ' 'bomb ' and ' Sappers and Miner.' The Kanauj version of the Lay was for the first time reduced to writing at the instance and under the supervision of Sir Charles, then Mr. Elliot while the Bihar and the Bundelkhand versions were afterwards compiled by Sir George Grierson and the late Dr. Vincent A. Smith. It was Mr. Elliot's edition of the text that the late Mr. Waterfield undertook to render into English ballad metre, and about half a century ago his rendering of the Second Canto was published in the pages of this Review.

At one time it was believed that the Lay of Alha is nothing but a part of Chand Bardai's great epic. Modern research has totally exploded this theory, but the authorship of these soul-stirring songs remains yet unknown and it is doubtful whether this problem will ever be solved. Although the Alh Khand deals with the feud between Jaichand of Kanauj and Prithiraj of Delhi and Ajmir, its historical value is very meagre if not nil. The unknown author and authors had very little historical sense. Jaichand is described as the overlord not only of Mahoba which is probable but also of Bihar and Bengal which we know was far from true. Many discrepancies of this nature can be pointed out but the value of this cycle chiefly lives in their poetic beauty and the light that they throw upon society of those times. No student of folklore can afford to ignore it and we are sure Mr. Waterfield's free but reliable translation will have a warm welcome.

S. N. S.

Reasonable Religion. The Message of Emanuel Swedenborg—by E. Brayley Hodgetts. Published by Messrs. Dent and Sons, London, 6*s*. net.

The intellectual climate of the 18th century, the age of Hume and Kant, was not congenial to the growth of mysticism and occultism and Swedenborg did not make much impression then and latterly, thanks to the influence of

Madame Blavatsky, Mrs. Eddy and even some scientific seers, Swedenborg is coming into his own. In this book, the President of the Swedenborg Society gives a clear and interesting account of the life and the religious philosophy of Swedenborg. His belief that every object in nature is a 'Correspondence'; that the Bible was written by 'Correspondences,' and that its statements are full of unsuspected spiritual truth receive careful treatment. Though we may not accept the author's view that Swedenborg was divinely inspired, and that just at the time when the new scientific theories were being formulated 'God appointed a human instrument to reveal to the world the mysteries of life and restore faith and hope to his creatures' there is no doubt that Swedenborg has exercised and is still exercising a deep influence on the religious thought and development of the West. To us in the East, Swedenborg's mysticism is of great interest and an authoritative exposition of his life and teachings will help much to a better understanding of his spirit and influence.

X

Success in Life. (An Inspirational Book for all Men and Women) by K. J. Dastur, pp. 164, Thacker and Company, Limited, Bombay, 1923.

The author says, "My main object in writing this small volume is to excite and encourage, elevate and exalt, dignify and magnify, young men and women; to incite and inspire, push and prompt them to noble lives and lofty achievements by illustrating the qualities of success in life and by holding up to them ideals of noble character."

The book is suitable for school boys and school girls and as such we would like to see it free from certain imperfections and inaccuracies. "Pity for the poor miners, who very often lost their lives by explosions, led George Stephenson to invent the safety lamp, to test the usefulness of which he even risked his own life." So says Mr. Dastur but even school boys know that Sir Hamphrey David not George Stephenson invented the safety lamp and such mistakes could very easily be avoided. The following sentence well illustrates the fault of the author's style. "If you will read the biographies of men who have achieved something good, something advantageous, something beneficial, something helpful and something useful, something important, something essential, something powerful, something prominent, something influential, something significant, something substantial and something great; something inspiring, something invigorating, something rejuvenating, something serviceable, something effective, something potent, something solid, something sound, something valuable and something worthy; something unusual, something uncommon, something extraordinary, something precious, something remarkable, something unprecedented, something unmatched, something incomparable and something unparalleled. you will see that almost all of them were healthy and vigorous." Mr. Dastur should not forget that Smile's Self-Help is recommended to schoolboys not only for its excellent principles but also for its excellent style.

Nor is our author free from dogmatism for he goes on to say "Skillful doctors, able professors............ ..have proved to the satisfaction of all, *fools and idiots and the prejudiced* excepted (italics are ours) that vegetarian food is far better than either the exclusive meat diet or mixed diet." Those who think otherwise may not be fools or idiots or prejudiced.

The book is, as we have already remarked, suitable for schoolboys and all references to sexual vices should have been avoided. So far as young men and young women are concerned, the short paragraph is certainly not quite adequate for them.

The printing and get up leave nothing to be desired.

S. N. S.

Love Offerings, by S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A. B.C.L. (Oxon.) Bar-at-Law, Art Press, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 66.

It is very difficult, if not impossible, to define poetry; but all will agree that mere metre cannot make it and verses, however cleverly manufactured, may not necessarily be poems. Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's Love Offerings are not in numbers, but they possess all the exquisite charms of real poetry. In these few pages Mr. Khuda Bukhsh has given vent to those eternal feelings that have thrilled, elated, oppressed and tribulated human heart from the days of old Adam and will continue to inspire poets "in this wild world through aeons untold." Love is at once human and divine and Mr. Khuda Bukhsh's Offerings are made not only to those frail beauties whose charms, however transient, have not failed to move even stoics and misanthropes, but also to Liberty at whose altar heroes have sacrificed their all in every age and clime, and to those worshippers of Freedom who have in all times evoked not only admiration but also devotion of their contemporaries. At times we seem to hear in these pages an echo of the warning of that astronomer-poet who from Nyshapur urged his fellowmen not to heed the sound of an unseen drum and at the next moment we come across lines which remind us of the burning songs of Byron brooding on the past glories and the present miseries of the once great Hellas. This little volume is well worth its weight in gold.

BIBLIOPHILE

National Problems—by Chandra Chakrabarty, published by Ram Chandra Chakrabarty, M.A., 58, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta, 1923, pp. 155 price Re. 1.

Mr. Chakrabarty deals with the following important subjects in this little book—(1) Industry, (2) Religious Reforms, (3) Social Reforms, (4) Educational Reforms, (5) Hygiene, (6) Growth of Nationalism. He is one of those revolutionary patriots who had to leave their country and seek safety elsewhere. He possesses, therefore, the wide experience that travelling brings and that wide culture which personal contact with advanced western nations is bound to produce and is, therefore, entitled to a respectful hearing.

His patriotism is neither blind nor narrow, he is quite conscious of the drawbacks of his country and is prepared to set them right. "One ought not to think," *he says*, "my countryman first whether he is a fit man in the proper place or not. But if my country is right I shall make her better, but if not right, I shall make her right. Indian nationalism should not be a self-centred and self-contained goal by itself, but a transitional phase, that of bringing co-operation and love of all mankind. Indian Nationalism must not be like the Western States, an aggressive or self-sufficient entity, but a stepping stone to Humanity.

S. N. S.

Indian Historical Records Commission—Proceedings of meetings, Vol. V. Fifth meeting held at Calcutta, January, 1923, Calcutta, Superintendent, Government Printing, India, 1923, price Rs. 3 As. 2.

It contains, as usual, papers of varying merit read at the public meeting of the Commission held at Calcutta. The inutility of such meetings is evident. It does not attract any public notices. The titled gentry of the place come with the Governor and leave with him and most of the papers are read to empty benches. In his opening speech Lord Lytton mentioned many learned societies of Calcutta but he carefully or carelessly omitted the Calcutta University of which His Excellency has the misfortune of being the Chancellor probably because it is not a learned body. It is high time that we should take stock of the work done by the Commission. We know what excellent work was done in England by such a body but in England the members were real scholars willing to study the records and justify their appointment. Here, however, members have been selected from Government servants irrespective of their scholarship, taste and attainments. The Education Secretary to the Government of India is ex-officio the President of the Body. We do not know how much time he can devote to the work of the Commission, at the Calcutta meeting he was not present. As yet the Commission has not done anything to justify its existence, and poor Indian ratepayer may very well enquire what the Commissioners have done except making holiday trips?

S. N. S.

The Light of Ancient Persia by Manehe B. Pithawalla, B.A., B.Sc., M.R.A.S. (The Asian Library No. VIII), Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, Madras.

Mr. Pithawalla has already been known to the Zoroastrians as a writer of fine English translations from the Zoroastrian Scriptures. And it seems fitting that *The Light of Ancient Persia* should come from his pen. When the *Cultural University of Asia* appeared in this series one thing struck me forcibly, *viz.*, that there was the omission of Persia in considering

Asiatic Culture. Persia, India and China are the three cultural centres of Asia and indeed in some senses of the whole of civilised mankind. So one would have wished that the *whole* of Persian Culture had been included in this volume of the "Asian Library" rather than only the Ancient. Many people, especially the Parsis, talk as if the culture of Persia suffered an abrupt break at the Arab conquest. But what actually happened was that the Persians (almost the whole nation) adopted Islam and thus enriched the new and (for them) more vigorous faith with their incomparable genius. This Persian Culture got a vehicle to spread far beyond the bounds of Irān, and just as Indian Culture spread hand in hand with Buddhism, so did Persian Culture spread hand in hand with Islam. Mr. Pithawalla has painted a glowing picture of *The Light of Ancient Persia* and has shown its abiding worth to the World Culture. But he might have gone further and might have shown that the same Ancient Light is still burning, not merely in the hearts of the handful of Parsis, but that Islamic Culture itself has derived a good part of its lustre from the same Ancient Light. This is where Mr. Pithawalla's book seems to fall short of its expectations. The book makes a very good *beginning* but it leaves one unsatisfied, because the author has ended abruptly in the middle of a most fascinating story. We would wish the "Asian Library" to fill up the gap with a companion volume. Would Mr. Khuda Bukhsh undertake it?

I. J. S. T.

Ourselves

MR. AMBICACHARAN MITRA.

We have to lament the untimely death of Mr. Ambicacharan Mitra which took place on the 18th December, 1923. Mr. Mitra was a distinguished member of the Post-graduate staff in Philosophy. He took a First Class in Philosophy at the M.A. Examination in 1886. He was for many years Professor of Philosophy in affiliated colleges before he was appointed a University Lecturer. His reputation as a thoughtful and conscientious teacher stood very high amongst his pupils wherever he worked. His works on Logic and Ethics as also his Essay on "The Moral Drama of the World" considerably enhanced his reputation His modesty kept him always in the background and his merits were appreciated only by those who had the privilege of his intimate acquaintance. His memory will be held in loving remembrance by his colleagues and his pupils. His eldest son, Saileschandra Mitra, is a devoted student of Philosophy and he took a First Class in Experimental Psychology at the M.A. Examination in 1919.

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MAHAMAHOPADHAYA KALIPRASANNA BHATTACHARYA.

We regret to inform our readers that Mahamahopadhaya Kaliprasanna Bhattacharya passed away on the 17th December, 1923, as the result of an attack of paralysis. He took his M.A. Degree in Sanskrit in 1876 and after service for many years as Professor of Sanskrit became Principal of the Sanskrit College in 1908. He conducted for a series of years the University examinations in Sanskrit and was at the time of his death employed as Inspector of Sanskrit *tols* under the Government Sanskrit Association, Calcutta.

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DR. SURENDRANATH DHAR.

The sudden death of Dr. Surendranath Dhar has removed a brilliant worker from the rank of our rising investigators in the field of Chemistry. Mr. Dhar obtained a First Class in Chemistry at the M.Sc. Examination in 1915. He was awarded the Guruprasanna Ghose Scholarship in 1917 which enabled him, notwithstanding pecuniary difficulties, to proceed to the University of London where he qualified himself for the Degree of Doctor of Science. On his return to this country, he was appointed to the Indian Educational Service and was selected to fill the Chair of Chemistry in the Madras Engineering College. He had fought his way up from a humble station in life and his friends looked forward to a long career of usefulness which has now been unexpectedly ended.

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DR. SASANKAJIBAN RAY.

Our warmest congratulations to Dr. Sasankajiban Ray, M.A., D.L., whose name has just been approved for the Degree of Doctor of Law. He submitted a thesis on "Sovereignty" which was highly commended by the Board of Examiners (Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Mr. Justice Rankin and Professor Arthur Brown). The result of the written examination also was pronounced fully satisfactory. The Degree of Doctor of Law was last conferred in 1916 when Dr. Jadunath Kanjilal was the recipient.

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MR. NIRMALCHANDRA CHATTERJEE.

We extend a cordial welcome to Mr. Nirmalchandra Chatterjee who has so successfully upheld the flag of his *Alma Mater*. Mr. Chatterjee obtained a First Class at the M. A. Examination in History in 1916 and was awarded the Premchand Roychand Studentship in 1920. He was a successful lecturer in Comparative Politics in the

Post-graduate Department in History. At the Bar Examinations he was placed first in the First Class in every subject. His researches as Premchand Roychand student will shortly be published.

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DR. SOURINDRA MOHAN MAZUMDAR.

We have great pleasure to record yet another notable distinction achieved by one of our distinguished graduates. Dr. Sourindra Mohan Mazumdar has just passed with great distinction the Examination for the Fellowship of the Royal College of Surgeons of England. We believe there are only three other medical practitioners in this city who have qualified themselves for this highly prized distinction, namely, Dr. Bidhanchandra Ray, M.D., Dr. Lalit Mohan Banerjee, M.S., and Miss Ghose. Dr. Mazumdar regularly attended in London the St. Bartholomew Hospital, the St. Thomas Hospital, the St. Mary's Hospital, the London Hospital, the Central Ear, Nose and Throat Hospital, the Lock Hospital for Venereal Diseases, the St. Peters' Hospital for Stones and the Royal National Orthopoedic Hospital. He has also visited various hospitals in France, Germany and Holland. Dr. Mazumdar, it will be recalled, had a notable career in the Calcutta Medical College and was the recipient of the McLeod Medal and the Pasupatinath Medal at the Final M.B. Examination. He acted as House Surgeon under Lt.-Col. Connor and Lt.-Col. Steen and was Resident Surgeon at the Marwari Hospital when he left for England. Our congratulations to his father, Mr. Birajmohan Mazumdar, the Vice-Principal of the University Law College.

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MR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE.

Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., whose paper on "The Bengali Theatre" is published in this number has been handsomely complimented by "Ditcher" in *Capital* on the 29th November, 1923.

"It is related of Joseph Chamberlain that nothing in his political life moved him so much as the compliment paid to his son, Austen, who had just made his maiden speech in the House of Commons, by Gladstone, the deserted leader who could be magnanimous even in desolation. The antagonists of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee have now an exceptional opportunity of imitating a great example. His young son Syama Prosad Mookerjee has crowned a brilliant academic career by topping the list in the M.A. Examination of Calcutta University, taking several gold medals. It is up to Lord Lytton and Mr. P. C. Mitter."

* * *

"Young Mookerjee, I hear, is to qualify as lawyer, but it would be a pity if he did not cultivate his flair for journalism which is conspicuous. If some senior Bengalee publicist would imitate Henry Cust, when editor of the "Pall Mall Gazette," by gathering round him young graduates who can write English well, the whole tone of Anglo-Vernacular journalism in this presidency would be improved beyond recognition. In such a group of talents Mr. S. P. Mookerjee would be distinguished by his clarity of style, his fund of information, and the logic of his criticism. He is a credit to his father."

* * *

UNIVERSITY APPOINTMENTS.

We had occasion to express our regret that three members of the Post-Graduate staff had recently been allured by brighter prospects elsewhere. We are glad to find that there has been since then an accession of strength. Dr. Kalidas Nag who has been awarded the Degree of Doctor of Letters by the University of Paris for a valuable thesis on "Ancient Indian Polity" and who has specialised in the History and Philosophy of Indian Fine Arts has joined the staff of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. Mr. Supriya Kumar

Dhar, B.A., B. Com. (London), and Dr. Nalini Mohan Pal, Ph. D. (California), have joined the staff of the Department of Commerce. We extend a cordial welcome to all of them.

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GURUPRASANNA GHOSE SCHOLARSHIP.

The Guruprasanna Ghose Scholarship for 1924 has been awarded to Mr. Atul Bose, one of the most talented artists of the rising generation. This is the second instance that the scholarship has gone to a scholar interested in Fine Arts; the former recipient was Mr. Sukumar Ray Chaudhury, B.Sc. (whose recent loss we all deplore), who utilised the Scholarship in studying artistic photography. The result of his training was manifested in the excellence of the work turned out by the well known firm of Messrs. U. Ray & Sons, established by his father. We trust Mr. Atul Bose will make the most of this great opportunity to receive training under the masters of the British School of Fine Arts.

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DR. JAMES H. COUSINS.

Dr. James H. Cousins will deliver, on an invitation of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts, an extremely attractive course of six lectures on the following subjects in the first week of this month :

1. Report of an Enquiry as to present-day Cultural Activities in India.
2.} Preliminaries for the formulation of an Indian Philosophy of
3.} Beauty
    (a) Western Elements. (b) Eastern Elements.
4. An individual study in the criticism of Modern Indian Painting.
5. Fundamentals of the Appreciation of Poetry.
6. Yeats (the Nobel prize-winner) and his poetry.

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ONAUTHNAUTH DEB PRIZE.

The following subject has been selected for the *Onauthnauth Deb Research Prize* in Law for the year 1925 :

"The Principle of Subrogation."

The prize consists of a Gold Medal worth Rs. 250 and Rs. 750 in cash. Competitors are required to send their theses not later than the 30th November, 1924.

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UNIVERSITY OF MYSORE.

The University of Mysore has made the following proposals for the exchange of Professors :

> (1) Each University to pay the travelling allowance of the incoming Professor for his journey to join duty after his relief in the other University, the rates of travelling allowance being those applicable to him for journeys on transfer under the rules in force at the time in the University to which he belongs. Similarly for the return journey also at the end of the stipulated time.
>
> (2) The Professor deputed will be subject to the rules in force at the time, in the University to which he goes, in respect of joining time, leave during the period of exchange, contribution for pension and leave allowances or both being waived on either side during the period.
>
> (3) The period of exchange to be the working period of one academical year of the University to which the Professor goes, or from July to February.
>
> (4) Professors to be provided with furnished quarters rent free.
>
> (5) A local allowance of Rs. 100 a month to be paid during the period of exchange till date of relief, such allowance being not payable during periods of leave of any kind except casual leave.
>
> (6) The loan to be mutual and simultaneous.
>
> (7) Each University to make its own arrangements to pay the salary and leave allowances, if any, to the Professor deputed by it, during the period of exchange.

The matter is now under consideration. It is apprehended that the staff in most of our Departments has been so depleted that it may be difficult to spare the services of one of our Professors for any appreciable length of time.

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UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF SCIENCE.

The Department of Applied Chemistry in the University College of Science is, we regret to find, in a state of considerable embarrassment. Dr. Hemendrakumar Sen, Sir

Rasbehary Ghose Professor of Applied Chemistry, who is now in Germany as Sir Rasbehary Ghose Travelling Fellow, addressed the following note to the Vice-Chancellor on the 27th August, 1923.

> "I have the honour to lay the following facts in regard to the equipment of the workshop of the department of Applied Chemistry, for favour of your consideration :
>
> At the time of my departure from Calcutta, the workshop shed of the department was practically complete, together with electrical fittings, only the connection from the mains and connections for water and gas were wanting. I am not aware if they are complete by now.
>
> Then comes the question of equipping the workshop with suitable and necessary machines. Two things are to be considered in this connection ; first, the full equipment for any particular subject of study ; secondly, a general equipment without much reference to completeness of any particular subject of study. There are two ways of evolving the growth of applied sciences in universities,—either an individual university specialises in a particular subject or subjects, or, that it teaches simply general principles relating to industries. The first part of this business whether in Europe or in America is more often accomplished in special laboratories which have no intention of preparing students for university examinations. In view of the fact that as yet the conditions in our country are not suitable for the establishment of such laboratories, any university in India that now claims to teach applied sciences cannot reasonably ignore the necessity of having equipments for the more elaborate teaching of one or more important industrial subjects. I may assume that the problem that we have in view, or at least, I had in view, when I undertook the organisation of the department three years ago, is, for the present at any rate, to impart a general practical training in industrial subjects, with special reference to one or more specially selected technical subjects. I had, therefore, in the past insisted, whilst drafting the syllabus, upon a student's taking up a special subject in addition to the general course of study, and the department had worked on that basis. Indeed, the University regulations relating to the Applied Chemistry examinations were framed accordingly, the Board of Higher Studies in Chemistry having approved of it. In equipping the workshop we have therefore, no doubt, to keep the general training in view, but at the same time, arrangement should be made for the proper study of one or two special branches of industry, which in my opinion should include glass, enamel, porcelain and pigments for the present, in view of the prospect of these industries in India. There is, however, the general need of the whole Institute to be considered, if the department of Applied Chemistry has to work hand in hand with other departments of the Institute.

In order to avoid duplication to a considerable extent, this co-operation and consideration of the needs of other departments cannot be ignored. I have felt that from that point of view, for example, the whole Institute requires a liquid air plant. Such expenses should naturally be borne by all departments, as all are intersted in it, and the care and maintenance should be delegated to the department, which is likely to consume liquid air most. I should like to indicate, however, that no department can under ordinary circumstances require very much liquid air. At the same time, the instruction of students can hardly be considered complete without a thorough knowledge of such refrigerating plants. To purchase a toy liquid air machine is also not advisable, in consideration of the fact that they are not usually made, or when made, are too costly in proportion to the ordinarily available smallest commercial units. As in the department of Applied Chemistry there is likely to be constant use of power, it occurs to me whether it would not be possible to utilise such units both for instruction and sale of products outside. This latter may at least bring the cost home if not actually serve as a source of income. In the matter of experiments on glass, I am convinced that small drinking glasses could be easily turned out from press machines and sold in the market. With this end in view I have already at my own responsibility purchased a press glass machine, which I shall be too glad to place at the disposal of the University, if it will have it. The quantity of glass that is melted in a really useful experimental furnace, if not considerable, is not negligible. The one we have already had in our department can turn out about 250 kgs of finished glass daily. Now if the glass could be pressed or blown to a purpose, the experimental expenses could be easily recovered. I can multiply instances ; but what I intend to lay before the consideration of the Governing Body is, whether it approves of such a scheme, as I should distinctly point out that this will naturally involve outside relationship and as such impress upon the whole affair a business aspect, the propriety of which is difficult to ascertain from the very novelty of the procedure.

In view of the urgent need for equipment of the workshop, I have collected quotations for the more likely machines and outfits from several German firms through the Indoeuropaische Handelsgesellschaft m.b.H., a very reliable firm. I am enclosing these quotations herewith, and if money can be found for those machineries before winter, the Indoeuropaische Handelsgesellschaft has assured me that the prices quoted would suffer little or no variation. I hope and pray, therefore, that you would earnestly move in the matter and persuade the University, to sanction an adequate sum for the purchase of at least some of the more important machineries. If I can receive your communication as to the amount that could be spared, I could, keeping in view any suggestions that

> the Governing Body may deem fit to vouchsafe, draw up a list on the spot and place the order with the Indoeuropaische Handelsgesellschaft to expedite matters. I fear if a requisite sum is not immediately sanctioned, the work of the department will suffer unspeakably. Indeed, I would doubt the usefulness of any training that we may be at present giving without a tolerably well equipped workshop for the department."

The equipment is estimated to cost Rs. 40,000. The Senate, it is superfluous to state, cannot provide the money in the present depleted state of the Fee Fund. It remains to be seen whether the new Ministry of Education will come forward to promote the great work initiated by Sir Taraknath Palit, Sir Rasbehary Ghose and Kumar Guruprasad Singh of Khaira.

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POST-GRADUATE TEACHING.

Our readers are no doubt aware that the University annually makes a contribution to the Government of Bengal for the services rendered by each member of the staff of the Presidency College. The contribution is fixed at Rs. 1,200 annually for each lecturer. The money does not reach the lecturer concerned, but is absorbed by the Accountant-General in the Provincial Treasury. During the years 1917-18, 1918-19, 1919-20, 1920-21 and 1921-22 the Government of Bengal made a net profit of Rs. 50,000 by this system. This profit is obtained by taking the difference between the aggregate tuition fees paid to the University by Post-graduate students attached to the Presidency College and the aggregate honorarium paid by the University on account of the staff of the Presidency College. In 1922-23 the University intimated to the Government of Bengal that on account of financial stringency the University would not be in a position, for the present at least, to continue the contribution and requested that the staff of the Presidency College might yet be allowed to associate themselves with Post-graduate teaching as before. The official machine moves slowly and it is by no means easy to arrive at a decision.

The Presidency College staff, consequently, continued to work as before, in anticipation of sanction and a conference was held to review the situation. The conference was attended by Mr. Bhupendranath Basu as representing the University generally, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee as representing the Post-graduate Department, Mr. Barrow as representing the Presidency College, and Mr. Hornell as representing the Bengal Government. The result of the negotiation was not made public. The Presidency College staff continued to work as before, till the end of the session 1922-23. During 1923-24 they have continued their work notwithstanding intimation given by the University to the Government that the University is financially unable to make a contribution. It now transpires that the Government is not prepared to remit the demand, and it is plainly indicated on the face of the communication from the Government that it is the Accountant-General who has persisted in this demand. It further appears that the Government is desirous that the Presidency College students should pay as tuition fees two rupees less than what is paid by all other students. But for the fact that the proposal has been seriously made, we should not have considered that such a differentiation could be deemed practicable. The University has now replied that no funds are available for continuance of the contribution, and that if the demand is insisted on, the University will be constrained to abandon the help of the Presidency College staff, however undesirable such a course might be. We set out below the correspondence on this subject.

No. $\frac{\text{6901 A}}{\text{1U-2A/23.}}$

FROM

THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, BENGAL,

To

THE SECRETARY TO THE COUNCIL OF POST GRADUATE TEACHING IN SCIENCE, CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

Calcutta, the 3rd November, 1923.

SIR,

I have the honour to refer to the correspondence resting with your letter No. 198 P. G. S., dated the 3rd October 1923, on the subject of the adjustment of accounts in connection with the Post Graduate Teaching in Science for the academic sessions 1921-22 and 1922-23. In the letter No. 3104 Edn., dated the 13th October 1923, a copy of which has already been furnished to Calcutta University, Government have communicated their decision that pending orders on the report of the Committee which is now considering the future of Presidency College, they are unable to modify the conditions sanctioned in Government letter No. 160 T. Edn., dated the 9th May, 1918, and that the accounts for the academic sessions 1921-22 and 1922-23 should be settled in accordance with those conditions.

2. I have now to request that you will be good enough to furnish this office at a very early date with statements of accounts showing the dues of the University and Government for the sessions 1921-22 and 1922-23 according to the conditions accepted in Government letter No. 160 T. Edn., dated the 9th May, 1918. The Accountant-General is pressing for early settlement of outstanding accounts and it is desirable that all liabilities be settled at an early date.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant,
E. F. OATEN,
Assistant Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.

No. 3104 Edn.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.
Education Branch,

FROM
W. W. HORNELL, ESQ., C.I.E.,
Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

TO
THE DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION,
BENGAL.

Calcutta, the 13th October, 1923.

The Hon. P. C. Mitter, C.I.E.,
Minister-in-Charge.

SIR,

I am directed to refer to your letter No. 98, dated the 30th January 1923. The Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) consider it desirable to review the present position in the matter of the co-operation of the staff of the Presidency College in the scheme of Post-graduate teaching in Arts and Science which is conducted in accordance with the provisions of Chapter X of the Regulations of the Calcutta University.

2. In this Government letter No. 160 T. Edn., dated the 9th May, 1918, the proposals which were then before Government were accepted as a temporary measure and for the academic session then current only. The arrangement which has since obtained in connexion with the co-operation of certain officers of Presidency College in the Post-graduate teaching system of the University has always been on a purely temporary basis. For every University year (the University year ends on the 30th June) the University send up to Government the names of those Presidency College officers whose co-operation in the Post-graduate teaching scheme it desires; the employment of such officers having been sanctioned by Government, a charge is levied on the University at the rate of Rs. 100 a month on account of each professor so employed, other than a professor of Sanskrit on whose account the levy is Rs. 50 a month only. In return there is credited to the University by Government a certain proportion of the fees paid to the Presidency College by the Post-graduate students of that institution. On the close of each academical year an adjustment is made as between the amount due to Government on account of the University contribution on behalf of the Presidency College professors and the amount due to the University from the Post-graduate students' fees; and the balance is paid to Government. The marginal table shows how the adjustments worked out during the first four sessions of the currency of the scheme. The balance which accrued to Government during these sessions amounted to Rs. 48,357

Session.	Amount of tuition fees credited to University.	Contributions received by Government from University in return for services of Government officers.
1917-18	Rs. 28,098	Rs. 34,200
1918-19	Rs. 20,743	Rs. 34,998
1919-20	Rs. 17,484	Rs. 33,460
1920-21	Rs. 19,590	Rs. 31,614
Total	Rs. 85,915	1,34,272

3. You report that on the 31st July, 1922, the Secretary to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts forwarded to the Principal, Presidency College, letters addressed individually to certain members of the staff of the college who had previously acted as lecturers in arts in the post-graduate department. The Principal was informed of a resolution adopted at a meeting of the various boards of higher studies in arts to the effect, that the Government of Bengal be requested to permit certain specified members of the staff of the Presidency College to act as lecturers in the post-graduate Department, the contribution from the University to Government on account of their services being foregone. The Principal was asked whether the Presidency College officers were willing to continue as lecturers in the post-graduate department in the altered conditions.

4. It appears from the correspondence, that in forwarding this letter to your office, the Officiating Principal of the Presidency College observed that it was clearly not for the Professors to reply on their own responsibility. He therefore inquired, what form the reply to the University should take, and concluded by stating that he had informed the Professors that, pending a decision, it would be an unduly drastic step for them to cease lecturing in the post-graduate department. It is understood that every officer of Presidency College who was asked by the University to lecture in the post-graduate department in arts has continued and is continuing to do so.

5. The Officiating Director of Public Instruction replied on the 17th August, 1922, to the Officiating Principal of Presidency College. He suggested that the Principal should point out to the University, that, pending a decision by Government on the resolution cited by the Secretary to the Post-Graduate Council in Arts, it could not be held that the conditions had altered, and that, as the conditions were settled between the University and the Government of Bengal, any modification thereof rested with those bodies and not with the members of the Presidency College staff. Pending a decision by Government, the Principal was authorised to agree to all or any member of the Presidency College staff continuing to help the University. But the Officiating Director of Public Instruction took no steps to refer the matter at issue to Government.

6. On the 4th December, 1922, the Secretary to the Council of Post-Graduate Teaching in Science addressed the Director of Public Instruction. The Secretary sent up the names of 15 members of the Presidency College staff, and asked that Government would permit them to act as lecturers in the Post-graduate Department of Science. The Secretary then went on to quote a resolution similar to that passed by the Boards of Higher Studies in Arts and to say that the members of the Presidency College staff were "informally" informed of the resolution, and that some of them had stated in reply that they had no objection to the proposal, if Government agreed. The letter concluded by asking that Government would agree to sanction the arrangements suggested on the terms mentioned—in other words that Government should agree to the science professors of the Presidency College doing the work of the University, all of it at the Presidency College, Government receiving no compensation whatsoever on this account.

7. The whole procedure has been entirely irregular. The University had come to an agreement with Government, and the willingness or unwillingness of the Presidency College professors to acquiesce in the discontinuance of contributions to Government to which the University had agreed—a discontinuance which in no way affected the remuneration of the officers concerned—was quite irrelevant to the point at issue. Then

again the University only addressed one letter to the Director of Public Instruction and that letter (which was not sent till December 1922—more than 5 months after the session had opened) had reference to the science side of the post-graduate department only. The University were presumably informed, as the result of Mr. Wordsworth's letter to Mr. Barrow of the 17th August, 1922, with regard to the arts lecturers that it was for the University to address Government, if they desired that the arrangements mutually accepted should be modified; but no subsequent letter appears to have been issued by the University, in the matter of the arts lecturers, either to Government or to the Director of Public Instruction. The officiating Director of Public Instruction should certainly have acquainted Government with the gist of the correspondence which passed in August, 1922, between the officiating Principal of Presidency College and himself.

8. The present position is that no contributions have been received from the University either for the academical year 1921-22 or for the year 1922-23 on account of those Presidency College professors who worked in the post-graduate department during those sessions. The Accountant-General, Bengal, is demanding that the matter should be settled without any further delay.

9. It is understood, that, when the present post-graduate system was inaugurated, the fee charged to the post-graduate students of the University (as opposed to those who appear at the examinations as Presidency College post-graduate students) was at the rate of Rs. 8 a month for art students and of Rs. 10 a month for science students. The University have since raised their fees by Rs. 2 a month all round; in other words the art student's fee is now Rs. 10 a month and the science student's fee Rs. 12 a month. It appears that the University now contend that the proportion paid to them on account of fees for post-graduate students of Presidency College should be raised by Rs. 2 a month for each student. Government gather that this claim is now put forward with retrospective effect, and they notice that the fact that the proportion of the fee receipts claimed is still before a conference of the University—a conference of which the Director of Public Instruction is a member, is adduced by the University as the reason why the finances for the academic years 1921-22 and 1922-23 cannot be adjusted as between themselves and Government.

10. The Government of Bengal recently constituted a committee to advise them as to the future of the Presidency College. One of the points on which this Committee will advise is the fee rates which should be charged in future. The whole question of the future relations between the Presidency College and the University, in the matter of post-graduate courses of study, and of the financial arrangement

which should underlie those relations will come under review. In this connexion Government will be prepared to consider any representations which the University may desire to put forward; but they are unable to admit the claim to the retrospective raising in favour of the University of that proportion of the Presidency College post-graduate fees, which may be regarded as due to the University.

11. The position of the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) is in fact that they are unable to forego, with reference to the sessions of 1921-22 and of 1922-23 their claims to such contributions from the University as may be found to be due in accordance with the agreement made with the University in 1918-19 and sanctioned in this Government's letter No. 160 T. Edn., dated the 9th May, 1918.

12. I am now to ask you to be good enough to use your influence with the University with a view to securing a settlement of the financial liabilities of that body in connection with the work which was done by Presidency College officers during the sessions 1921-22 and 1922-23 on behalf of the Post-graduate courses of the University both in Arts and in Science.

13. Copies of this letter are being forwarded to Calcutta University and the Accountant-General, Bengal.

I have, etc.,
W. W. HORNELL,
Offg. Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

The resolutions recorded on the above letters by the Executive Committees of the Councils of Post-Graduate Teaching in Arts and Science were as follows:

RESOLVED—

That the Executive Committee report to the Syndicate as follows:

(1) That the Government of Bengal be informed that the University never guaranteed that the tuition fee payable by students of the Post-Graduate Classes would for ever remain fixed at the figures mentioned in the letter of September, 1917, namely, Rs. 8 a month for subjects in which there is no laboratory work and Rs. 10 for subjects in which there is laboratory work.

(2) That the tuition fee was increased from Rs. 8 and Rs. 10 respectively to Rs. 10 and Rs. 12 respectively at the express suggestion of the Government of India.

(3) That the increase in tuition fee proposed by the Executive Committee and approved by the Council was sanctioned by the Senate on the 8th January, 1921.

(4) That it would not be proper to modify the resolution of the Senate after this lapse of time so as to prescribe for Post-graduate students attached to the Presidency College a rate of fee different from that levied from all other students.

(5) That when the names of the members of the staff of the Presidency College were included in the list of Post-graduate lecturers for 1922-23 and 1923-24, the authorities were informed that the University was not in a position to make a contribution on this account and their services have been utilised on the assumption that the Government was prepared to accept this position, it does not appear to be just that a demand should now be made by Government on this account after this lapse of time.

(6) That as the University is not in a position to make a contribution to Government, and as it appears that Government is not prepared to allow the members of the staff of the Presidency College to act as Post-Graduate Lecturers without receipt of contribution, the Government be informed that the only course now open to the University is to remove their names from the category of University Lecturers, however unfortunate such a course might prove to be.

* * *

INDIAN VERNACULARS.

Mr. Rebatimohan Dutt, M.A., a distinguished graduate of this University, and now a member of the Provincial Executive Service, has addressed the following letter to the University:

> " I have the honour to invite a reference to the new Regulations for the M.A. Degree in the Ancient Indian History and Culture and Indian Vernaculars and request you to be so good as to recommend under Regulation 8 (1) of Chapter V of Regulations of the Calcutta University, a course of studies for girls for Intermediate and B.A. Degree Examinations, on Indian History and Culture, in the principal Indian Vernacular of the province, *viz.*, Bengali. It seems anomalous that a graduate of our University could take his M.A. Degree in Bengali with a second Indian Vernacular say Hindi but could not take the first degree in Bengali; he could take his M.A. Degree in Ancient Indian Culture with the help of books—written in English and based on the original texts in Sanskrit but could not take the degree on books written in Bengali but based on original texts in Sanskrit. The aim of girls that we have got in our Schools and Colleges is principally to get sufficient information of ourselves and our native land, of our past and present culture, of our ethics, sociology and religion

that they may bring warmth of cheer and solace of peace to their respective homes. We want them to know English only in so far as it helps them to be in touch with other lands and with the present-day movements of English culture in this land. To the vast majority of our girls Indian culture and Indian studies will be the chief objective and a subsidiary test of suitable knowledge of English will suffice. Most of our girl-students are now in the school stage and we want them to be taught by lady teachers who have sufficient grounding in Indian culture and Indian studies. The degree course of studies suggested above will be the necessary equipment for such teachers. At present the courses undergone by girl students for their degree courses in History, Mathematics, Philosophy and Literature seem a great strain on the nerves of girls of their age and seem greatly lost for their purposes in life. The only profession that a small fraction of our girls may go in for, for some years to come, is teaching in our schools where as I have said above their University course is not of much usefulness. The great majority of girls will not go in for any profession and while they will be satisfied and encouraged with the course in Indian studies in their vernaculars the existing course keeps them away. The very object of the University, advancement of learning, suffers in this way. You have, Sir, always stood for advancement of learning and the tremendous advances that the University Education of Bengal has made in recent years are solely due to your strenuous efforts. I therefore make this earnest appeal to you for consideration on behalf of my girls and lady teachers. The type of education that was necessary for me for my work in this administration is not necessary for my girl and it wounds my sense of national self-respect that my girl should have to go through the same type without any necessity whatsoever.

In this connection, I further refer you to the Regulations for the B. T. course, making it necessary that a candidate should have previously obtained the ordinary degree in Arts and Science. Teaching has developed as a separate course of studies in many other Universities and the subject is rich enough for a full degree course of studies by itself. As under the Regulations in Chapter XVII female candidates are allowed to go in for the Degree Examination without studying in any affiliated College, a separate degree course in Teaching will encourage our lady teachers who receive their special training in teaching to go in for the degree and to pursue the course of studies with profit to themselves and to the institutions where they are employed. Our chief requirement in schools where these lady teachers are mostly employed is good and efficient equipment in teaching the Secondary School courses in Vernaculars and for such purpose, it seems, a good deal of the voluminous study of the general Arts course is practically lost, and as this general course is compulsory for the

> B. T. Degree the really needed teaching equipment is lost. I hesitate to enter into further details but leave them to your mighty intelligence and foresight and I do most respectfully solicit that the matters will receive your kind and early consideration."

We shall be glad to publish a full discussion of the important questions raised in this letter.

* * *

THE MINTO PROFESSORSHIP.

We have been accustomed to sneers, if not shouts, from certain quarters for imaginary mismanagement of University funds. It now transpires that notwithstanding elaborate paraphernalia for financial control, the Imperial Government and the Local Government did by *mistake* sanction for payment to the University the same sum twice over on account of the maintenance of the Minto Professorship of Economics. The University authorities spotted the mistake at once. We shall leave the Government letter to tell the story.

No. 3398 Edn.

GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL.

EDUCATION DEPARTMENT.

Education Branch.

FROM
J. A. L. SWAN, ESQ., I.C.S.,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal,

TO
THE REGISTRAR,
University of Calcutta,

The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter,
C.I.E., *Minister-in-charge.*

Calcutta, the 24th November, 1923.

SIR,

I am directed to refer to the correspondence ending with your letter No. A 192, dated the 26th September, 1923, relative to the grant for the year 1922-23 for the maintenance of the Minto Professorship of Economics at the Calcutta University. With reference to paragraph 2 of this Department letter No. 2490 Edn., dated the 24th August, 1923, you request sanction to the payment to the University of Rs. 9,750 equivalent to the undisbursed balance of the grant of Rs. 13,000, sanctioned for the purpose by the Government of India.

2. The Government of India provided the annual grant of Rs. 13,000 for the professorship in its budget estimates for the year 1922-23 and directed payment of the sum to the Calcutta University in their letter No. 598, dated the 22nd May, 1922. A copy of this letter was forwarded to you with this Department letter No. 1296 Edn., dated the 4th July, 1922, with a request that steps might be taken to draw the money from the Accountant-General, Central Revenues. The University drew a sum of Rs. 3,250 being the grant for the first quarter of 1922-23. At this stage through inadvertence in this office an order No. 1475 Edn., dated the 22nd July, 1922, was issued sanctioning *inter alia* a grant of Rs. 13,000 from provincial revenues for the same purpose for the same year. This grant was drawn in full by the University, while the grant from Central Revenues for the remaining three quarters of the year remained undrawn. The University thus drew a total sum of (Rs. 13,000+3,250)=16,250 against the sanctioned grant of Rs. 13,000.

The Government of India, having come to learn that redundant payment had been made in the circumstances stated, directed in their letter No. 855, dated the 13th August, 1922 (copy forwarded with Government order No. 2897 Edn., dated the 25th September, 1923), the re-imbursement to this Government of a sum of Rs. 9,750 being the balance of the grant sanctioned from Central Revenues for the year 1922-23 which actually remained undisbursed. To recoup the local Government fully for the payment of the grant from Provincial revenues, the Government of India left it to this Government to recover direct from the University the amount of Rs. 3,250 disbursed from Central Revenues. In view of the financial position of the University, the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) did not consider it desirable to recover the amount overdrawn and in their letter of the 25th September, 1923, quoted above, allowed the University to utilize it in meeting their deficit. As explained in that letter, the order contained in paragraph 2 of this office letter No. 2490 Edn., dated the 24th August last, directing that the amount of Rs. 13,000 overdrawn last year might be utilised in meeting the deficit of the University, was issued under a misapprehension. This Government understood that the whole amount of the grant sanctioned from Central revenues had been drawn. It was not intended to make a fresh grant of any balance thereof which remained unpaid, but merely to refrain from recovering the amount actually overdrawn. I am to say that in these circumstances the University is not entitled to receive any further contribution on account of the unpaid balance of the grant made by the Government of India for the Minto Professorship for the year 1922-23.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient servant,
J. A. L. SWAN,
Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

* * *

ENGLISH AT THE MATRICULATION EXAMINATION.

The Senate has approved the following alterations in Chapter XXX of the Regulations, which will come into operation as soon as the sanction of the Local Government is received.

I. That paragraph 10 be omitted.

II. That the following be inserted in lieu of paragraph 1 under the syllabus for English:

I. (*i*) The Matriculation Examination in English shall be a text (*a*) of ability to write clear, simple and correct English, (*b*) of intelligent comprehension of plain modern English on familiar subjects.

(*ii*) The course in English shall include select pieces in prose and verse to be prescribed by the Syndicate on the recommendation of the Board of Studies in English. The Syndicate shall also draw up, on the recommendation of the Board, a small selection of books as showing the standard up to which students will be expected to have read.

(*iii*) The first paper in English shall include passages in one of the following vernaculars for translation into English:

Bengali, Hindi, Uriya, Urdu, Burmese, Modern Armenian, Modern Tibetan, Parbatia, Assamese, Khasi, Tamil, Gujrathi, French, Telugu, Malayalam Marathi, Garo, Lushai, Kanarese, Sinhalese and Mundari.

The Syndicate shall have power to add to this list.

(*iv*) Questions shall be set under the following heads, namely:—

(*a*) Passages from prescribed texts.
(*b*) Simple unseen passages.
(*c*) Grammar and Composition.
(*d*) Translation from one of the recognised vernaculars into English.
(*e*) Simple Essays.

III. That for paragraph 6 of the Syllabus in English the following be substituted:—

Paper I—Translation from a vernacular into English; three short passages shall be set, of which two only must be attempted, each carrying twenty marks	... 40 marks
Two Essays, each carrying 15 marks ...	... 30 marks
Grammar and Composition	... 30 marks
Paper II—(*a*) Questions on the subject-matter and on the language of the prescribed texts ...	... 50 marks
(*b*) Unseen passages	... 50 marks

The object of the change, as stated in a memorandum drawn up by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, is to make obligatory the study of prescribed pieces in prose and poetry by candidates preparing for the Matriculation Examination. The change is a move in the right direction and has been unanimously supported by the Board of Studies in English and the Faculty of Arts.

* * * *

Age Limit for Matriculation Examination.

It will be in the recollection of our readers that on the 29th September last, Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee moved at the meeting of the Senate that the Senate do adhere to its resolution, dated 1st July, 1922, namely, that no age limit be prescribed for admission to the Matriculation Examination (Vol. IX, page 320). After a lively debate a division was taken with the following result :

For.	*Against.*
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.	Mr. W. W. Hornell.
Sir Nilratan Sarkar.	Principal H. C. Maitra.
Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary.	Mr. A. C. Mookerjee.
Professor P. J. Brühl.	Principal G. C. Bose.
Mr. J. C. Ghose.	Rai Bahadur K. K. Banerjee.
Dr. D. N. Mallik.	Mr. J. R. Banerjea.
Kabiraj J. B. Ray.	Mr. B. M. Majumdar.
Mr. M. N. Ray.	Father F. X. Crohan.
Mr. K. K. Chanda.	Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart.
Mr. R. P. Mookerjee.	Professor P. C. Mitter.
Rev. A. E. Brown.	Mr. R. N. Gilchrist.
Dr. J. N. Maitra.	Professor D. R. Bhandarkar.
Dr. P. N. Nandy.	Dr. M. N. Banerjee.
Mr. K. N. Mitter.	Mr. P. N. Banerjee.
Dr. P. N. Banerjee.	Aga Md. Kazim Shirazi.
Mr. J. Van Manen.	Mr. E. F. Oaten.
Professor C. V. Raman.	Pandit Asutosh Sastri.

Neutral.

The Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan.
Mr. S. N. Mallik.

As the motion was neither adopted nor negatived, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee moved that the debate be adjourned till the 24th November. The matter was evidently considered of special importance from the official point of view, otherwise it is not easy to understand why the Director of Public Instruction, who had opposed the motion, should have caused a circular to be sent to a section of members of the Senate asking them to be good enough, if possible, to attend the meeting of the Senate. On what principle the members were selected for special invitation we have not been informed. The result of the invitation was, however, manifest at the meeting of the 24th November. Members of the Senate who are generally conspicuous by their absence trooped in at the appointed time. To the surprise of all, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee proposed that the question be referred back to the Committee of the Senate previously appointed to consider the matter. This was seconded and carried *nem con.* The effect of the presence of the specially invited gentlemen was, however, felt when another item of business was taken up—that was the question of the constitution of Governing Bodies of Government Colleges.

* * *

GOVERNING BODIES OF GOVERNMENT COLLEGES.

We had occasion previously to refer to the question of the constitution of Governing Bodies of Government Colleges. The regulations require that the staff should be represented on the Governing Body. It is usual to have there the Principal *ex officio*; in addition to this, at least one other member of the staff finds a place on the Governing Body. The question which has caused some excitement in official circles is whether this other member of the staff should be elected by the staff or should be appointed by Government on the nomination of the Principal. Under a "democratic" Minister—now no longer in office—the Government expressed the view that if the right of election were conferred on such an uncultured body of men as professors of Government Colleges, the educational machinery of the province might come to pieces—for aught we know, the Professors might select from amongst themselves a young firebrand who even in the presence of the august Principal himself might dare to disclose how the College was rapidly rushing to destruction under his management. The Syndicate did not fall in with this alarmist view of the situation and recommended to the Senate that the staff might, without danger, be trusted to select their representative. The question came up before the Senate on the 24th November, 1923, and was taken up for discussion after the Matriculation Age Question had been remitted to the Committee. Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee lucidly put the case for the Syndicate and his argument was fully supported by facts and figures. The motion was duly seconded and was read out from the Chair. The Vice-Chancellor looked around and waited for a while to enable members to address the meeting. As no one rose to speak, he took the votes by show of hands in the usual manner. A few of the members raised their hands in support of the motion. A great many raised their hands *against* the motion. The true situation then became apparent; members had come determined to oppose but not to speak! Sir Asutosh Mookerjee observed that if there were members who did not approve of the motion, they should have spoken out, so that there might be a debate and both sides of the question fully thrashed out.

Still, there was no response. A division was then taken with the following result :

For.	*Against.*
Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.	Mr. W. W. Hornell.
Principal H. C. Maitra.	Mahamahopadhaya H. P. Sastri.
Mr. A. C. Mookerjee.	Rai Bahadur Chunilal Bose.
Dr. H. Stephen.	Rai Bahadur K. K. Banerjee.
Professor P. Brühl.	Moulvi A. N. Md. Waheed.
Dr. D. N. Mallik.	Rai Bahadur Lalit M. Chatterjee.
Rai Bahadur Dr. D. C. Sen.	Mr. J. R. Barrow.
Mr. B. M. Majumdar.	Father F. X. Crohan.
Kabiraj J. B. Roy.	Mr. T. S. Sterling.
Mr. M. N. Roy.	Mr. T. H. Richardson.
Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.	Moulvi Md. Irfan.
Dr. M. N. Banerjee.	Dr. T. O. D. Dunn.
Dr. H. C. Mookerjee.	Mr. J. M. Bottomley.
Mr. P. N. Banerjee.	Mr. Justice G. C. Rankin.
Mr. R. P. Mookerjee.	Dr. C. A. Bentley.
Rev. A. E. Brown.	Mr. E. F. Oaten.
Mr. A. Macdonald.	Pandit Ashutosh Sastri.
Dr. P. N. Banerjea.	Khan Bahadur Hedayet Hussain.
Mr. J. Van Manen.	Miss G. M. Wright.
Rev. N. G. Leather.	Mr. K. N. Mitter.
Professor C. V. Raman.	Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham.
	Moulvi Amin-ul-Islam.
	Mr. J. C. Mitter.

Neutral.

Dr. U. N. Brahmachari.
Principal G. C. Bose.
Sir R. N. Mukerjee.

We reserve our comments upon the merits of the question in controversy. But we feel bound to record our opinion that the novelty of the method adopted by the dissentients does not appeal to us. The Senate is convened to discuss and determine an important question of principle. Assume that there is room for divergence of opinion; the executive of the Senate bring forward a proposal; gentlemen, who find it unacceptable, give no indication of their views. It looks as if they had come determined to follow a pre-concerted line of action, regardless of arguments to the contrary. We are not in a position to state whether the circular of the Director of Public Instruction, which referred in terms to one question only, was intended to apply to both the questions in which the Government of Bengal had expressed certain opinions. Every member of the Senate should respect the opinions which may be held by those who differ from him; but he can legitimately claim that they should give him the benefit of their views and not mislead people by their silence.

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THE INDIAN ACADEMY OF ARTS.

Dr. Cousins, at the conclusion of his first lecture which gave an extremely interesting report of an enquiry as to present-day cultural activities in India, explained his scheme for the foundation of an Indian Academy of Arts. The scheme is of supreme importance from the standpoint of cultural studies and research; and in order it may have the widest publicity, we set out here its preliminary statement:

"During several tours which I have made through most of the linguistic areas of India, I have come in contact with various well-marked movements in creative literature and the fine arts. These movements, separated both by distance and language, are working independently and in ignorance of one another; yet, while rightly developing along the lines of local tradition, they are obviously simultaneous diverse expressions of a cultural awakening which is not merely

Provincial but Indian ; and as such, they will fail of their highest accomplishment if not brought into sympathetic relationship with one another.

To India as a National entity, at this moment when an attempt is being made to brand her with the stigma of racial inferiority, it is a matter of vital importance, that she should realise and assert the total strength and quality of her cultural life, and rise again to the level of the dignity and power that were hers for centuries as the centre of a cultural empire that extended from Asia Minor to Japan and from Central Asia to Java.

For some years, India has been moving in this direction, but circumstances now demand a quickening of the pace. The degeneration of taste which has come through the diversion of her educated classes towards foreign literature and art must come to an end. Her own vernacular writers and artists must be encouraged, and their works must be given an All-India public.

To this end, and after personal consultation with many creative artists and appreciators of literature and art, during a recent tour from Madras through Bengal, Behar, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Kashmir, Sindh, Gujarat and Bombay, it is proposed that there be founded, as soon as possible, an Indian Academy of Arts, consisting of (*a*) Constituent Academies in each linguistic area; or, where the linguistic area covers more than one traditional cultural area (as, for example, Hindi covers Sindh and Rajputana), an Academy for each cultural area; or, where a traditional cultural area, such as Kashmir or Behar, has more than one language, an Academy with a department for each language in the area; these Constituent Academies to be designated later as may be found most desirable; (*b*) of a Central Academy.

The work of the Constituent Academies will be to find out and bring together in mutual intercourse the writers, artists and art-craftsmen in the various area ; to promote local recitals of literature and music, and exhibitions of arts and art-crafts; and to report to the Central Academy the best works produced in the area during a given period.

The work of the Central Academy will be to record the reports of the Constituent Academies; to make the best works of the period known throughout India by the translation of literature from language to language, and the reproduction of pictures and photographs of architecture, sculpture, carving and art-objects; and to publish a magazine in English as a means of disseminating a knowledge of the highest achievements of Indian culture throughout the world.

Details of the Constitution of the Academy are being worked out. Meanwhile, it is requested that you send me at the earliest possible moment the following information written (for uniformity in filling) on quarto paper, and giving the number of each item at the beginning of your reply.

1. Your name and full postal address, and special cultural activity or interest.

2. The name and address of anyone likely to be interested to whom you have transmitted a copy of this circular.

3. The name and address of anyone to whom you desire further copies to be sent.

4. The Sanskrit designation which you consider most suitable for the Academy as a whole (The Indian Academy of Arts); and the designation which you think most suitable for the Constituent Academy in your area.

5. The language or languages of your area.

6. The title, name of author and publisher, and price of any history of literature in the language of your area, or any representative collections of prose or poetry. Give these in both the vernacular and English.

7. The same information as to similar books published in English.

8. The same information as to a recently published (*a*) book of poems, (*b*) drama, (*c*) novel, (*d*) short story, or (*e*)

general prose work, from your area, which you consider worthy of being translated into the other Indian languages.

9. Particulars as to a recent work of art which you consider worthy of being reproduced or photographed.

10. The names and addresses of established and promising writers and artists in your area, with some particulars as to their life and works.

As soon as the above information is received and tabulated, definite steps will be taken to found the Academy and proceed with its much needed work.

Your immediate and thorough attention is earnestly requested.

JAMES H. COUSINS,
Brahmavidyashrama, Adyar."

Madras, September 1, 1923.

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PROFESSOR SOLUS.

Professor Henry Solus of the University of Poitiers, who has been invited to deliver a course of lectures on "the Spirit of French Civil Law" as Tagore Professor of Law, arrived in Calcutta this morning and will commence his lectures from. The following is the Syllabus of his lectures to-morrow.

1. History and Sources of French Civil Law.
2. The Matrimonial Bond.
3. Effects of the relation of Husband and Wife.
4. The Matrimonial Regimes.
5. Parent and Child.
6. The Protection of Persons subject to Legal Incapacity.
7. Ownership and the Rights "in rem."
8. Nature and Sources of Obligations.
9. General Effects of Obligations.
10. The Securities.
11. The Law of Successions.
12. Donations and Wills.

MAHAMAHOPADHAY PANDIT KRISHNACHARAN TARKALANKAR.

We beg to offer our cordial congratulations to Pandit Krishnacharan Tarkalankar, one of the most learned members of the Post-Graduate Department in Sanskrit. Behind his modest appearance and unassuming manners lies concealed a profound knowledge of Hindu Law which was evidenced in his commentary on the *Udbaha Tattwa* of Raghunandan. The title of "Mahamahopadhyay" could not have been conferred on a more deserving person.

* * *

SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

Retirement from the High Court.

On the 3rd December, 1923, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee tendered his resignation, with effect from 1st January, 1924, of his appointment as one of His Majesty's Judges in the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal, which he had held from the 6th June, 1904. It has been known for some months past that he had felt the combination of work in the High Court and work in the University as an undue strain on his health, and that he had decided to resign his appointment in the High Court to enable him to devote himself to the work of the University as much as may be necessary. The fact of resignation was not publicly known till the 18th December, 1923, after it had been accepted by the Governor-General in Council. On Friday afternoon, the 21st December, 1923, the members of the different branches of the legal profession assembled in the presence of the Full Court to bid him farewell. The Court room was densely packed with members of the profession and of the public.

Mr. Bussunt Coomar Bose, President of the Vakils' Association, read the following address:

"TO THE HONOURABLE JUSTICE SIR ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE,
KT., C.S.I., M.A., D.L., PH.D., D.SC., ETC., ETC.
One of the Judges of the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

MY LORD,

It is with feelings of the deepest regret that we, the Members of the Vakils' Association, approach your Lordship to bid you farewell on the eve of your retirement from the Bench, which you have so conspicuously adorned for the last twenty years.

Your career as a Judge has been characterised throughout by profound learning, great ability, marked independence, untiring patience and uniform courtesy, qualities by which you have always commanded the respect and admiration of all branches of the profession.

Your successful and brilliant career as a Judge is a source of pride to the members of the profession to which you belonged, and will ever remain an illustrious example to the body.

While discharging your arduous duties as a Judge, you have not been sparing in your labours for the advancement of the country in educational and other matters. As a fellow of the Calcutta University for the last thirty-five years, and as its second Indian Vice-Chancellor, you secured to the graduates of the University many valuable privileges, and you have always worked for the welfare of our youths with singular zeal and wisdom.

And now in taking leave of you, my Lord, we fervently hope and pray that many years of health and strength may yet be vouchsafed to you to work with greater vigour in various spheres of usefulness for the Motherland.

I have the honour to be,
MY LORD,
Your most obedient servant,
BUSSUNT COOMAR BOSE,
President,
Vakils' Association, High Court."

Mr. B. L. Mitter, Officiating Advocate General of Bengal, next spoke as follows :

"On behalf of the Bar, I desire to associate myself with what has been said by my learned friend Babu Basanta Kumar Bose. Your services in educational, literary, scientific and social spheres are well known. Apart from the brilliance of your career on the Bench, you have earned the esteem and affection of the Bar by your uniform courtesy, quick appreciation and constant encouragement of diffident merit. No junior felt embarrassed in your Court where good law was well administered. In the maze and labyrinth of adjudged cases, you ever walked with a firm step, holding aloft the torch of justice. You demonstrated the truth of the old saying 'No precedents can justify absurdity.'

Long may you be spared in the service of the country. We bid you farewell with a heavy heart."

The Hon'ble Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary followed, on behalf of the Incorporated Law Society :

"In the unavoidable absence of the President of the Incorporated Law Society, I take this opportunity to associate myself and my colleagues whole-heartedly with the sentiments that have been so admirably expressed in the Address presented by the Vakils and endorsed by the Advocate General on behalf of the Bar. Our branch of the profession had not the same opportunity to appear before you as the Vakils had on the Appellate Side of this Court, but we are glad to acknowledge that in Appeals from the Original Side, the Bench presided over by you gave special satisfaction to all concerned. Let me add that the void created by your retirement will be difficult to fill. In your activities outside the Court, whether in the University, the Asiatic Society, the Mathematical Society or in the various other Institutions with which you have been identified, you have always worked with a whole-hearted devotion which it would be difficult to equal or replace."

Sir Lancelot Sanderson, the Chief Justice, spoke as follows:

"My learned brothers and I join in the expressions of regret which have been made at the Bar with reference to the retirement of Mr. Justice Mookerjee from the Bench. The many activities of the learned Judge present a proposition of such dimensions that it would be difficult if not impossible to deal adequately with it in the short time which is at my disposal. I feel however that it is not necessary for me to dwell upon them at any length, because the learned Judge and his strenuous life are well known to you all.

The point which is uppermost in my mind and which I desire to emphasise is that I am sure that among all his interests—and their number is legion—those which have been, and I believe always will be, dear to his heart are the welfare of this Court and the profession to which he belongs. In all that he has done during the many years that he has sat on the Bench, I am convinced that he has been actuated by one desire only, namely, to maintain the great traditions of the Court and to promote the administration of justice in all its branches. His great knowledge, his wonderful memory and his untiring energy have been devoted to this purpose for nearly twenty years, and his service in this respect will always be remembered and will constitute a record of which any man is entitled to be proud. He has been an outstanding personality not only in the Court but also in Bengal, and I think I may say with propriety that his name has been known and his influence felt throughout the whole of India. Though he is retiring from the Bench, I am confident that he will continue to take a lively interest in the welfare of the Court and the profession, and I hope that the relations between him and the judges of this Court, which have been so cordial in the past, will long continue in the future.

Though not in the best of health at the moment, I sincerely hope that the rest which he has so well deserved will soon restore him to his usual robustness and that he may be privileged to enjoy good health for many years. I feel sure that opportunities will present themselves for doing much useful work in other capacities.

In conclusion I desire to take this opportunity of acknowledging my own indebtedness to my learned brother for his unfailing and loyal assistance which he has always rendered to me as Chief Justice of this Court."

The Hon'ble Justice Sir Asutosh Mookerjee replied as follows :

"Mr. Bose, Mr. Mitter and Sir Devaprasad Sarbadhikary,

The addresses which you have just delivered have afforded me the greatest gratification. It is impossible for a judge to receive such addresses on the eve of his retirement from office without feeling greatly honoured and at the same time without being deeply affected. To be told, as I have been told, that I have earned the esteem and affection of the members of the profession by my patience; courtesy and encouragement of diffident merit and to receive that assurance in the terms which have just been addressed to me by so learned and independent a body as those whom I am now addressing is a matter of true self-congratulation. During the twenty years that I have been privileged to administer justice in the name of my Sovereign in this great Court, I have never spared myself in the discharge of my responsible duties. You have referred to my knowledge of law and to my efforts to hold aloft the torch of justice in the maze and labyrinth of adjudged cases. I have worked strenuously in the firm belief that without great labour success cannot be attained and that it would have been impossible otherwise to do justice in dealing with those important and abstruse questions which have come before me for adjudication in the course of my career. But notwithstanding diligent study of the Science of Law for more than a third of a century, I have now a more profound and abiding sense of ignorance than oppressed me in the beginning of my career. I have ever felt that it would have been almost impossible for me to arrive at sound and correct conclusions without the valuable assistance which I have always derived from the members of an intelligent, learned and independent legal profession. I frankly and gratefully acknowledge my debt to the distinguished practitioners whose arguments have been characterised by learning, ingenuity and research. But for such assistance, I could not have realized, even to a limited extent, my desire to decide every case upon its merits, to administer justice according to right, and to act upon the true and sound principles of justice, equity and good conscience. You have referred to my independence as a judge. I have throughout endeavoured strenuously to hold the scales of justice even and to treat alike all litigants without distinction of caste, creed, race or position, regardless of the status of the Counsel engaged before me, whether Barrister or Vakil, whether senior or junior. I have never favoured attempts to restrict the jurisdiction of this Court, and I have tried uniformly to keep wide open the gates of the Temple of Justice, so that every litigant who considered, rightly or wrongly, that he had a grievance, might not have his cause summarily rejected and might have the amplest opportunity to place his case fully on the merits before the highest tribunal—the ultimate Court of Appeal in the land. My ambition has been to attain the ideal of Judicial administration, to hear patiently, to consider diligently, to understand rightly, to decide justly. It is for others to judge what measure of success I may have achieved, notwithstanding inevitable errors of judgment. I have now, Gentlemen, to bid you all collectively farewell. It is my sincere wish that you may all enjoy health, happiness and prosperity, and that you may maintain the highest dignity and the noblest tradition of the profession to which we all belong, for I am firmly convinced that the function of this Court as the potent instrument for the administration of justice amongst the people of this land can be completely fulfilled, only with the aid of a learned, independent and respectable legal profession.

Finally, Chief Justice, let me thank you most sincerely for the kind words you have spoken of my services in this Court. It is superfluous for me to give you and my colleagues the assurance that whatever may be the sphere of my work in future, the welfare of this Court will hold the first place in my heart. Farewell!"

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee sat in Court even on the 31st December, 1923, the last day of his term of office, to deliver judgments in two important cases.

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The *Indian Daily News*, on the 22nd December, 1923, spoke of his retirement as follows:

"Sir Asutosh Mookerjee retired from the Bench yesterday. The event has come off six months earlier than the statutory period owing, we are told, to reasons of health. Whatever it is, the retirement of such an eminent Judge is a grievous loss to the Judiciary over which he has presided for twenty long years. His career was one of exceptional brilliance and he had summed up in his person all the best attributes of a Judge —a well-equipped mind, profound learning, patience, courtesy and thorough independence. The Vakil Bar, therefore, did not use the language of mere convention when in its address yesterday it referred to these qualities and assured Sir Asutosh that it was owing to these that he had 'always commanded the respect and admiration of all branches of the profession.'

The Calcutta Bar's panegyric was also well bestowed by the Advocate-General who alluded to Sir Asutosh's eminence in the other fields of learning—literary and scientific. Sir Deb Prasad Sarbadhikari speaking on behalf of the Incorporated Law Society followed in the same strain and stressed the void that his retirement would cause on the High Court Bench. The Chief Justice was very happy in his appreciation of the sterling worth of his colleague and frankly admitted his indebtedness to Sir Asutosh for the legal assistance which he had always rendered to Sir Lancelot as Chief Justice of the Court. Sir Asutosh's reply was very appropriate. Above all, it was markedly dignified. He paid a compliment to the profession and acknowledged the aid it always rendered him in the discharge of his duties and, for his part, he pointed out how he tried to hold the balance even between the members of the profession and between litigant and litigant. Possibly he meant this tradition to be handed down to those who are coming after him and he indulged in this pardonable piece of egoism in the interests of both the Bench and the Bar. Sir Asutosh was not only a great Judge but he was also the upholder of the great traditions of the highest Court of Judicature in Bengal. That tradition he upheld with remarkable success and he expects those coming next to him to follow in his foot-steps. Sir Asutosh as a Judge ceases to exist from to-day but his great work on the Bench will endure for ever. If it is true that Judge-made law is, after all, the best law, Sir Asutosh's contributions in this respect have been simply invaluable. And when posterity comes to review his work as a Judge it will find how eminent he was. However, his countrymen hope that the High Court's loss would be the country's gain. A very first class intellect was lost in the legal tomes and unfettered it is expected to be more freely and more liberally used in the service of his country. The Calcutta University of to-day is the enduring monument of his genius. It will always engage his first attention. There is no doubt about that. But the political atmosphere of his country has, of late, been in a state of dangerous contamination. It requires purification and those who have known Sir Asutosh for years are of opinion that the work could be best undertaken by him. His influence in the country is great—he is respected and adored—and Bengali politics will be immensely benefited if he cares to guide it and leave on it the impress of his towering intellect."

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Forward followed on the 23rd December, 1923, with a leader.in the following terms:

"The retirement of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee from the High Court Bench of which he was an ornament for twenty years, is an event of outstanding importance for more reasons than one. The High Court is distinctly poorer to-day without him. But what is probably an irreparable loss to the High Court may prove to be a tremendous accession of strength to the ranks of the fighters for the country's freedom. The country is on the tip-toe of expectation as to the next move of this great "Bengal tiger" as he has been facetiously described.

A pupil of Sir Rashbehary Ghose, Sir Asutosh was in possession of a lucrative practice when he was called to the Bench. If the *guru* was able to establish a reputation for advocacy second to none in the whole of India, the *chela* in his own sphere did equally good. Between them they had fully maintained, and more than maintained, the premier position of Bengal in the intellectual aristocracy of India.

A walking encyclopædia of legal knowledge, Sir Asutosh combined in him all the qualities that go to make a great Judge—'great ability, marked independence, untiring patience, and uniform courtesy'—to which reference was made by the Vakils in their farewell address. If he had the reputation of being the one Judge who could not be hoodwinked by the forensic jugglery of the cleverest lawyer, the humblest litigant had this confidence in him that he would get justice even against the most powerful. The humble seeker of justice whose means did not permit him to get able legal assistance, had little reason to fear if he had the good fortune to have his case heard before the Bench of Sir Asutosh. The Judge's unrivalled knowledge of law, the great care he bestowed on all cases, big or small, and his anxiety to do justice, more than made up the inexperienced pleading of lawyers. He knew that the poor man's "small" interest was as big to him as the "big" interests of the rich or the powerful. This confidence in Sir Asutosh is, we think, the proudest feather in his cap as a Judge. To the firmness and fairness of a Sir Barnes Peacock, the learning and patience of a Dwarka Nath Mitra, he had added industry to a degree never attained by any of his predecessors or colleagues.

It is sometimes said—and the charge was repeated the other day before the Royal Commission on Public Services—that Indian Judges were apt to sacrifice justice at the altar of legal technicality. Unfounded as the charge is, the innumerable judgments of Sir Asutosh are a striking refutation of it. Steeped in the knowledge of law which a "wonderful memory" helped to keep always ready at hand, he never allowed himself to forget that the spirit of the law was greater than the letter of it and justice divorced of equity was no justice at all. His judgments which will go down to posterity as a valuable contribution to the legal literature of the world, bear on them the impress not only of deep learning but of consummate skill in bringing out the true aim of law—justice as even the common man understands it. He was not the slave of law, as many judges are, but the master of it.

The Vakils in their address rightly laid stress on the 'Independence' of Sir Asutosh as a judge. We are sure it will be an interesting study—a record of anecdotes and instances of his independence, when it comes to be compiled. Some of the striking examples of his independence as a man are unforgettable and will live down to a remote generation. The challenge that he threw up to the present Governor of Bengal when relinquishing the office of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and the knock-out blow he dealt when vindicating his own honour and the honour of his *alma mater*, will ever be an inspiration to the present generation of his countrymen and many generations to come. The shackles of office often galled him and he made no secret of it to his friends. But on occasions the giant in him would burst forth making short work of the shackles, to the horror of those who swore by property, but to the delight and admiration of his countrymen. That he has at last been able to get rid of the bondage of office must be a relief to him as it is a pleasure to his countrymen who want his guidance in the broad arena of public life.

Not the least among the reasons which has made Sir Asutosh the centre of the hopes and aspirations of his countrymen is his sturdy nationalism. In his dress and manners, habits and faith, he has been always a thorough-going Bengalee—a Bengalee Nationalist. More than perhaps any other Indian, he has made our Nationalism respected by foreigners. And Nationalism with him is not a mere convention, but it is inherent in him ; one may almost say, it is in his blood.

Sir Asutosh possesses in an abundant measure the qualities of leadership, *viz.*, sturdy independence, ripe judgment, varied experience of men and affairs, volcanic energy and indomitable will. If he can only venture to make the sacrifice and take the risk involved in the leadership of a people in death-grips with the bureaucracy for their birthright of freedom, a new and more glorious career awaits him."

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The Calcutta Weekly Notes, in its issue of the 31st December, 1923, published an eloquent appreciation in the following terms:

"Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's intensely active career as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court comes to a close with to-day. To have been a Judge of the High Court for nearly twenty years and to have retired from the Bench in the full possession of powers and faculties which the youngest and most brilliant of his colleagues may well envy, would have been distinction enough, measured by ordinary standards, but Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's is just one of those personalities which do not admit of being measured by ordinary standards. Great as he has been as a Judge and indefatigable though he has been in the discharge of his duties, the fact is obvious that they proved all too insufficient to give full occupation to his exceptional abilities. Amongst the tributes paid to him by the Bench and the Bar on the eve of the closing of the Courts for the Christmas holidays, that from his Lordship the Chief Justice struck the right note when he remarked that the many activities of the retiring Judge presented a proposition of such dimensions that he despaired of being able to deal with them at the short time at his disposal. His Lordship also gave correct expression to the passing thought of every one present when he said that Sir Asutosh's had been an outstanding personality not only in the Court, and not merely in Bengal but throughout the whole of India. We may add that it is owing to want of opportunities (which again is due mainly to the subordinate position that India holds in the Council of Nations and the unfavourable political conditions of the country which cramps and paralyses all indigenous talent) that Sir Asutosh is not at this moment one of the outstanding personalities of the world. Learning, courage, organising power, capacious memory, keen intellect, unlimited capacity for industry and a masterful personality are amongst the qualities that have helped him to push his way to the front rank amongst his contemporaries in this country. Although we have differed from him at times on public questions, yet we have never failed to recognise that the Bar, the Bench, the Calcutta University and its associated activities have failed to provide adequate scope for the unusally rich heritage of faculties and powers which by nature is his and which unlike many men similarly endowed he has spared no pains to cultivate and develop.

Speaking of Sir Asutosh's judicial career, the outstanding feature is undoubtedly his erudition. His reported judgments which touch and illuminate almost every topic of legal learning, collected together, would cover volumes. It will be years before it will be possible to appraise correctly at their real worth the service he has rendered in exploring and interpreting a system of law which is not the less difficult of application and elucidation because it is so largely and incoherently statutory. With untiring industry and wide research he carried on for twenty years a work initiated by the late Sir Bhashyam Ayyangar during his all too short tenure of office as a High Court Judge. This alone would have been sufficient to perpetuate his memory as one of the most eminent Judges and Lawyers India has produced. But the quality and quantity of his written opinions, however remarkable by themselves, form but a small part of his claim to remembrance as a Judge. His manner of dealing with cases in Court was ideal from the point of view as well of the parties concerned as of the legal practitioners appearing for them. His relations with the latter were of the happiest and that not in the conventional sense only. A deeply learned and knowing lawyer may, and as we know often does, prove a most trying person on the Bench. He is apt to be impatient of the facts and contemptuous of the law sought to be presented before him. But Sir Asutosh's avidity for getting in and analysing all the relevant facts in every case that came before him and his longing for knowing all the law bearing thereon was extraordinary. His attitude therefore to the members of the Bar appearing before him was always of one desirous of knowing and expecting to be informed. The veriest junior had therefore no occasion to feel diffident over his case, if he had real assistance to render to the Bench, and work well and conscientiously done whether by junior or senior never failed of quick and generous recognition. In the appreciation of merit, whether on the Bench or outside, Sir Asutosh was absolutely impersonal. His courtesy towards members of the Bar—and indeed towards all with whom he came into contact—has always been unassumed and cordial. It is owing to this that through the bitterest of controversies, of which a man of his varied activities, accustomed to give and receive hard knocks, has often inevitably found himself the target, his genuine hold on the admiration of his countrymen has never waned.

Sir Asutosh's retirement from office is a grievous loss to the Bench and to the public. Nevertheless, we venture to think that the loss to the latter through his absorption in the work of the High Court and the University, great as that work has been intrinsically, is even greater. Looking back to the day when he accepted the Judgeship, when Lord Ampthill was Governor-General, we cannot help thinking that had he remained at the Bar and taken his share in the political life of the country, he would have found work to-day more commensurate with his commanding abilities. Even now, it is impossible to believe that these, liberated as they have been from the calls of an exacting office, will not hereafter be placed more freely at the service of his countrymen in the very critical times through which they are now passing. Sir Asutosh retires from the Bench with his faculties unimpaired and his capacity for work and labour and his influence over the educated community undiminished. It lies in him to make this day, the day of his retirement, the turning point for a new career. Is it too much to expect that he will respond to the call, when the call comes ?

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The Indian Mirror, in its issue of 23rd December, 1923, wrote as follows :

" To say that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's retirement from the High Court Bench is a loss to the judicial administration is to present a fact in regard to which there can be no divergence of opinion. Not one of the compliments paid to him on Friday when he sat on the Bench for the last time, was misplaced. The Chief Justice correctly described him as 'an outstanding personality, not only in the Court but also in Bengal,' as one whose name has been known and whose influence has been felt throughout the whole of India. Summing him up, as a whole, it will be no exaggeration to say that he is without a peer among Indians of the present day. His matchless intellect has always been at work for the welfare of the country. For the past thirty-five years he has been a towering pillar of the Calcutta University, and the people of Bengal know well what he has done for the advancement of education.

The youth of Bengal have never had a truer friend, a wiser guide, and when the history of education in Bengal comes to be written by some dispassionate observer, he will undoubtedly be honoured with the title 'Father of Education in Bengal.' His many activities as Sir Lancelot Sanderson aptly remarked, 'present a proposition of such dimensions that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to deal adequately with it.' Who is not aware of his practical efforts towards social reform ? A Brahman of Brahmans, a prince among Hindus, devout and God-fearing to a degree that is almost rare in these days, he has practised the highest religion—the religion of love, irrespective of caste, race and creed. Whether on the Bench, in the Senate House, or at home, he is accessible to all, and his helping hand has never been withheld from any one.

As a Judge, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has been a model of justice. 'In the maze and labyrinth of adjudged cases he has walked with a firm step, holding aloft the torch of justice.' So said the Advocate General, Mr. B. L. Mitter, and that is literally true. He kept wide open the gates of justice, so that the poorest litigant might get a hearing. Of him it may be truly said that he was a Judge whom honour could not corrupt. 'A good and faithful Judge ever prefers the honourable to the expedient,' says Horace; and that fitly applies to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee.

Of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's contributions to science, literature and research, little need be said. The Asiatic Society, the Mathematical Society, and the various institutions for the encouragement of Sanskrit speak of his whole-hearted devotion to the cause of learning. The title 'Saraswati' could not have been conferred upon a worthier man.

While Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's retirement from the Bench is deeply regretted throughout the country, it is a consolation to feel that henceforward he will be free to devote his great talents to the welfare of the country in other spheres. Never was Bengal in need of a political leader so much as at present; and it is generally felt that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee is the best man to fill that role. The Constitutional party, which is now like a ship without a captain, could be considerably strengthened by his leadership. If Government were to look for a capable minister, where could it find one better than Sir Asutosh—the man without prejudice and passion, who for nearly a quarter of a century held the scales of justice even and enjoyed the esteem and confidence of all classes and denominations? Let us hope, for the sake of Bengal which Sir Asutosh loves so greatly and in whose service he has spent the best energies of his life, he will now take that part in public life for which he is pre-eminently fitted.

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DEMOCRATIC CONTROL OF UNIVERSITIES

The authorities of the Lucknow University Union, which has been founded on the model of similar institutions at Cambridge and Oxford, utilised the presence of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee at Lucknow, in connection with the University Convocation, to arrange a debate in the Bennett Hall, Canning College Building, on Tuesday the 8th January, 1924. There was a large assembly of University teachers and students, besides a distinguished gathering of European and Indian ladies and gentlemen, as it was anticipated that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee might be induced to join in the debate. The proposition for debate had been framed in the following terms :

"That, in the opinion of this House, the Ministers and the Councils are justified in exercising control over the administration of the Universities."

The proposition was ably moved by Mr. Khurshed and was equally ably opposed by Mr. S. C. Ray. Mr. B. P. Bagchi then came forward to support the mover. Mr. S. N. Chakrabarti next followed with a hostile speech. Mr. D. Pant thereafter stepped in, to the rescue of the mover. At this stage, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was invited to participate in the debate. He responded, amidst enthusiastic cheers, with impromptu remarks which took up the best part of an hour. The daily papers came out next morning with a report of what was described as "the powerful speech of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee." We reproduce the substance here :

" Mr. President and Members of the Lucknow University Union,

It is my pleasant duty to offer you my sincerest thanks for the enthusiastic welcome you have accorded me this evening. I am not here to deliver an address on the democratic control of Universities ; but I have agreed to join in the debate on this important matter as it is the burning topic of the hour. The speeches which have been delivered by the speakers who have preceded me, are so full of eloquence that you are likely to draw erroneous conclusions upon this difficult question. I have formed an inveterate habit, to scrutinise closely the terms of every proposition which I am called upon to adopt. I cannot avoid this course in respect of the proposition now before the House, namely, that the Ministers and the Councils are justified in exercising control over the administration of the Universities. Three gentlemen have warmly supported this proposition, while two have strenuously opposed it. Those that have supported it have, as I shall presently establish, given away their cases. But I may advise them in advance that if they have not already taken to the study of law, they should do so forthwith and adopt the legal profession as their career in life, because, I assure them, they will be the best defenders of rotten cases (Laughter). The proposition under consideration, I take it, refers to India alone ; I further trust it is not too large an assumption to make that it refers to the present and not to the future. We are consequently called upon to examine the proposition in view of the provisions of the existing constitution and in view of the present race of Ministers and Councillors; we are not concerned with the possibilities of the future. I now affirm without hesitation that the three gentlemen who have supported the proposition have placed themselves hopelessly out of Court. Each of them argued, by implication, at least, that the proposition was expressed in terms so comprehensive that it could not possibly be approved by any gentleman who called himself educated in a University (Cheers). Each of them, in the course of argument, introduced qualifications with a view to restrict its operation. Whether this was done deliberately or under the stress of circumstances, I do not feel called upon to enquire (Laughter). The distinguished speakers all forgot, however, that it was not open to them to amend the proposition, as no notice of amendment had been given. But if amendments had been allowed, I am sure they would have exceeded 70, which I understand is the precise number of questions asked in the Court of the Benares Hindu University with reference to the possible or impossible misdeeds of its present Vice-Chancellor. We are thus called upon to examine, if the Ministers and the Councillors, under the Government of India Act, 1919, are justified in exercising control over the administration of the Universities. There is no limitation suggested here as to the nature or extent of the control. There is no indication as to the possible qualifications of the Ministers and the Councillors, such as were tacitly assumed by one of the speakers. Consequently, if the proposition is affirmed, we hand over the Universities, to Ministers and Councillors—mighty Unknowns and mysterious Unknowables—and authorise them to exercise any kind of control they consider proper over the administration of the Universities in any form they choose (Prolonged cheers).

I pass on to scrutinize the significance of the term 'control' which is in high favour in superior circles; it has an innocent look, but it excites my suspicion. One of the speakers treated it as equivalent to 'criticism'—instinct warns me that it is not so harmless! Another speaker regarded the term 'control' as convertible with 'general control.' I cannot fix the bounds of this charmingly vague phrase, but I feel confident that if I were to frame a definition, it would be rejected by Ministers and Councillors. In any event, this much is incontrovertible that if A seeks to control B, the first essential that has to be established by him is that he is a fit and proper person to exercise such control over the other. When your Ministers and Councillors come and say that they will exercise control over the University, we ask, what are your credentials? What are your qualifications? Have you experience of University administration? What is the basis of your judgment, the principle of your action? Is your demand really authorised by the democracy (Cheers)? I yield to none in this hall in my fervent admiration of democracy and democratic institutions; at the same time, I realise the weaknesses and the dangers of democracy. When a democracy imperiously demands control over the University, I answer without hesitation, 'pause my friends, your claim will become admissible only when democracy ceases to be a democracy and is transformed into an intellectual aristocracy' (Cheers and Laughter). What is the University? It is the crown of our educational edifice. No University man will seriously suggest that we should hand over the control of the University to a democracy, which has not yet come under the influence, much less realised the value, of the highest ideals of education in the life of the nation. Believe me, it is the function of the University to raise the nation, to guide the nation (Cheers), to elevate the leaders of the democracy, not to be guided by them (Hear, Hear). You have appealed to the lessons deducible from the history of other countries which enjoy the blessings of different types of democracy. There was no democracy more cultured than the democracy of the Greeks, the most cultured of the nations of antiquity the world has witnessed. Yet, it was this democracy which so grievously failed to recognise the sacredness of liberty of thought and speech that it made Socrates drink the juice of hemlock. Your democracy is not more cultured than the democracy of the Greeks, and yet you suggest that the Universities should be placed under democratic control. If your contention prevailed, do you imagine a Bacon would be given a place in your University or a Darwin be tolerated in the novel academic sphere (Cheers) ? [1]

You have spoken of your Ministers and of your Councillors. They are all excellent men, and let me assure you in all seriousness that I entertain genuine admiration for the way they have acquitted themselves in the discharge of their difficult duties. But when you assume that they are competent—each and all of them—to control the administration of the Universities, the dark shadows of doubt and hesitation imperceptibly creep over my mind. I mean no disrespect to their intellectual attainments, but I am so dense that I cannot really convince myself that they are qualified for their self-imposed task. My knowledge of the contents of the Government of India Act is, I am free to admit, not very profound. But I believe I am not in error when I state that the framers of that epoch-making statute have forgotten to insert a clause which might have required that every Councillor should have attained the high intellectual standard implied by a pass at the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta University and that every Minister should have taken his Degree in Political Science in the University of Lucknow (Laughter). The truth is that there is no guarantee that a Councillor or that even a Minister is in any manner fit to exercise control over the administration of a University. If they were allowed an effective voice in the administration of the University, bad as we are, we shall rapidly get worse, and we shall soon be past redemption and reclamation (Laughter). Let me tell you a story—what I am about to narrate is a real incident. A distinguished member of a Legislature told me, with refreshing frankness, that his grievance against me was that I had employed a Professor of Pali. I enquired if what was imputed to me constituted a crime. He answered: 'Pali is a dead language—more dead than even Sanskrit. You are a Brahmin. Why do you spend money on a Buddhist monk from Ceylon who teaches Pali to your pupils? If they take their Degree in Pali, they will not earn even five rupees a month.' I said, 'I plead guilty to the charge, but I shall not abandon my intention to turn out as many graduates in Pali as possible, to reform all future Councillors' (Cheers). That is the ideal of a fairly educated gentleman who is a member of the Council and is not yet a Minister. I cannot overlook another aspect of the situation,—the Minister is a creature of party politics. Even if he be, when left to himself, inclined to behave as an enlightened man, he is bound to guide himself by the inclination of the party he has the privilege to represent (Cheers). One of the speakers said that a Minister might be trusted not to abuse his limitless authority, not to interfere needlessly with the administration of the University. But what is or is not needless, may have to be determined on non-academic grounds —the decision may be coloured by the exigencies of party politics. I shall not be surprised if a Mahomedan Minister of Education were driven to hold that as the present Professor of Indian History in the University of Lucknow is a pious Brahmin from Bengal, his successor should be an orthodox Moslem from the Punjab. His judgment might be unconsciously affected by the circumstance that if he took up this position, he would not only capture the support of his party but would in addition place his salary beyond danger (Cheers). A suave non-Brahmin Minister in another part of India might well adopt a similar policy with regard to all University appointments, which, in the past, have, it is asserted, been monopolised by haughty Brahmins. If you get your University under a truly democratic Minister of Education, the first man to disappear would be Dr. Mookerjee—I mean not the astute economist but the dreamy historian (Cheers). The Minister may, with perfect justice—with the typical justice which would captivate his democratic followers or masters, —say, 'I have never been able to understand what Dr. Mookerjee has realised, except his own salary (Laughter). He has explored the history of Ancient Indian Shipping. He has extolled the glories of Ancient Indian Common-wealths. But these are not present-day questions; they do not help the solution of the bread problem in the remotest degree. The Chair held by Dr. Mookerjee should accordingly be kept in abeyance, if not permanently abolished.' The Professor, who would next find himself in predicament, would be Dr. Karam Narain Bahl (the Chairman). He is a distinguished zoologist, but with all respect for him, the Minister and the Councillors may well ask, 'What has zoology done for the progress of the race, except to establish that Man is descended from the Ape and still retains some of the virtues of his primeval ancestor? Zoologists supervise museums where extinct animals are preserved; and they publish unintelligible monographs on crabs and fishes.' So disappear into oblivion the Professor of Zoology and his assistants. The Professors of Mental and Moral Philosophy and of Experimental Psychology, if they exist in this University, will follow him in due course, until, alas, we shall have none left to advance the bounds of human knowledge except Chemists and Blacksmiths (Cheers).

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[1] The names of Bacon, Darwin, Lavoisier, Laplace and many other immortal leaders of thought are carved on the walls of the Bennett Hall, where the debate was held—Ed.

Before you decide to adopt the proposition now under discussion, may I press you to pause and ascertain what happens elsewhere~~.~~? We have been described as adroit imitators; but whether that be or be not a malicious untruth, our rulers have given us Ministers and Councillors in imitation of what has grown up in their own land in the course of centuries. Whether this has been wise or unwise statesmanship, it is fruitless to discuss—there are, as we all know, two opposing schools of thought on this as on all other subjects under the sun. The fact remains that the step has been taken by those in authority, and you have got your Ministers and Councillors. Now, if you study closely the history of the work of the Councils during the last three years, you find that they have, in many instances, endeavoured to interfere in the internal administration of the Universities. We are followers of precedents, but we shall search in vain for a parallel from the history of the Mother of Parliaments. We have yet to learn that the British House of Commons sits solemnly to discuss the details of University administration in Leeds, Manchester or Sheffield (Cheers). What has been performed here could have been achieved only by the representatives of a newborn democracy. The substance of the matter is that democracy here has not yet been able to take its own bearings, to appreciate its duties and responsibilities, to realise vividly the dangers which encompass it and may retard its development. Friends and admirers of democracy—I venture to include myself in this category—will best promote the true interests of democracy, if they counsel caution and circumspection (Loud cheers).

Let me pass on to a line of argument which, I am free to admit, did not powerfully appeal to me. That argument took this form. 'The bureaucracy we have been accustomed to meet has been composed of foreigners and consequently bureaucracy is bad. The democracy which we have now to face consists of our countrymen and consequently democracy is good. We Indians are all good; the foreigners are all bad' (Cheers). It will take me a long time to convince myself that this is the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Meanwhile I am prompted to enquire, may not one phase of the problem have been overlooked? May not the Indian Democracy be quite as bad as the British Bureaucracy, perhaps worse (Laughter)? May not modern history verify the adage of the sage of antiquity that enfranchised freed men are often the most exacting tyrants? Is it beyond the range of possibility that a so-called 'popular' Minister may be a wolf in disguise and may prove to be a bureaucrat in the garb of a democrat, ready to play a game which no genuine hereditary bureaucrat would ever have ventured (Cheers). I maintain with some confidence that it is wise for all of us to act cautiously and not to extend the scope of so-called 'control,' till the new system, like all other human institutions, has been tested in the crucible of experience. Ministers and Councillors do not justify themselves by the mere fact of their existence and the glamour of the position they occupy. Let them have, by all means, a fair chance; but let them not seek to exercise control over educational institutions of the highest type, till they have, by their deeds, inspired confidence in their ability to meet their obligations in other domains more within the limits of their capacity.

I have returned to the point from where I started. Let me now ask how soon the day is likely to come when democracy will be fully fit to control the activities of Universities as organs of the State for the development of education of the highest grade. I confess I cannot form an estimate. That day has not yet arrived in the history of the most progressive nations of the West,—not in England, not in France, not in America. At the same time, I am anxious that my position should not be misunderstood. I do not maintain that the Universities should stand aloof from the life of the nation. Education is a sacred national trust. The people who dedicate their lives in the cause of education, work for the nation; and it would be a calamity if they were completely isolated from the main stream of national activities. The labourers in the field of education should come into contact with society in its diverse phases and should be ready to profit by criticism. This does not imply that they should be guided by uninformed and unintelligent criticism. I am not afraid of criticism, I am not afraid of publicity, even when I find a question like this put to me: 'Is it true that 80 per cent. of the Hindu students passed in Sanskrit and 50 per cent. of the Mahomedan students passed in Arabic? Does this imply that the examination in Arabic is stiffer than that in Sanskrit? Does this also imply that the Vice-Chancellor, a Brahmin, has influenced the passes in Sanskrit?' Questions like these only help to bring democracy into discredit and ridicule. But apart from such effervescences, there can be no doubt that the problem of reconstruction of a University, so as to bring it into intimate touch with the life of the nation and at the same time to preserve the freedom of its academic activities, is by no means free from difficulty. One of the speakers referred to the distinction between academic and administrative work. The dividing line cannot always be sharply drawn, nevertheless the distinction is real and is well-recognised. There may consequently be two Bodies in the University, one concerned with academic work, the other with administrative work. It is on this latter Body that intelligent and enlightened Councillors should find a place. There will thus be established a link between the members of the Legislative

Council who have control over the national purse and the members of the profession of education who formulate academic ideals. I do not apprehend that such a constitution will be easily shattered into fragments. I am not afraid of the inclusion of non-academic men in the Court of a great University. They will soon find their level (Laughter), and when they come into close contact with University teachers, they will discover that academic men manage their work creditably even from the point of view of the purse. I look forward with hope to a common platform where academic men, who constitute the backbone of the University, may meet on equal terms with non-academic men, who have entered the Legislative Councils. Let them discuss frankly all questions of policy, for instance, whether the University of Lucknow should open a Department of Agriculture at a cost of Five Lacs to the State. Such a topic as this may and should be fruitfully discussed by a mixed Body of the type indicated. But I cannot lend my support to a scheme which makes academic work subject to the control of non-academic men, specially of men whose actions are apt to be inspired by political motives or partisan considerations. I do not forget the claim which has sometimes been put forward that the Minister is entitled to control the financial administration of the University on the theory 'that the man who pays the piper is entitled to call for the tune.' I have never come across a more transparent fallacy. Can the Minister be said to pay the piper? Does the money which he calls upon the Council to vote constitute his patrimony or his self-acquisition (Laughter)? Is he not the custodian—sometimes a very temporary custodian—of funds which have been contributed by you and others like you for the benefit of the State? Is it not possible that men who are skilled in the affairs of the University and who have devoted their lives to its development, are far more deeply interested in the institution than a

Minister who has no acquaintance—intimate or superficial—with University administration? Is it at all improbable that a Minister, summoned to office from party considerations, may not only have no aptitude for the work entrusted to him, but may be turned out of office by an adverse vote of the Council, if he is not over-anxious to enjoy his handsome salary? I venture to think that a Minister who poses as the flower of democracy cannot consistently exercise autocratic and bureaucratic powers over the University (Cheers). There is no country in the modern world where State control of high education was more stringent, more rigorous, than in Germany, and the civilised world has witnessed the baneful consequences! No University can flourish unless its Professors possess that priceless treasure which we call freedom of thought (Cheers). If I were a University Professor I would, without hesitation, decline to mould my opinions in matters of history, economics, religion, philosophy and science to suit the arrogance or ignorance of a Minister of Education, however exalted his rank in the Warrant of Precedence. On what principle, sacred to democracy, is it claimed that decisions of the University,—whether they be on questions academic or administrative is immaterial for the present purpose—should be submitted to the Minister for confirmation or rejection, as if he were an all-knowing and never-erring Angel from Heaven? The danger is equally grave, whether such autocratic intervention is made all-pervading or is restricted to concerns financial. The grip of the Iron Hand may be tightened, as we all know, in ways diverse and devious, and complete surrender to the will of the financier secured, so that half the Professors may be Brahmins, half non-Brahmins, or a fourth Christian and three-fourths Moslem (Cheers). Put not into the hands of the Government a Weapon which may be used for the punishment of a University teacher whose views and influence are distasteful to the men at the time in power; encourage not sycophancy and keep the University as independent organs of opinion in the community. Let me assure you that the proposition before the House is pregnant with incalculable danger, and, may, if logically extended, destroy the fabric of the State. When all Departments of the State become Ministerial, —none Reserved—will you demand that Law and Justice should be administered by the Courts under the control of the Minister and the Councillors? Will you demand that military campaigns should be conducted under the wise guidance of brilliant civilians? One of the speakers this evening, with evident satisfaction, referred to laymen as Secretaries for War—he prudently overlooked that this had sometimes led nations into disaster and that many people would not hesitate for a moment, if they were called upon to make a choice between a Churchill and a Kitchener (Cheers).

Finally, let us look at the problem from the theoretical standpoint. The State must discharge its manifold functions through Bodies properly constituted. The duty of the State with regard to higher education is performed through the medium of the Universities, as the appropriate organs created for this special purpose. Once you have framed a constitution for a University, leave it free. If you find that the constitution has failed, let the legislature interfere and alter the constitution. But it is a contradiction in terms that you have a University, entrusted by the State with the discharge of the very responsible duty of promotion of higher education and yet you contemplate interference on every possible and impossible occasion. That position is intolerable; and in the light of conditions, educational and political, here and elsewhere, I confidently ask you to reject the motion and to make an insistent demand for autonomous self-governing Universities, in intimate touch with the life of the Nation and yet free from external control—free from political fetters from the State, free from ecclesiastical fetters from religious corporations, free from civic fetters from the community. Thus and thus alone can the Nation, under the vitalising influence of a creative, an independent centre of Thought, work out its moral as well as intellectual salvation, in touch alike with the experience of the past and the aspirations of the future (Prolonged cheers)."

The House then divided and the resolution was declared lost by an overwhelming majority.

THE UNIVERSITY AND THE NATION[1]

My first duty on this occasion is to return you my sincerest thanks for the honour you have done me, to acknowledge with gratitude the manifestation of your regard for me, to assure you of the respect which I entertain for your body, and to express my warm attachment to the Institution whose welfare is your constant care. It is, indeed, a high privilege to be permitted to address the rising generation of my countrymen from this place, a distinction worthy to be prized by any man, however exalted his rank or station. It has been my lot to spend the best part of a life-time in the service of an exacting profession, which brings its votaries often into contact with examples of the selfish strife and depraved inclinations of men ; and in mature years it is a source of gratification to me to think, that the bridge of communion with youthful minds, animated by aspirations for a noble career, has not been entirely cut asunder. If I have been so fortunate as to preserve such a link, I ascribe it mainly to the ennobling influence of that education in which the votaries of this Institution, be they teachers, be they students, are now all participant in different stages. The history of your foundation and the attendant circumstances are redolent of promise for a brilliant future. It is not every University which has the good fortune to possess as its Chancellor a cultured scholar and a far-sighted statesman, equally at home in the appreciation and interpretation of a Roman poet of bygone ages and the transformation and reconstruction of the complex machinery of modern Indian administration. It is not every University which sees united in the person of its Vice-Chancellor an extensive knowledge of modern science with a lifelong experience of educational activities. It is not every University which counts among its benefactors the flower of the aristocracy of the Province, the enlightened Barons of Oudh, who are the chief source of strength and support of this Institution. Surely, these are factors which may rightly be interpreted as full of augury that there will flourish here, in this historic city, an Institution great for the future of Oudh and of India.

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[1] Address delivered by Sir Asutosh Mookerjee at the Convocation of the Lucknow University on the 7th January, 1924.

The second and third decades of the twentieth century will for ever be remembered in India as the era of the foundation of new Universities. I frankly confess that I do not belong to that school of critics who regard the creation of new Universities with suspicion and apprehend that they may prove to be possible sources of danger to the commonwealth. Never has there been a stronger desire than at present to extend the inestimable advantages of education on sound and rational lines; never before have the resources of the Universities and of the Colleges been overtaxed in a larger measure. Of that insistent demand for improved and extended facilities, no sane man alive can legitimately complain. On the other hand, we all wish that they should be widened still furthe', that they should be within the reach of every man. It seems astonishing that the contrary view could be seriously maintained, while education is the absorbing topic in all civilised communities and is more highly regarded than ever before, as it lies truly at the foundation of social well-being and connects itself indissolubly with individual happiness.

I have on other occasions emphasised the supreme function of Indian Universities as institutions for the organisation and advancement of research, for the systematic creation and growth of schools of Indian scholars in every department of the ever-widening domain of human knowledge. I shall not consequently analyse and develop here this fundamental feature of a University as a corporation of learning. But I shall avail myself of this opportunity to lay stress on another aspect of the manifold functions of a University in the life of a progressive people, anxious to occupy a place in the foremost rank of the civilised nations of the world.

It is not given to every alumnus of a University to discover new regions in the realm of thought, but it is at the same time indisputable that the greatest value will accrue to society at large from the lives and labours of those who are educated in a University. That benefit will, indeed, be enjoyed by many who will perhaps fail to recognise that it is traceable to the training imparted by the University; but surely lack of recognition of a truth does not detract from its importance. Let us recall the beautiful words of the wise man of antiquity—no man liveth to himself. Through its students, every institution of learning exerts a power for good or for evil upon the community. The character of the institution and the quality of its instruction are thus of vital importance to the nation. No man indeed liveth to himself. The object of all training of all education, of all human effort is not the rearing up of an isolated individual who dies and is forgotten. The achievements of the day are relatively of little account. Benefits to the community, to the nation, to the civilisation are all that are of perennial value, and the production of men whose influence shall for ever permeate the progress of humanity—that is the great object of the University, as it is of all human training and of all human effort. Civilisation proceeds in its majestic course. The participation of the individual man, trained in the University, in that majestic progress—that is the object of the University, the purpose of all this labour, of all this effort, on the part of the leaders of thought and opinion, the leaders of science and arts, the leaders in morals and religion. The University imparts a liberal education, liberal in a manifold sense, catholic, expanded, free from narrowness and bigotry in ideas or doctrines, appropriate for a broad and enlightened mind. The University thus fulfils its mission to send forth men in the service of society, who are fitted to contribute a special element towards the common stock of rational judgment in the country. The function of this education, all the world over, in all the worlds there are, and in all ages, is what may fittingly be called emancipation. Education, in the phraseology of archaic law, manumits and edifies; first it frees the slave, next it builds the man. To create capacity and culture, to develop skill for the hand and sight for the soul, to open the means of honourable living to the individual and to reveal to him the full meaning of life, is the noble duty of the educator, and is I consider the highest patriotism; for the world is cursed by ignorance and darkness, it will be blessed by knowledge and light.

It is thus of momentous importance that the activities of the University should be blended with the life of the nation, though we must emphatically repudiate the wild assumption rampant in these days of economic stress, that one of the functions of a University is to provide appointments for all its graduates and under-graduates. There should, however, be a constant and a legitimate tendency to mould our system of education to satisfy the growing and varying needs of the nation. The Universities now say to their men of letters, you must be leaders of men as well, to their men of science, you must be men of affairs too. The world in its turn demands that its engineers should be cultivated men and that its artisans should be skilled equally in the liberal arts. Where theory and practice thus meet in unison, there must be reason, and this reason is restoring to learning its fundamental unity in whose spirit we reap the strength and the vision of the University. It is this spirit which makes men seek for truth and beauty in letters, in science and in arts. The spirit of science, the spirit of letters and the spirit of arts are the three faces of the spirit of learning, and no University worthy of the name can without grave danger dedicate itself exclusively to one as the greatest of the three.

It is an oft-repeated observation that education does not begin with the University nor end in the University, but is a matter of life, the whole span of life both before and after that spent in the University. I have no desire to inflict on you a dissertation on the thorny subject of our entire system of education. But I venture to express the hope that whatever differences of form and expression may prevail, most persons would be prepared to adopt the lofty object attributed to education by Milton, namely, to befit men to discharge worthily all the duties imposed on them whether in peace or in war. In the application of this ideal to the present generation, we cannot ignore the fundamental fact that a system of national education, if made too narrow and exclusive, will help to cut off the nation from intellectual intercourse with other nations, will inevitably lead to stagnation and will surely prove fatal to further progress. The importance of this aspect of the matter cannot be overestimated, when we realise that every child is heir to the whole world. Ours has been felicitously called the century of the child, for the recorded history of no known age in the rise and fall of civilised societies has painted the picture of innumerable children, all round the world, trooping morning by morning to school, along the lanes of quiet villages, in the streets of noisy cities, under the burning sun, through the freezing snow, singly, in pairs, in groups, in files, dressed in a thousand fashions, speaking a thousand tongues. For the progress of the race, their education should be, in the illuminating phrase of Professor Campagnac, "conversation with the world." But we cannot ignore another equally fundamental aspect of the situation, namely, that, as happily phrased by Professor Nunn in his brilliant presidential address to the educational section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the conversation must be conducted in the native idiom. We do not preach the hateful doctrine that what is foreign should as such be excluded from the field of education nor the ignorant and presumptuous doctrine that what is our own is necessarily the best and that we have nothing to learn from other peoples. The root of the matter is that though the things which have universal human value are the things of most importance in education, the universal can be fully apprehended only where it lives in concrete embodiments. Consequently, while we recognise and appropriate all that is wholesome in the culture of the West, we are equally concerned with the preservation and development of the organs of our national culture and civilisation. It is this policy which has pervaded all the ramifications of the scheme for the establishment of a teaching and research University at Calcutta; and its latest manifestation will be found in the bold attempt to reconstruct secondary education on a Vernacular basis, a scheme fraught with the possibility of beneficent results which perhaps the wisest cannot foresee.

I have felt it necessary to make a passing reference to the problem of secondary education, because it is indisputable that the vitality of Universities must depend in a large measure on the efficacy of the training imparted to the pupils in High Schools. If the strongest and finest minds among our youth are to be prepared for the Universities, the staff of our secondary schools must be composed of patriotic teachers of special ability and extensive culture. Some of them will be men of erudition in scholarship, others will be men of productive capacity in science, but all of them must be trained, if not specially gifted, in the Art of Teaching. The primary obligation of such a body of teachers will be to the students themselves. Under their guidance, the students, not driven by discipline but led rather by enthusiasm, will have their faculties steadily developed, their distinctive national feelings and characteristics generously fostered, so that they may be fully qualified for the duties of intelligent citizenship.

Their studies and their sports will be so ordered and regulated as to stimulate and strengthen the intellect in exact thinking and the imagination in clear vision; their latent mental powers will be roused, and the supreme faculty of initiative will be developed, so as to enable them to play an honourable and a distinguished part in the great arena of life for the benefit of society.

This leads up to the vital topic, why is education undertaken, what to teach so as to achieve the ends of education, how to teach so as to educate. These problems demand the thoughtful and earnest consideration of every patriotic man, truly anxious for the welfare of his country and zealous of her renown. National education must be tested in the crucible of experience by its actual visible result upon the national character and upon the condition of the people. No one will venture to contradict the position that the system is essentially wrong, if it treats our youths as machines rather than as reflecting responsible beings, if it tends to enervate rather than to strengthen the mind, if it overcharges the memory rather than disciplines the intelligence, if it paralyses rather than invigorates the intellectual faculties. This at any rate is beyond the region of controversy that that education is of little value which favours error rather than encourages truth and which does not make its recipients more wise, more honest and better qualified for good citizenship. But in the full realisation of this ideal, we are beset by dangers of two distinct types. We have, on the one hand, the insistent demand for the spread of education, which makes men forget that what the nation requires is not merely more education but also better education, and that what will ultimately count in the progress of the race is not the quantity alone but the quality of our education as well. We have, on the other hand, an ever-increasing importance attached to examinations rather than to training. I am not here concerned with the school of critics who have made it a profession to attack the standards of the examinations conducted by our Universities ; I feel tempted to liken them to the astute trio in the famous story in the Hitapodesa, who by oft-repeated assertions inspired the belief in the mind of the pious owner of a sacrificial goat that the animal belonged to the unclean canine species. To me it seems inexplicable that not one of a hundred of such confident accusers ever suggests that the paramount need of the moment is a radical improvement in the system of education. If, indeed, there be men who entertain a morbid feeling of triumph when they find candidates rejected at examinations, they will earn the gratitude of all if they will assist in the inauguration of a system of training which will befit every youth of average industry and intelligence to stand the most exacting scrutiny of his intellectual attainments. The waste of the finest human material, involved in the present system, is truly appalling, when we remember that society stands in the most urgent need of competent captains in ever-increasing numbers in the eternal conflict between knowledge and ignorance, between charity and selfishness, between religion and infidelity, between virtue and vice, between liberty and oppression.

Graduates of the University, in whatever sphere of life your lot may be cast, let me urge you, with all the earnestness at my command, to devote yourselves, in some measure at least, to the service of your *alma mater*. It is according to the course of human sentiments and feelings that you should ever cherish a deep sense of affectionate gratitude towards the parents who nourished you in your infancy, guided your footsteps in childhood and committed you with the most fervent prayers and benedictions to the protection of Providence on your entry into the academic sphere. It is not less natural that you should entertain similar feelings towards those whose assiduous care has been bestowed upon the momentous concern of your instruction. The object of that education has been to open your minds, to expand your intellects, and to form your characters. It is no less incumbent on you to cherish the remembrance of the founders and benefactors of your University. The tree, which has yielded you the fruit, was planted by them, was reared by them, not without toil, not without sacrifice, and you owe a duty to them to defend and shield it in its growth, though not without constant care, not without unlimited exertion. Entertain, therefore, a fond hope for its increased prosperity and look back to see it rise higher and higher in the scale of public institutions. Do not plead lack of time and want of ability. Your instructors have impressed upon you the paramount need for the most economical use of your time and the most assiduous application, not merely while you are a student in the University but ever after in your life. Let me concede that many things you know, and many things you can estimate as they should be estimated. But it is not commonly given to young minds to know the true value of time, nor to judge justly of the necessity for its economical use. This becomes fully revealed to advancing age and increasing experience. You may, in this respect, safely accept the truth on credit and rest assured that your faith will ere long be ripened into personal conviction. Count your time, not by weeks and days, but by hours and minutes, and fill with duty every moment of priceless value. It is indolence, not occupation, which is the real bar to the performance of service to humanity. Turn not to the right nor to the left, face faithfully your own sphere, your own circle, your own task, and give yourself without stint or reserve to the performance of your duty till the day is done; and when your zeal flags, recall the injunction of Benjamin Franklin, "value time, for time is the stuff of which life is made." Nor be deluded by the common but baneful fallacy that unless you have genius, your contribution to the service of humanity cannot be of appreciable value. The last refuge discovered by the indolent is the captivating theory that genius is the gift of Heaven, that if it has been given, all things are easy, that where it has been withheld, nothing is possible. This difference in the original capacity of individuals is not nearly so great, at any rate not so decisive in its consequences, as indolence or mediocrity is apt to represent. Genius is the gift of Heaven, so also is the light of the sun; yet how prodigious the differences in the fruit, which in different situations it brings to maturity according as it coincides or not with the persevering efforts of human industry. It is, in most instances, the lack of desire to excel which is the effective obstacle to success. I feel not the remotest doubt that there is in this very assembly young men who, if their talents are stimulated by generous ambition and are fructified by willing labour, are qualified to achieve the highest distinction in life and to exalt the reputation of this University.

I have so elaborately emphasised your duty to serve your *alma mater* in the deep-rooted conviction that the right to universal education is acknowledged by our conscience; to my mind, it is immaterial whether our legislators have or have not the courage to accord full and frank recognition to this elementary truth. Who is there, I ask, who can come forward to deny that the People is the true recipient of Truth. Do not seek to conciliate individuals, however exalted, do not dread the frowns of a sect, do not yield to the prescriptions of a party, but pour out truth into the common mind. Let the waters of intelligence, like the rains of heaven, descend on the whole land, and be not discouraged by the dread of an encounter with ignorance. I forget not that the prejudices of interest are far more difficult to remove than the prejudices of ignorance; the first are wilfully preferred, the second are blindly adopted. Intelligence must be diffused among the entire people, truth must be scattered among those who have no interest to suppress its growth. Let you, young aspirants after glory, scatter seeds of truth broadcast on the wide bosom of humanity, in the fertile soil of the public mind. There it will strike deep root, spring up, bear a hundredfold, bloom for ages and ripen fruit through remote generations. I confidently exhort you to this course of beneficent service, because I feel that the young men of the country are at this moment its main hope. Youth is generous: its patriotism is free from selfishness, it is full of just and ardent impulses, and these are feelings that become it. Early manhood, it has been truly said, is sanguine; men of this state of existence have a long life before them, and they naturally feel a deep interest in the events which are to influence their whole future career. May I not then flatter myself that you young men will lay it to heart to foster the growth and spread of your distinctive national culture amongst your fellow men.

Pray do not misunderstand me. I do not underestimate the value of the progress we have already achieved. Let us thank God for what has been gained; but let us not think that everything has been gained. Let the people feel that they have only started in the race. How much remains to be done! What a vast amount of ignorance and prejudice may still be found in our community! What a stupendous amount of mind is palsied and lost! When we think that every home might be cheered by intelligence, disinterestedness, refinement and patriotism, and then remember in how many homes the higher powers and affections of human nature are buried in oblivion as in Egyptian tombs, what a darkness gathers over society! How few understand that to raise the depressed by a wise culture, to the dignity of men, is the highest end of the State? And how few of us are moved by this picture of desolation? How limited the progress we have made in the achievement of the noble aspiration of our Gracious Sovereign that the homes of his Indian subjects may be brightened and their labour sweetened by the spread of knowledge with all that follows in its train, a higher level of thought, of comfort and of health.

Do not be deluded by the baneful fallacy that progress or knowledge is inconsistent with the safety of the State. Do not trust the opponents of popular movements who repeat the dictum that the State rests on force as if this were an oracle from heaven. A State rests on nothing of the kind. Force cannot keep a nation strong. The State rests—if it wants to flourish for any length of time—not on blind force but upon intelligent confidence. It rests upon our common trust in justice and in the administration of justice, in law and in the sanctity of law. The strength of the State lies in the fundamental rightness of our human nature and our undefined belief that in the long run the mass of mankind, if educated, would do what is right rather than what is wrong.

I would that I could speak with an awakening voice to the people, of their wants, their privileges and their responsibilities. I would say to them, You cannot, without guilt and disgrace, stop where you are. The past and present call on you to advance. Let what you have gained, however inadequate, be an impulse to something higher and greater. Your nature is too great to be crushed. You were not created what you are, merely to toil, eat and sleep like the inferior animals. If you will, you can rise. No power in the land, no hardship in your condition can depress you, keep you down, in knowledge, power, virtue, influence, but by your own consent. You have many and great deficiencies to be remedied; and the remedy lies, it is my earnest conviction, in the faithful education of yourselves and of your children. If you adopt this as the ideal of your duties, every occupied moment, I am sure, will produce something effective on your future usefulness and happiness. With kind and assiduous instructors around you, with anxious parents whose hopes and prayers constantly turn hitherward for their object, with an expecting country that looks to you and such as you as her future protectors, benefactors and ornaments, with the certainty that your minds and hearts are now receiving impressions of lasting importance to your own happiness,—what is there of high motive, what is there of just excitement, what is there of noble resolution which does not enter into your cause, to inspire your zeal, to animate your efforts and to warm you into an enthusiastic devotion to the duties of the flying moment?

On you who have enjoyed whatever means of education your University affords, is cast the urgent and imperative duty to secure the means for her improvement. Remember gratefully, I repeat, your obligation to her, promote her further advancement, by whatever means may be in your power, and augment her strength as a potent instrument in the cause of religion, morality and good learning. Let your conduct and character be such that your *alma mater* may refer to you with the joyous feelings of the Rajput Matron and with maternal exultation exclaim, "Behold, these are my jewels!"

Asutosh Mookerjee

CLASSICAL AND ROMANTIC IN LITERATURE

In critical literature of the last half century use is frequently made of the words classical and romantic in reference to literature—especially to poetry. One poet is said to write in the classical and another in the romantic manner and certain qualities are stated as characteristic of the one kind and others, of the other. The tragedies of Jonson, Corneille, Racine, Voltaire, Alfieri, are said to be classical, and those of Marlowe, Shakespeare, Fletcher, Calderon and Hugo, to be romantic; and the distinction is extended, though less explicitly, to epic and even lyric poetry. The poetry of Italy and France is characterised as classical down to about 1830 and after that, is for the most part romantic. That of Spain and Germany is described (apart from a few experiments of a different kind) as wholly romantic.

Yet, though these terms are so freely used, we hardly ever meet with any attempt to define their meaning explicitly, or to discover any definite, and consistent principle underlying the many uses made of them: and students of the subject complain that such explanations as are given are often contradictory, or at least confusing. They are told that certain qualities are romantic and that others are classical but no very clear reason is given and they are obliged to accept and repeat what they are told on the authority of the critics whom they read. He may be told that romantic writing is characterised by "strangeness" (Pater), or that it is "iridescent with the glitter of many colours," or brightened by "coruscations of fancy"; and that classical composition is distinguished by severity and self-restraint; but such descriptions even if true are not enlightening. A century ago Coleridge complained of the critics of the time, that there were no principles underlying their criticisms; they could pass strong opinions but they could give no reasons for them so that they were in most cases merely subjective fancy or prejudice; and set himself the task (unfortunately never completed) of determining philosophically the real nature and meaning of poetry and deducing from that, principles by which poetry might be understood and judged reasonably. Similarly, it may be worth while to inquire into the principles, if there be any, underlying the uses of these two terms, classical and romantic. The matter may seem to be one of little consequence; nevertheless, a clear understanding of these terms is of some importance to students of literature.

I

The word *classical* (belonging to the highest class) was applied originally to the newly recovered masterpieces of Greek (primarily) and Roman literature, which had been preserved from antiquity and were looked up to as standards for imitation during the European renascence in the 15th and 16th centuries; and has been used ever since, of works following these ancient works closely in style and excellence. We here consider more closely the significance of the term as applied to literature and especially to poetry. The principles underlying it are traceable back to the philosopher Aristotle, being either contained in or deducible from his teaching.

Among the extant works of Aristotle there is a small treatise on poetry, commonly known as Aristotle's "Poetics." This is not a complete work but rather a series of notes, written probably for lectures, or for expansion subsequently into a book. But even as a syllabus of poetics it is incomplete, as it treats only of dramatic and epic poetry, and contains only slight references to the third kind, *viz.*, lyric, though so much cultivated in his country.

All poetry deals with human life, and there are three kinds. Dramatic, which he seems to consider the highest kind, goes to the roots, so to speak, of life by laying hold of the motives and characters which lie in the essence of the mind; and is therefore the deepest and most intense form of poetry. Epic views life from the outside, and describes the actions externally in which the mind's inner motives and character manifest themselves to the world outwardly. Lyric poetry is that in which the individual describes the feelings of gladness or sorrow which pass through his mind in consequence of his relations with other beings round him. Of these, he bestows most consideration on the tragic drama.

He had had before him all the literature of his own country (the only literature within his reach) and had examined closely what was best in it; and as a philosopher he had considered in what its excellence consisted. There must be reasons, he saw, why one work is better than another, and set himself to find out the reasons of such excellence; and by thus seeking the principle underlying literary values he laid the foundations of literary criticism,—the art of determining from principles what is good and not good, higher and lower, in literary work. There probably were in Aristotle's time as in that of Coleridge, critics who pronounced judgments of eulogy and condemnation on literary works without being able to give reasons for them, and Aristotle saw the want, and commenced to work out a remedy by sketching the syllabus known as his "poetics"—

In this treatise Aristotle reviews the great poetical productions of his country, and perceives certain peculiarities of form or structure to be common to all the best, and sees that these structural forms contribute essentially to the excellence of the works, and suggests that these forms should be reduced to principles and used as standards by other authors in subsequent works. He does not indeed speak so dogmatically on what is essential to good poetry as some of his followers have done but rather explains and reasons.

But later critics, ancient and modern—Latin, Italian and French—deduced from the reasoning and suggestions of

Aristotle a system of rules which they considered to be essential to excellence in the different kinds of poetry. These rules, contained in, or deduced from, the teaching of Aristotle, became the regulative principles of that type of poetry which has been called classical, *i.e.*, that which follows classical example.

We have then to enquire: what is *the fundamental principle* out of which these rules spring, and which give meaning and justification to the literary characteristics commonly called classical.

Now we can see that so far as this treatise is concerned, Aristotle was looking mainly at the *form* or *structure* of the works before him; and saw one peculiarity of form to be essential to their greatness, and indeed to that of all works of art, *viz.*, *Unity in Variety.*

A poem, to be beautiful, must be one and at the same time it must be many. How there is this unification of the Many into One brought about? In this way: Many things may be brought together and made to co-operate in serving one common purpose. Then the common purpose which brings the parts together makes them to be one in the sense that the one purpose is realised through the many parts, and the parts are made to be what they are by their subservience to the purpose. Thus the one is made to be what it is by the many and the many are made to be what they are by the one. This then is Unity through Variety and is aimed at in all art. A blank empty one is not beautiful, and a plurality of unconnected things is not beautiful, but the attainment of oneness through plurality is an essential element in whatever is beautiful. And it was this element of the beautiful that most attracted Aristotle in the great poems of his country, and has been accepted as the principal element by the classical school. And this is not to be wondered at, considering that the correlation of many in one is the means by which nature itself works out its highest purposes, as that of life in the plant and animal organism.

How then is this Unity in Variety—this oneness in plurality—to be attained in literature? In literature it appears as oneness of subject and of purpose in a plurality of parts. A single subject expands into a variety of details and these details serve the purpose of exhibiting all that was contained implicitly in a full comprehension of the subject—*e.g.*, causes, consequents, concomitants—making the subject to be fully known and understood. Therefore these details form with the subject, one and the same whole of thought—a one which contains many within it—a unity in variety—a one which is at the same time many.

Thus Milton had before him as subject the "fall of man" through moral evil. This subject resolved itself in his mind, into certain subordinate questions implied in it and essential to its being understood,—as the ultimate origin of evil, the origin of man, and the communication of evil to man, and each of these involved other details ; but all these details contribute to the one common purpose of making clear the Fall of Man, and therefore form with it one whole of thought. The subject of the "Wrath of Achilles" resolves itself into the causes and many consequences of the quarrel between the chiefs, which bring nearly to ruin the Greeks engaged in the siege of Troy, but converge at last to a common dénouement favourable to them. A germ of selfish ambition in an otherwise heroic nature works itself out in the stormy career of Macbeth, ending at last in his ruin. The song of the nightingale makes Keats think of the sadness of his own life and that thought resolves itself into a fanciful contrast between the nightingale and himself, which finds expression in a series of images picturing the life of the more fortunate bird, and these form one whole of thought and feeling in which his sadness finds relief for a time.

And we can see that this principle of unity strictly applied will exclude from the poem or work of art everything that does not contribute in any way to the one common purpose, and therefore does not harmonise with the other details in forming one consistent whole.

How then does Aristotle apply this fundamental principle of unity in variety to the different kinds of poetry? He shows at some length how it affects the drama; and less fully how it applies to epic—considering how it was applied in the great dramas and epics of his own country.

(A) As to *Drama*: its fundamental law of form will be unity of one subject in many parts. There will be one fundamental idea and purpose underlying the whole, *viz.*, to show how a particular action, or trait of character manifested in that action, will work itself out in a series of consequent actions which will all converge to the production of one common result, in which the fundamental purpose of the poet is realised. Unity will require that all the incidents and ideas introduced, rise naturally out of the subject and contribute to the final result, and will exclude everything superfluous and irrelevant.

And yet, for the sake of variety dramatists have been tempted sometimes to introduce more than one subject, concealing the incoherence of the two the best way they can. Thus in Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* the story of the pound of flesh and that of the ring are but slightly connected. And even in the Greek drama itself the rule was sometimes violated, as by Euripides, in whose *Hecuba* the stories of Polyxena and that of Polymestor have no other connection than that of contributing to the sorrows of Hecuba.

But such connection and sequence of ideas as unity requires will, according to Aristotle or at least, to his classical followers, entail certain secondary unities which have figured prominently in the history of the drama. Thus it requires, they have held,—

2. *Unity of time:* if the events represented on the stage are such as must occur at different periods of time with

intervals, shorter or longer, between them, then many other events must have occurred in the intervals which are not represented. Therefore, such intervals interrupt the continuity of the action represented—it will not be one continuous action, in its successive phases merely, but a plurality of unconnected actions without essential connection. Therefore the play will be broken up into several distinct plays and unity will be lost. Indeed unity requires that the actions represented should rise one out of another continuously, and in order to this, the time required for the representation should not be very different from what would be required in real life. Therefore the time represented on the stage should not exceed a few hours, or at most a single day. Thus in the case of the Calydonian hunt (*Atalanta*), the hunters assemble soon after daybreak, the killing of the boar occurs before noon and the catastrophe of the play early in the afternoon. In Milton's *Samson* only two or three hours seem to be required.

Thus unity of time is held to follow from unity of subject. Shakespeare and English dramatists often assume many years. But they are so far affected by the principle of unity that they usually contrive to make the time seem shorter—thus in the case of *Macbeth* an interval of 15 years passed between his seizure of the crown and his death in battle, but the scenes of the play are made to follow one another so rapidly that the spectator thinks nothing of time. But in *Winter's Tale* Perdita appears first as an infant cast ashore by the sea, and a little further on, she is presented all at once as a young woman. But by rigid classicists unity has been held to require also—

3. *Unity of place:* if the events represented occur in different places involving changes of scene, then there can be no strict sequence or connection between them, so that they will belong to different sequences of events and the unity of the play will be broken. Therefore in a strictly classical play there will be no change of scene. Thus in *Atalanta* all the

events represented on the stage occur in the same open space before the temple of Diana, the patroness of Atalanta. But unity of place may seem less essential than that of time, and some dramatists while adhering to unity of time—limiting the time represented to a single day—have overlooked place and admitted changes of scene.

Thus unity of subject may be considered a condition of excellence in all art, but only critics of the extreme classical school have adhered to time and place. These secondary unities impose on the poets this disadvantage, that though they contribute to *unity* of design, they greatly limit the other condition of artistic excellency, *viz.*, *variety*. They reduce greatly the number of scenes, incidents and characters that can be introduced into plays, and therefore tend to produce uniformity and monotony. But Spanish and English plays have always depended largely on variety of actions and scenes, frequently to some disregard of unity of structure, and have therefore rejected the unities of place and time. Only in a few cases which may be considered experimental merely, has the classical type been strictly followed, as by Milton in *Samson* and by Swinburne in *Atalanta* and *Erechtheus*. But the fundamental principle leads to still another unity which may be called—

4. *Unity of tone*: A mixture of tragical and comical elements in the same play is contrary to the real unity and consistency of the play. They suppose and promote opposite tones of mind. Tragedy with its scenes of sorrow and despair, its lofty thoughts and moral teaching, represents the sterner aspects of life, and thereby promotes a serious and thoughtful frame of mind, whereas a cheerful and light-hearted tone is essential to the appreciation of comedy. If the tragical and comical are mixed, these opposite tones of mind will be brought into conflict, and one will tend to destroy the effect of the other, and the mind will be distracted between them. A play should therefore be consistently tragical or comical, but

should not combine the two qualities and this rule has been followed in all plays of the classical type.

Many have thought, however, that the gloom of tragedy becomes oppressive and needs to be relieved by humorous speeches and scenes; and these will have no jarring effect if they rise naturally out of the subject and are not inconsistent with the main purpose of the play. Hence Shakespeare did not accept the rule, but often relieves the gloom of tragedy by humorous scenes as in *Hamlet*. Some have objected to the porter-scene in *Macbeth* as painfully out of keeping with its context, but others think that it rather deepens the tragic effect of the whole by contrast. Indeed there may appear to have been some inconsistency in the Greeks themselves on this matter. At their great festivals at which plays were exhibited, tragedies were exhibited first, but these were followed immediately by comedies full of the broadest humour (such as those of Aristophanes) and these again were followed by "satyrical" plays which were farces of a still freer character. Thus tragic gravity and comic merriment were made to follow in close succession.

Another consequence of the unities is employment of the Messenger (angelus) in all classical plays. The number of events that could be represented on the stage was limited by the various unities. Yet in order to understand the events which were represented, it was generally necessary for the audience to know events not represented, but excluded by the unities or other reasons. Thus Aristotle insists that scenes of horror such as murders should be excluded (*Medea* slaying her children, the sacrifice of *Iphigenia*, and the like). Such things could be made known to the audience only by report. Therefore an *angelus* appears at the critical moment, who has been an eye-witness of the event and can describe it fully to the audience. Such descriptions are often among the finest parts of classical plays (compare the killing of the bear in *Atalanta* in which Swinburne puts forth his greatest descriptive power). But being descriptions of things from the outside they are of the nature of epic rather than of dramatic poetry, and therefore may appear out of place in a drama, and the necessity of introducing them, may be regarded as a weak point in the classic system.

Another characteristic of the classical drama in its original Greek form, though it is not required by the unities, is the choral hymns—the solemn hymns sung by a trained chorus in front of the stage, in intervals between the different phases of the action, giving the drama a semi-lyrical character. This came into the drama from the way in which it originated among the Greeks. It is understood that it had its beginning in odes to the God of nature, sung by bands of singers and dancers moving round the altar of the god—turning at first mainly on the achievements of the deity, and his services to mankind. At last for the sake of variety, reciters came forward in intervals of the hymn, and recited with gestures his adventures and mighty deeds. These narrations took on more and more the form of dialogue and action, and became at last successive acts of one continuous story, while the hymn broke up into short songs between the acts, commenting on the story and drawing its moral lessons. Soon secular subjects were introduced, though Greek tragedy retained to its end something of its original religious character—while comedy went in the opposite direction, and soon dropped the moralising chorus. In the modern classical drama—Italian and French—the chorus was usually dropped. In the few English examples it has been retained with good effect, as in Milton's *Samson* and in Swinburne's lyric dramas *Atalanta* and *Erechtheus*,—though in these latter, the dramatic character is almost concealed by the lyric exuberance of the poet.

The classical principle leads also to consequences bearing on style of composition which manifest themselves most clearly in the drama. Thus it will exclude everything that does not contribute to the common purpose of the whole. It will exclude all prolixity and unnecessary repetition and require that everything should be said in the fewest words possible, without circumlocution or repetition. It will exclude all incidents, descriptions and figures of speech which, though they may be beautiful in themselves, do not rise naturally out of the subject and do not contribute to the purpose of the whole—such passages will be what Horace calls "purple patches" (*purpurei panni*) suited only to dazzle and impose on unwary readers.

But the strictness of Aristotle here is not inconsistent with the principle of Coleridge, that a poem differs from a work on science in this: that in a poem every part should not only contribute to the excellence of the poem as a whole, but should at the same time have some beauty and interest of its own apart from the whole; Coleridge knows that if it did not form an integral part of the whole, it would be only a "purple patch" which would spoil the effect of the whole.

Thus the classical drama is a cross section of life at some crisis when it is at its greatest intensity, and notwithstanding the brevity and simplicity of plays so constructed, it becomes, in the hands of a master, impressive in the highest degree,—as in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, the *Samson* of Milton and the lyric dramas of Swinburne. The simplicity of such drama enables it to be viewed as a whole which intensifies the effect: in more complex works the unitary effect of the whole is rather lost by dispersion; and this is evidently the kind of effect which Aristotle cared most for—that of the one whole rather than of the parts by themselves.

But it is only writers of the greatest power that can use it successfully. In using it they are deprived of the easily utilised advantages of variety of incident, costume and scenery which the freer forms afford. And further, the classical rules are guides only to *form* of construction; they say nothing about the *substance* of the work nor the way in which it is *produced*—

the sources from which it springs. Hence the tendency of the classical drama to poverty in thought and in variety of incidents, characters and speeches came to be too artificial and too like one another. It favours imitation more than originality. The great works of the past were accepted as models to be imitated, and the rules of construction which they seemed to have followed were accepted as laws of universal application and new works were judged, mainly by their conformity to old rules. Many plays of the French and Italian school seemed to have been put together laboriously according to model and rule, as artificial flowers are made with paper and paste. Thus poetry instead of being a product of inspiration, seemed to have become a product of art—of dexterity and patient labour. The ancient maxim says that a poet is born, not made ; but in the classical school poets were not always born poets, but rather made themselves such by study and patient labour. Hence even in France, the classical drama fell into disrepute, and is now rarely followed, except in occasional experiments. Voltaire who said that Shakespeare was only an exceptionally gifted barbarian because of his neglect of rules, is himself fallen into utter neglect, and the barbarian Shakespeare has become supreme.

B. *As to Epic* : Aristotle had before him two of the greatest examples of that form of poetry, *viz.*, the *Iliad* or book of Ilium and the *Odyssey* or book of Ulysses, and a number of lengthy but less regular narratives called the cyclic epics. Aristotle regarded the two Homeric epics as alone worthy of consideration, and from them he drew certain forms of construction which he thought essential to the highest excellence. Drama differs from Epic in this way : Drama gives the deepest representation of life, because it goes deep into human nature, and lays hold of the innermost springs of action and shows how they work themselves out in actual life. Epic views and pictures these manifestations from the outside, leaving inner motives and characters to be inferred from their outward manifestations.

The term epic in its widest sense therefore will include all narrative poetry. *Chevy Chase* is an epic as much as the *Iliad.* But it is used more especially for that kind of narrative called "heroic"—*i.e.*, the systematic narration of some great and critical event which is such as to draw out the heroic qualities of the persons concerned. A heroic epic may also be *national* as when it deals with some crisis in the history of a nation and in so doing brings out the life, character, faith, and aspirations of the nation, as the *Iliad* for the Greek people, the *Aeneid* for the Roman, and the *Lusiad* for the Portuguese. Some have thought that Sir Thomas Mallory's prose work called *Morte d' Arthur* (life and death of Arthur) might be considered a prose epic of the British people, but there is a want of connection between its parts and it is too purely fictitious. Shelley thinks that an epic, to be genuine, must be true and sincere in this sense, that it conveys a real and true conception of the life, faith and character of the poet's own people as known to himself in his own time, and thereby makes the only real epics to be the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, the *Divine Comedy* and *Paradise Lost,* because only these exhibit that spontaneous expression of powerful feeling which goes to the making of a true poem.

For the epic, as for the drama, Aristotle lays down or suggests certain *rules of form,* drawn from the great epics of his own country; and apart from these a poem would not be an epic in the classical sense.

Thus an epic, like every other work of art, must be subject to the principle of *Unity in Variety.* It must have one definite subject and purpose, and a definite beginning and progress, and a *dénouement* in which the purpose indicated at the outset is fully realised (*e.g.*, to exhibit the wrath of Achilles with its consequences, or man's first disobedience with its origin and its result). Everything contained in the poem must serve in some way the original purpose ; nothing is to be admitted merely because it is interesting in itself ; it must be an integral part of the whole. Nor is this really inconsistent with the principle of Coleridge, mentioned above, that in a poem every part should have some beauty of its own, even when taken apart from the whole, provided that at the same time it contributes to the purpose of the whole. Such passages as the description of Calypso's isle in Homer, of the Elysian fields in the *Aeneid*, of the creation of the world, the storm in the wilderness and the review of the armies in Milton, are beautiful apart from the wholes in which they are set but nevertheless each one is subservient to the whole. Epic poets, even more than dramatists, are subject to the temptation to introduce episodes for their own sake alone, but this is inconsistent with the unity required by the classical epic.

Epic unity is subject also to conditions of time, but these cannot be so rigid as in drama. A narrative extending over many years, and divided into parts by intervals of time, would not possess the continuity and connection required in a single work. It would be only a collection of stories like the *Canterbury Tales*. Here, then, epic differs from biography and history. Biography begins with the birth of its subject and goes on to his end, often leaving obscure intervals here and there. A history goes back to the origin of a nation or event, and traces it onward to its end, filling up intervals as well as it can. The epic on the contrary must seize on some event which works itself out in continuous and connected actions and therefore in a short time, leaving no intervals unfilled and obscure. The wrath of Achilles works itself out with all its consequences in 20 or 30 days at most. In *Paradise Regained* Milton restricts himself to the tests by which Christ proved his fitness to regain the lost paradise for men, and these tests occupy only a few days at most. But in some cases, to understand the subject may require knowledge of the events of several years. How is this knowledge to be provided consistently with unity? The poet is tempted to begin at the beginning and go right on as the historian does. But Aristotle and Horace advise him "to plunge at once into the heart of his subject" (*in medias res*), without waiting to tell the whole from the beginning. He should fix upon some critical point in the story, in which all the rest is reflected, so to speak,—in which all that goes before is contained in its consequences, and all that follows, in its causes. Then he will find some opportunity of filling in what has been passed over, by way of episode or narrative by eye-witnesses. Ten years passed between Ulysses's departure from Ilium and his landing at last in his native Ithaca, but Homer does not begin from the beginning of the long story. He begins with the last voyage of Ulysses and his last shipwreck on the island of Phæacia, and has an opportunity of telling the long story of his wanderings to the assembled Phæacians in the palace hall of the island. Milton undertook to tell the story of the fall of man, but he did not begin with the primal origin of evil in the jealousy of the angels, but with their final plot for the ruin of man, and makes the good angel sent to warn man of his danger, relate to him the earlier part of the story for instruction and warning. The part told by the poet directly may occupy only a few days.

Thus Aristotle's rules for the legitimate epic will exclude many long poems from the class. The exclusion by classical critics, of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* and Camoen's *Lusiad* may be thought arbitrary at the present day. But the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Earthly Paradise* are, both of them, long series of unconnected stories, and the mere presence of the same narrators and hearers is too slender a bond of connection to make them to be epics. The *Morte d' Arthur* is a series of incidents having no other bond between them than that they all have some connection with the life of Arthur. The *Divine Comedy* is open to question. Shelley classes it as one of the great *epics*, because it is the sincere and spontaneous expression of the life and faith of a people by one of themselves. But it is really a long series of incidents, related with much description and discussion, but with little narrative—the only bond of connection being the presence and participation of the witness and narrator—the poet himself. And sufficient reasons are found to exclude such works as *Aurora Leigh*, *The Epic of Hades*, *The Life and Death of Jason*, and Scott's metrical romances (though more Homeric in their rush and rapidity of movement and picturesque narration than any other modern poems). In fact Aristotle's rules will reduce the number of heroic epics to the three described in Dryden's epigram.

> "Three poets in three distant ages born
> Greece, Italy and England did adorn," etc.

II

Romanticism : As the term classical means, having something in common with Greek poetry of the 5th century B.C., so the term romantic is used to mean, having something in common with the literature of the romance languages of the 13th century A.D. In the former case, the something in common is unity and symmetry of structure; in the latter case, it is the recognition of some power working in nature other than the physical forces presented to the senses, and making the world to contain wonders and mysteries not subject to mathematical calculation. In the one case therefore, this similarity consists mainly in forms; in the other, rather in substance. It cannot be said, however, that the literary style and spirit now called romanticism had a beginning at any particular time,—there has been always poetry of that kind. Even the Greek critic Longinus seems to have cared little for the principles of Aristotle, and to have thought less of the forms of poetical construction than of the substance and the way in which it is produced. To him the source of poetry is not laborious art, but feeling springing up spontaneously and elevating the mind to a power of production and expression not otherwise attainable (the elevated or *sublime*). To him as to Wordsworth poetry is the "spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling," not a product of deliberate art.

But though there has always been poetry written in the romantic spirit, yet towards the end of the 18th century, a movement occurred in that direction which is of special interest in literary history. The classical spirit still reigned supreme in Italy and France, and was making inroads into Germany, and gave rise in England to the long period of imitative poetry produced largely according to model and rule, from 1660 to 1800. A reaction set in in Germany, extended to England and about 1820-30 became supreme also in France. This movement is of interest because it affected not merely the writing of poems and plays, but entered deeply the thought and philosophy of these countries, then and during the following century, and down to the present day.

The classical principle had had regard mainly to the forms in which poetry is expressed and had little or no bearing on the substance of it, or the way in which poetry is produced; and had given rise to a general impression that it is essentially a product of art, working by rules and models. The principle of romanticism is that true poetry is not made by effort of will, nor subject to rules, but springs spontaneously from within the mind by a natural impulse, as the fountain springs from the earth. The poet is one who *sees* more deeply into things than other men, and *feels* more deeply what he sees. The idea of something seen and remembered takes possession of his mind and fills it with strong feeling (be it anger, pity, wonder, gratitude, hope, or any other), and this feeling will not let him rest until he has given it full expression in ideas and words. The fundamental thought (the something seen and remembered) excites the poet's feeling, and his feeling makes him think more and more until the fundamental idea branches out into its many associated ideas and a system of contributory ideas is evolved and embodied in language in which the fundamental idea and feeling are fully expressed and made communicable to other minds—after which the poet is at rest.

And what is most peculiar to the romantic theory is that this process is not a process of artificial construction carried out by an effort of will on the part of the poet, but a process of evolution which goes on spontaneously in the poet's mind. (The true poem grows as the plant grows ; it is not made as the paper rose is made. Something more is concerned in it than the poet's individual will. It is produced largely by the formative power of nature entering and working in the poet's mind, and reproducing itself in the poet's will and work. And as this power of nature impels to thought it must itself be of a mental kind ; so that the theory tends to a spiritual view of nature, as opposed to the mechanical theory then prevailing. Hence the belief which has existed in all ages that the poet, artist, inventor and men of genius in general, work under the influence of a power higher than themselves. And hence it is that we read so often about poetic inspiration, about the Muses, about the poet's eye in a " fine frenzy rolling "—that " divine frenzy."

> " Which ever should possess the poet's mind."

and which opens up to him a depth of reality invisible to other men, making him see by—

> " An orient light unborrowed of the sun,"—
> " A light that never was on sea or land."

Even Milton acknowledges the influence of a "divine Urania" who visits him nightly and inspires him with "unpremeditated song."

Hence the most expressive definition of poetry from the romantic point of view is that of Wordsworth: "The spontaneous overflow of powerful feeling recollected in tranquility." The poet sees and comprehends more things than other men, and what he sees makes a deeper impression on his mind. When he has leisure to remember and think, these come back to him in idea; and some one of them excites a strong feeling in his mind which sets him thinking further until the thing with all its relations opens up to him more and more and he sees it in the light of all associated ideas, and feelings, and this whole of thought and feeling spontaneously expresses itself in language; and thus by impulse of natural feeling the poem evolves itself in the poet's mind. If will and art enter into the process, they are the elements of least importance.

Now a poem thus produced is a spontaneous opening up and self-revelation of the poet's mind. Indeed, the German romanticists said, it is an opening up of the mind of the people from whom the poet has sprung and the time in which he has lived—the spirit of his age. Hence the preference given by critics of the school to primitive and traditional poetry, however rude—traditional ballads, songs, and epics. Such poems are productions not of individual minds so much as of the people among whom they grew up, and are therefore revelations not merely of individuals but of the collective mind of their country and time. Hence the value attached to the traditional songs of different peoples—Spanish, German, English—such as those collected and translated by Herder in his *Voices of the Nations*; and to collections of German legends by Grimm and Simrock the *Ossianic Poems*, and English ballads by Percy and Scott, and the traditional German epics of the *Nibelungs* and *Gudrun*, and the French *Song of Roland.* The same principle led the critics to prefer the *Lusiad* of Camoens, as a spontaneous expression of the mind, character and aspirations of the Portuguese people, to the far more artistic but more artificial *Jerusalem Delivered* of Tasso and the *Æneid* of Virgil. The *Lusiad,* they said, was a sincere revelation of real life and character; the *Jerusalem Delivered* and the *Æneid* described states of things which never existed. For the same reason they raised to a dignified place in literature even the crude and prosaic Spanish narrative of conquest in South America, called *Los Araucanes.* When Percy ventured to collect and publish the traditional ballads of England and Scotland, classical influence was still at its height in England, so that they were scoffed at by critics such as Johnson; yet they soon found their way in the hearts of the people, and prepared them for the coming romantic literature of Scott, Coleridge, and Byron.

The same principle makes many prefer (in some of its various forms) the Wolfian theory of the origin of the Homeric poems to the older view. If the greater part of what is now the *Iliad* originated in the form of songs and ballads composed and preserved orally, in different parts of Greece, they may be assumed to reflect the minds of the Greek people of their time much more truly than if it be wholly the work of a single mind.

Consequences.—We can now see what bearing the romantic principle will have on the criticism of poetry, and see something of the principles which Coleridge would have drawn out from his philosophy of poetry if it had been finished.

1. It will lead to a disregard of all conventional rules and models, including those of the classical school. Every poet will be free to "strike out a new line" for himself if he can. Keats speaks disdainfully of the French critical legislator, as "a man Boileau," who in his *Art of Poetry* tried to impose a set of fetters on future poets.

Yet it is not inconsistent with unity of form; such forms as are themselves natural and conducive to the expression of natural thought and feeling, will themselves come by nature, and a poem may be romantic in substance and classical in form at the same time.

2. The system involves a view of the relation of man and nature which brings the two into closer relation with each other than had been thought of before. Man receives not only his existence but, along with it, his impulses, thoughts and feelings from nature and nature expresses and seeks to realise its aims and purposes through man.

Hence the interest which Wordsworth and others felt in those people who live in close contact with nature in rural places. These continue to be essentially what nature made them to be. Their thoughts and feelings, manners and customs, are inspired by nature. Fashionable life leaves nature behind and becomes artificial and conventional in everything. God made the country, man made the town (a way of thinking undoubtedly natural to Wordsworth though corresponding closely to views previously enunciated by Rousseau). The same feeling doubtless is implicit in the favour shown at all times to *pastoral* poetry, such as the pastoral eclogues of Theocritus, Virgil, Spenser, and Milton (*Aceades, Lycidas*) and to pastoral plays such as those of Jonson (*Sad Shepherd*), Fletcher (*Faithful Shepherdess*), Milton (*Comus*) and Ramsay (*Gentle Shepherd*) and many others. At the same time, the tendency to look for meanings and suggestions in things gives romance a special interest in the history and the vicissitudes and life, as drawing out what is deepest qualities of human nature, as in the poems and tales of Scott.

3. It will favour also that kind of language in which the thought and feelings of the poet naturally and spontaneously expresses itself and will reject whatever is artificial and conventional in expression—such as the "poetic diction" of the 18th century and "euphuistic" and "metaphysical" phraseology of Elizabeth's and James's times. The language in which a poet's thoughts will spontaneously clothe themselves, will be, it may be assumed, that of common life.

In language also, therefore, it will have a tendency to go back to people who live in close communion with nature in rural places, as speaking the simplest and most expressive form of speech. Hence Wordsworth's preference for the language of rural people and common life. Why? Because their language was evolved to express the great phenomena of nature and the relations of men with nature. Now this is the deepest and most fundamental stratum of language. Out of it, the language of higher life and learning has been developed by metaphorical transformation—all the so-called higher and more refined and learned words are but "faded metaphors." Therefore the understanding of the "higher" language is dependent on understanding the more primitive and fundamental language of the common rural people. It follows that the thought and feeling of poetry will find more vivid and impressive expression in simple language of common life than in the derivative and second-hand language of artificial society. Hence the controversy regarding the language of poetry raised by the teaching of Wordsworth. It should be observed however that Wordsworth in his theory of poetic language, thought at that time to be wildly revolutionary and subversive of established principles, was only anticipating, by some 50 years, the controversy about the respective merits of the Saxon and Latin styles. He was really defending the so-called "Saxon" style against the highly Latinised style of Johnson and most "classical" writers and critics of the century. Yet many critics, Coleridge included, have found fault with him as teaching something altogether contrary not only to established usage (which it was, at that time) but to the true art of poetry.

4. It encouraged the introduction of natural phenomena into poetry but depreciated their treatment as merely materials for description. Nature-poetry of the merely descriptive kind had taken a prominent place in English literature of the 18th century, from the influence of Thomson's *Seasons* and *Castle of Indolence*. But it regarded nature altogether from the outside, and described things and their relations only as they appear to

the senses. But its descriptions were picturesque and attractive, and Thomson and his imitators formed an agreeable relief to the satirical and epigrammatic work of Pope and his school which then held the foremost place in poetry. The work of that school, consisted largely of imitations of the work of Latin and French satirists, though generally superior to its originals. But this kind of poetry, from its uniformity of subject and style, was beginning to tire the public, and the nature-poetry of Thomson was new and fresh. But this poetry was superficial, seeing no meanings in the phenomena of nature, and was often only a picturesque enumeration of things, like a pictorial catalogue. Its influence extended to Germany, and the German critic Lessing wrote a book called *The Laocoon* in which he criticised the descriptive poetry of nature, comparing it to an auctioneer's catalogue of articles for sale! Indeed description, however picturesque, soon loses its interest if it suggest nothing beyond itself, *i.e.*, if it have no meaning underlying it.

But to the poet influenced by the romantic spirit, nature is something other than a conglomeration of things suggesting nothing. To him nature is full of meaning; things fill his mind with thoughts reaching beyond themselves, and open up depths of wonder and mystery existing behind their outward appearances. To him nature is full of life, actual and potential; it contains the sources out of which his own life rises, and its influences enter into his own mind and inspire his own thoughts and feelings, and all its phenomena are suggestive and illustrative of the various phases and aspects of human life, and possibilities of life beyond human. Hence his descriptions of nature are never merely for the sake of the physical things described, but for the sake of some symbolical expression or illustration which they give of some aspect of his own and other spheres of life. To him, life and spirit is always in the background, and physical nature is only a medium through which the working of spirit is reflected as " through a glass darkly."

The habit of thought underlying the romantic view of nature is well expressed in the lines of Tennyson:—

> Flower in the crannied wall,
> I pluck you out of the crannies,
> Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
> Little flower, but if I could understand
> What you are, root and all and all in all,
> I should know what God and man is.

Also in the saying of Carlyle that the meanest flower is a window through which you can look into the infinite; and in Wordsworth's lines,

> To me the meanest flower that blows
> Can give thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears.

It is true that the 18th century was not altogether insensible to romantic suggestion. *Grongar Hill* and Thomson's *Winter* and *Castle of Indolence*, and various descriptions in Cowper's *Task*, contain much of it; and Collin's *Ode to Evening* and *Highland Superstitions* are full of romantic feeling; and Gray's Elegy, notwithstanding much false "poetic diction," contains some lines full of romantic suggestion.

5. Hence a prominent attribute of romantic poetry is its suggestiveness. To it, things are full of meanings. These meanings are not exhausted by the words of the poet. But his words are such as to set the mind of the reader working along the same line of thought, and going beyond what is explicitly given in the poet's words. Hence it is, that so many lines of Wordsworth, Shelley, and Keats in his later poems (not to speak of Shakespeare) may be said to "vex" the minds of readers

> "With thoughts beyond the reaches of their souls."

6. Thus the romantic way of thinking leads to (or follows from) a theory of the world entirely different from

that which prevailed in the 18th century. The triumph of the mathematical philosophy of Descartes and Newton had led to a faith in the universal applicability of mathematics, and that led to a conception of the world as a conglomeration of atomic bodies moved by physical forces subject to immutable mathematical laws; and this made it to be conceived as a vast system of machinery, working with perfect uniformity in all its parts. And by many, this mechanism was extended to the living organism, and by some even to the working of the mind. Everything therefore worked with perfect uniformity; nothing new could enter into the closed system of nature, and nothing could happen which could not be reduced to an algebraic formula, and calculated beforehand. Thus all novelty and variety, all wonder and mystery were excluded. The nature-poet could do nothing but describe, and one result was the nature poetry of the century.

The romanticism of the 19th century was to a certain extent a revolt against this mechanical theory of things which substituted something like a death's head in place of the living world of the mediæval and ancient poets. To it the world was still full of spiritual power and life, which manifested itself in all the phenomena of nature, and reproduced itself finitely in individual minds, evolving in them a higher world of thought and art. The poet, the artist, and every man of creative mind feels its influence working within him and feels that what is highest in his work comes from a source heeper than his own individual will—

> " Think you 'mid all this mighty sum
>   Of things for ever speaking,
> That nothing of itself will come,
>   But we mmst still be seeking."

Schiller, and Wordsworth especially, expressing their revolt declare that they would prefer to have lived in Pagan times, when it would have been in their power to think of life in all things and find a divinity in every grove, rather than have to accept that death's head theory of things (Schiller's *Gods of Greece*, Keats's *Lamia*, Wordsworth in many places).

The underlying tendency of romantic thought found its first clear expression in Wordsworth's first poem of importance, called *Lines on the Wye above Tintern Abbey.* This poem implies—

(*a*) *A new theory of poetry:* that the true poet is influenced by a power deeper than his own individual will. His power is not exhausted in describing things externally; what is revealed to the senses is the outward manifestation of a power which at the same time reveals itself to his mind inwardly, and he has "hours of visitation from the Most High God," when "the burden of the mystery of all this unintelligible world" is lightened, and for the moment he becomes a "living soul" in communion with the world-soul, and visions of truth open up to him which are beyond the reach of the outward senses, and for a moment he is enabled to "see into the life of things." And this power of seeing into the inner meanings of things is what gives to his thoughts that power of suggesting other thoughts to other minds, which is so characteristic of the leading romantic poets, *e.g.*, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Shelley.

(*b*) *A new theory of the world:* he can no longer believe that there is nothing in nature beyond the mechanism of physical things as they appear to the senses; he is overpowered by a feeling which comes to him from nature—

> A sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused......
> A more and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things."

This feeling of a deeper meaning in the phenomena of nature, suggesting the presence in it of a spiritual power which enters into communion with the finite mind, was wanting, he here gives us to understand, "in the years of thoughtless youth" but has come upon him with overpowering conviction during the five years since he last visited the Wye. But we find from other writings (*e.g.*, *Prelude*) that it was present with him from early life.

7. It may be observed that the chief philosopher of the school, Schelling, gives an analysis of the æsthetic consciousness as understood by the German romantic (last chapter of *Transcendental Idealism*) which has been repeated by Coleridge (in his usual fragmentary way). In the artistic mind, in the act of creation, there are two powers working correlatively. There is (*a*) the power of nature which enters into the artists' individual mind and gives the main direction and substance of his thought, and (*b*) there is the work of the artists' mind working individually, which reacts on the inspiring force of nature, making it resolve itself into clear ideas, and making these develop themselves into a logically connected system of ideas and express themselves in words. Thus by co-operation of these forces—impulse of nature and reaction of the individual will—mainly spontaneous but partly intentional the poem or work of art grows in the artists' mind.

From this it would appear that the poetic mind is not entirely spontaneous in its work (as Shelley seems to have thought) but that it includes some exercise of the individual will. The productive force of nature is concerned mainly in the substance of the work—its underlying and pervading thought; and that of the individual, in the form of the work and the expression of the thought in words. But they must not be regarded as independent forces, coming into contact with each other from outside; but rather as correlative factors of the same force, combining in working out one common purpose, *viz.*, the evolution of the poem or work of art. Together they constitute *Imagination* which is the creative faculty in all the highest poetry and art.

For Imagination is the power of resolving abstract thoughts and feelings into clear ideas and embodying these in concrete images (description, metaphors, symbols and figures) in which, through, the suggestive power of the poets words, they can be *seen* by the mind's eye, and understood without any effort of abstraction—one great difference between science and poetry being that the former expresses its thought in generalisations and abstractions; the latter, in concrete pictures. Imagination thus gives the poetry of *thought* and truth ; Fancy, that of ornament and mental play. Coleridge calls the work of nature in art, primary imagination as inspiring the essence of the product; the work of the individual will, secondary, as merely reducing the essence to form.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the majority of romantic poets, had any such definite theory of the nature of their work. Nevertheless they all felt themselves yielding more or less to a power other than themselves, and felt that there were more things in the world than was dreamt of by the mechanical philosophy, and that in true poetry as well as in art generally, there is " something far more deeply interfused " which that philosophy did not discern.

HENRY STEPHEN

POLITICAL HISTORY OF ANCIENT INDIA[1]

The author of this work tells us in his preface that his object "has been to present materials for an authentic chronological history of Ancient India, including the neglected Post-Bhārata period." It is therefore not to be regarded as being intended to present a comprehensive account of the periods surveyed in it (the history of the South, for example, is almost ignored, except for a few pages on the Andhras), but rather as a supplement to fuller histories, such as that of the late Mr. Vincent Smith, filling up gaps in their narrative from the materials furnished by legendary and religious literature and correcting their statements where necessary by the results of recent discoveries and renewed study of sources. The title of the book may thus excite expectations that will not be fulfilled, which is unfortunate, for the work on the whole is a good one.

The first part of the book consists of a courageous and able attempt to frame an outline of Indian history from the date of Parīkshit to that of Bimbisāra out of the materials supplied by Vedic, Puranic, Epic, Jain, Buddhist, and other literature. This idea is of course not a novel one: several scholars in recent years have endeavoured with considerable success to trace historical nuclei in legendary writings, and among these Mr. Pargiter's studies of the Purāṇas and Mahābhārata and his "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition" stand in the front rank. But Dr. Raychaudhuri is the first who has attempted to collect the whole mass of legendary material and to extract thence a skeleton history of Northern India for the whole period. His treatment of this difficult task shews much learning and ability. But it is unlucky for him that his first chapters were written before the appearance of Mr. Pargiter's book which embodies the results of long critical studies in the Purāṇas, and presents an exact digest of their historical traditions. Hence wherever Dr. Raychaudhuri handles the same subjects as Mr. Pargiter, comparison of the two books is inevitable, and naturally is disadvantageous to the former. As example we may point to page 37 of the "Political History" contrasted with Mr. Pargiter's critical analysis of the same texts. When Dr. Raychaudhuri's book arrives at a second edition, it is to be hoped that he will incorporate in it the results of Mr. Pargiter's researches, and also that he will add synchronistic tables to the whole book, similar to those prepared by Prof. Kielhorn in the Ep. Indica, which will greatly facilitate the labour of study.

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[1] Political History of Ancient India from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty. By Hemchandra Raychaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., pp. xv. v. 354. University of Calcutta: Calcutta, 1923. 8°.

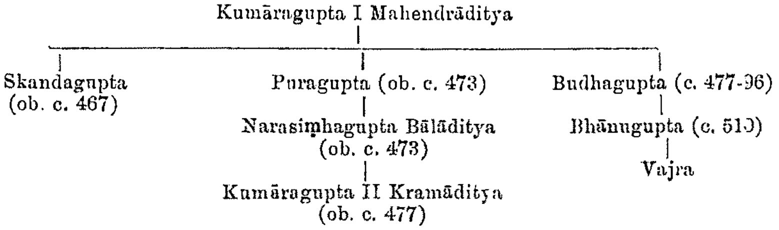
We turn now to the second part, which begins with the accession of Bimbisāra. Here, as elsewhere, the author treats his materials with a certain degree of originality, but at the same time he preserves throughout a well-balanced judgment and never sacrifices critical caution to the passion for novel theories. There is much to be said in favour of his acceptance of the Sinhalese tradition which places Śiśunāga after Bimbisāra, instead of the Puranic account which makes him an ancestor of the latter (p. 111). The Purāṇas are often surprisingly right in their statements; but not seldom they are equally mistaken. They themselves admit that the Pradyōta dynasty was ousted by that of Śiśunāga, yet Pradyōta was contemporary with Bimbisāra and Ajātasattu. There is also considerable probability in his hypothesis that the traditional Sinhalese date for Buddha's Nirvāṇa, 544 or 543 B.C., was really the epoch of an era beginning from the accession of Bimbisāra, though it must be confessed that this matter needs further investigation. He accepts the view that the Kauṭilīya Artha-śāstra is contemporary with Chandragupta Maurya, and points to a number of cases in which the details of political organisation described in it agree with the notices of Megasthenes. It should however be remarked that these correspondences, striking and important as they may be, do not suffice to prove that the Kauṭilīya in its present form dates from the Maurya era, in face of the contrary evidence borne by some of its sections. The organisation of the state probably did not materially change for many centuries after the age of Chandragupta. We must dissent from the statement that "in the south the Maurya power, at one time, had penetrated as far south as the Podiyil Hill" (p. 164), which is based upon the very inconclusive theories of Prof. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, and from the translation of *ayāya sambōdhiṃ* by "he went out to Bodh Gayā (p. 180). On the other hand the author, in our opinion, shews sound judgment in denying that the fall of the Maurya dynasty was due to a reaction promoted by the Brahmans; the evidence that he adduces (pp. 192 ff.) clearly indicates that the empire collapsed through internal weakness and misgovernment, accelerated by the Yavana invasions. He is equally judicious in his discussion of the vexed date of Khāravēla, the riddle of which however he leaves unsolved.

Upon the confused welter of Hellenistic, Saka, Parthian and Kushan usurpations the author does not throw much new light. We may note however his plausible argument that it was not Menander, but Demetrius son of Euthydemus, whose invasion in the middle of the second century B. C. is mentioned by Patañjali in the Mahābhāshya and by Kālidāsa in the Mālavikâgnimitra, and hence that Menander may be assigned to the first century B. C. With these conclusions we may compare those of Prof. S. Konow in his recent paper on the Khāravēla inscription in Acta Orientalia, Vol. I. Dr. Raychaudhuri notices the references in Chinese sources to the somewhat mysterious king "Yin-mo-fu" of Ki-pin (Kapiśa), but cautiously refrains from drawing thence any conclusion. Cunningham, greatly daring, ventured to identify this monarch with Miaus, and there is something to be said in favour of this equation. One is tempted to go even further and to identify Yin-mo-fu *alias* Miaus with the great king Moga-Maues, whose name would equally well agree with the Chinese spelling and whose date could be very well brought within the limits assigned by the Chinese historians to Yin-mo-fu; for Dr. Giles, who at my request has kindly examined the T'a-shu, informs me that Yin-mo-fu is there said to have established himself as king of Ki-pin after the murder of his predecessor during the reign of Hsüan-ti, which lasted from 73 to 48 B. C., and that he murdered the Chinese envoys in the reign of Yüan-ti B. C. 48-32 (compare A. Wylie, *Notes on the Western Regions*, in *J. Anthrop. Inst.*, Vol. X, 1881, pp. 33f.). His reign must therefore have begun not earlier than 73 B. C. and ended not later than 32 B. C.; approximately then it may be assigned to circa 70-15 B. C. This tallies fairly well with the date of accession attributed to Moga on other grounds in the Cambridge History of India, namely, circa 75 B. C. The great difference of quality and character between the coins of Moga-Maues and those of Miaus is no real ground for denying this identification (compare the Cambridge History, p. 569), especially when we consider the conditions of that turbulent age. The miserable coins of Miaus were struck in the half savage highlands, the fine pieces of Maues in the plains of India—a natural sequence of events in the career which we may venture to ascribe to him. If this combination is correct however it will be necessary to give up the attempt to locate Moga's dates in the era of Kaṇishka.

The ghost of Kaṇishka has not been laid by Dr. Raychaudhuri. He considers that Sir John Marshall's excavations have disproved the view that Kaṇishka's reign began from 58 B. C. They have certainly produced some evidence against it, but we still venture to think that this evidence is largely based upon assumptions. The testimony of the coins still remains inconclusive, and our author's statement that the

Chinese histories prove Kapiśa and Gandhāra to have been under the rule of Śaka kings throughout the second half of the first century B. C. (p. 250) is hardly correct: all that we know is that when the Great Yue-chi in their westward movement overcame the Ta-hia, a king of the Śakas fled to the south and ruled over Ki-pin (J. A., 1897, tome 9, Jan-Juin, 9 ser., p. 22). In his brilliant article "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes" (*ibid*) Prof. Sylvain Lévi has called attention to the significant fact that in the reign of Chêng-ti, 32-7 B. C., the support of China was sought without success by the king of Ki-pin (apparently Yin-mo-fu's successor), as he was in danger from some powerful adversary; and he has thence concluded—justly, in our opinion—that he then succumbed to his opponent, who was a Kushan king. Prof. Lévi would identify this Kushan with Kujula Kadphises, and he would place him about 50 B. C. and Kaṇishka about half a century later, but there is still no decisive evidence that compels us to accept this order and place Kadphises before Kaṇishka. At any rate, we may tentatively infer that Yin-mo-fu, *alias* Moga, *alias* Maues, reigned some time between 70 and 45 B.C. in Kapiśa, and established there a powerful empire which included a large part of North-Western and Northern India; that during the latter part of his reign a formidable Kushan king established himself in his neighbourhood; and that later, perhaps in the reign of Yin-mo-fu's successor, this Kushan or his successor conquered or annexed Kapiśa. The probability, it seems to us, is that this Kushan was Kaṇishka.

In dealing with the Western Kshatrapas our author holds to what may be called the orthodox view that the inscriptions of Nahapāna, as well as those of the later Kshatrapas, are dated in the Śaka era of 78 A.D., and offers the reasonable suggestion that the dynasty of Chashṭana may have been ruling in Cutch (as well as in Ujjayinī) while Nahapāna and his Kshaharātas were governing Mālava and Mahārāshṭra. Passing on to the Guptas, we may note that in the main he accepts Prof. Jouveau Dubreuil's convincing presentation of Samudragupta's southern campaigns[1]; but he thinks that Samudragupta succeeded in wresting from the Vākāṭakas their territories in Central India. Some of his conclusions regarding the later Guptas may be summed up by the following genealogical tree :—


Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya
Skandagupta (ob. c. 467)
Puragupta (ob. c. 473)
Narasiṃhagupta Bālāditya (ob. c. 473)
Kumāragupta II Kramāditya (ob. c. 477)
Budhagupta (c. 477-96)
Bhānugupta (c. 510)
Vajra

After Budhagupta, on the authority of Hiuen Tsang, he would place Tathāgatagupta and his son Bālāditya II, the latter of whom is reputed to have overthrown Mihirakula.[2] It is suggested by our author that this Bālāditya is identical with the king Bhānugupta who fought valiantly at Eran, presumably against the Huns, in or shortly before 511 A.D.— an attractive and feasible hypothesis. The concluding sections on the fortunes of the last recorded Guptas are also very ingenious, and by no means without probability.

We must now regretfully conclude our notice of this interesting book. As we have indicated, it is not without inequalities ; but it shews judgment, ingenuity, and learning. And not the least of the author's merits is that he can write plain English.

L. D. BARNETT

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[1] His attempt to identify *Kaurāḷa* with Yayāti-nagara (p. 275) is however unconvincing. I have suggested that it is to be sought in one of the villages that now bear the name of *Kōrāḍa* (Bull. Scho l. Or. Stud., II. iii, p. 569). *Kusthalapura* is probably Kuttalur, near Polur, in North Arcot.

[2] This name, be it observed in passing, is a curious hybrid. *Mihira* is of course Persian (=Mithra), while *kula* or *gula* seems to be the Turki *qul*, so that the compound is the equivalent to Mitradāsa, "slave of Mithra."

ECONOMIC EVOLUTION OF INDIA

[*Synopsis :* A normal feature of all countries where civilising influences are at work is the increase of the population in numbers as well as in wants. The desire to live a better and a higher life evolves many new wants, which in turn lead to an increase of production in variety and volume.

But where the standard of comfort remains stationary, there is no inducement to increased production. That has been the case with India.

Historical causes account for the low standard of living in India. The environments created by the Moghul Administration described, and their economic effects discussed. Excessive revenue demands, non-recognition of private rights in land, the helpless condition of the peasants and artisans, the faulty distribution of wealth. Result—the sapping of productive effort. Conditions of agriculture and industry described.

The political insecurity consequent on the disruption of the Empire accentuates these evil features.

The advent of the English Merchants ; how they kept up the continuity of economic life ; adoption of the Moghul methods in industrial production ; the conditions of life of the artisan.

The abolition of the East India Company's privileged trade introduces the private English trader. The Company free to attend to the establishment of internal peace ; the private trader opens up fresh markets ; decline of Indian industry continues ; how a contemporary describes the position; Seiur Mutaqherin. The English are at this stage interested only in the external trade, and leave the internal development of the country to take care of itself. The internal customs duties check the free movement of indigenous commodities in the country, while the English commercial policy of protection checks foreign trade. The gradual removal of these disabilities.

The Proclamation of 1858 and the assumption of direct sovereignty. The expansion of facilities for communication. Dalhousie's railway policy. Its results, rise of agricultural prices and its sequelæ ; some of its evil consequences described; and the question whether the railway policy is responsible for these evils discussed.

The Industrial Revolution of England, its reflex action on India hastened by the new policy of linking up the country with external markets prior to the linking up of the several isolated provinces of the country itself. Rapid decline of Indian industries. Could this have been prevented by a different policy of development ?—a profitless speculation.

The supreme merit of the new policy ; India no longer a geographical expression ; on the whole, especially on the agricultural side, the balance of advantage is in India's favour. The economic consequences of Pax Britannica and of free movement. Rising standard of living ; how it is leading to increased production.

Examination of trade statistics till 1907 ; the growth of manufactures.]

A comparison of the economic conditions prevailing in any industrial country to-day with those of two centuries ago brings out the important fact that while the efflux of time has caused an increase in the total population, the advance in numbers has been accompanied by a more or less corresponding rise in the standards of living ; and to this growth of the people in numbers and in wants must be ascribed the evolution of industry in those countries. The theory of wants as the motive force behind human activities is sufficiently familiar to all students of economics as not to need being dilated upon in these pages. The real problem behind every form of industrial evolution is to satisfy an ever-widening circle of wants ; and the function of industrial organisation is to reconcile so far as is possible two opposing forces.

An increase in numbers has to be accompanied by a proportionate increase in production, in order that the new generation might live in the same plane of life as the old. But with the establishment of law and order and the increase of knowledge and civilisation, new forces begin to operate, which make a stationary standard of life a moral impossibility. The wants of a people grow in variety as well as in amount. The course of foreign trade may offer new goods to a nation in payment for its exports, or the rich may enjoy goods which the masses of the people see and come to desire, or, the process which is simply called development may raise new wants out of old ones. This is a strain which never ceases. Later stages and higher levels of comfort rather increase than lessen it. Greater capacities for enjoyment come out of greater opportunities to enjoy. A class may feel that it is becoming poorer, though it can buy the same things as before even in greater amount, if new goods come into use but are beyond its reach. Contrast is a strong factor of poverty, and to many ways of defining poverty, we might add the historical one—failure to participate in the new known goods of each period.[1]

While the growth of population in civilised societies thus connotes a growth both in the volume as well as in the variety of wants, the common stock of resources from which these wants are to be satisfied does not show any corresponding expansion. In any given country, the land, out of which ultimately come all the goods that we use, cannot show any increase in area, or a corresponding increase in fertility. And the problem that industry is called upon to solve is to adjust rapidly growing wants to the resources available at any given time, by effecting every conceivable economy. It is thus evident that the stage of industrial evolution which a community has reached will correspond to the nature and intensity of its waste. Where the wants are limited, or the resources available limitless, there is no need to have an organization to balance the opposing forces; there is no need to study economy. But where the numbers are growing and the resources contracting, every effort has to be made to get the maximum amount of satisfaction from the scanty stock of commodities ; and various forms of industrial life are evolved for this purpose ; and the industrial machinery is as elaborate and complicated as it is to-day, because the work it is faced with is one of enormous magnitude and difficulty.

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[1] *Vide* D. H. Macgregor, The Evolution of Industry, 1911, pp. 13-14.

On this basis it is possible to explain the absence of elaborate systems of industrial organization in the earlier epochs of Indian history ; for, the non-expansive character of the Indian standard of living is familiar to every student of Indian economic conditions. The English labourers of to-day command many conveniences, comforts and luxuries denied to the nobles of Elizabeth's days. But the Indian labourer of Akbar's days, there is reason to believe, led pretty much the same life as his rural confrére of the present time. "The great bulk of the population," says the historiographer of Akbar's days, "lived on the same economic plane as now. We cannot be sure whether they had a little more or a little less to eat, but they probably had fewer clothes, and they were certainly worse off in regard to household utensils and to some of the minor conveniences and gratifications of life."[1] The Indian Industrial Commission points out how little the standard of living in rural India has been affected by the civilising forces now at work in the country.[2] Even at the present day, "the poverty of the Indian peasant precludes most novel forms of expenditure, while lack of education and the prescription of custom make him slow to accept any innovation in his food or clothing or in the habits of his daily life." During the past twenty or thirty years, however, there has been an appreciable rise in the standards of comfort, but for the most part, it has been so slow and gradual that it has not yet had any perceptible influence on the general life of the country.

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[1] Moreland, India at the Death of Akbar, p. 279.

[2] Pp. 11 ond 151, Report, Cmd. 51 of 1819.

One curious result of this unchanging standard of living is that even when opportunities are afforded to the Indian labourer to earn higher wages, he uses his greater earning power to do less work, and enjoy greater leisure, rather than to earn more by working more regularly or by improving his efficiency. Employers desirous of retaining regular labour and improving its efficiency have often lamented how the offer of higher wages has failed to bring about an increased desire for material comfort. This attitude is in marked contrast to that of the English agricultural labourers during the economic depression following the Napoleonic wars, when a most determined attempt was made by the governing classes to induce them to adopt a lower standard of living in the mistaken hope that such a change would ease the situation. Above all things the labourer was urged to abandon the use of wheaten bread and to accept some substitute. Many forms of pressure were employed, but he was resolutely opposed to such a change, and clung tenaciously to his standard of living.[1] The compulsory enforcement of a lower standard of comfort that is now and again brought about in India in times of famine and scarcity leaves the people but slightly affected. In the latter case, they are accustomed to live in such a primitive manner, the range of their indispensable wants not extending beyond the simplest necessities of a bare existence, that a little more or a little less is of but little consequence to them. In England, on the other hand, the higher standard had so completely entered into their lives that even a temporary fall from it was regarded as a hardship and a deprivation, against which it was felt worth while to put up a strenuous fight.

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[1] Mr. and Mrs. Hammond, The Village Labourer, 1760-1832, Chapter VII.

What is the reason for this singular difference in the mentality of these two peoples? It is easy enough to ascribe it to the ascetic ideal inculcated by Indian religious teachings, which exalts non-economic satisfactions over the material comforts of life ; but it is not so easy to believe that religious motives so completely dominate the life of the average ignorant peasant as to make him exclaim *Vanitas Vanitatum* at the sight of every form of human comfort or luxury, or to make him cling with such rigid tenacity to monastic poverty. Nor is such a view consistent with the mentality of the ordinary masses, who seem eager enough for gain and wealth and all that it connotes, but somehow feel that they cannot put forth the energy requisite to win them. The discontent is there, but it is not shot with the colours of hope. The explanation for this has to be sought in the influence exerted over their lives through the course of centuries by their political and other environments.

Materials are not yet available from which to reconstruct an account of the condition of the Indian peoples before the accession to power of the Moghul Emperors ; but the evidence bearing on Moghul India is sufficient in range and volume to lead to the conclusion that the scope and nature of the administration of those days were such as to discourage every effort at creative activity, and to reduce the standard of living to its lowest terms. The type of government in the Moghul Empire, as in other parts of India, was that of a despot ruling the country through a military aristocracy, the members of which held their provinces during the Emperor's pleasure, and were bound, out of their revenues, to maintain a fixed militia, and make a fixed annual payment to the Emperor. "These nobles," says Fernao Nuniz, a contemporary writer at Vijayanagar, "are like renters, who hold all the land from the King, and beside keeping all these people (the army) they have to pay their cost; they also pay to him every year sixty lakhs of rents as Royal dues. The lands, they say, yield one hundred and twenty lakhs, of which they must pay sixty to the King, and the rest they retain for the pay of the soldiers and the expenses of the elephants which they are obliged to maintain.[1]" Nuniz is here speaking of Vijayanagar, but his description applies equally to the other contemporary states. In some provinces around Agra, however, there was no intermediary between the cultivator and the Emperor, and a direct system of assessment (zabt) was in force. Nuniz continues that the captains who hold of the King "make it over to their husbandmen, who pay nine-tenths to their lord.[2]"

And De Laet tells us that the Moghul authorities took three-fourths of the gross produce, "leaving only one-fourth for the wretched peasants, so that they sometimes receive nothing in return for their labour and expenditure.[3]" This is obviously a gross over-estimate; but even in the regions where Akbar's direct assessment was in force, the claim of the state was fixed at one-third of the gross produce, estimated on the area sown with crop every season; and even this appears too high-pitched to have been ever actually enforced. But whatever may have been the legal or theoretical limits of assessment, it was with its practical working that the ryot was concerned. That the system was worked with a harsh and excessive rigour, and that its application left the peasant but little wherewith to maintain himself, there is unfortunately no room to doubt.

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[1] Chronicle of Fernao Nuniz, Chap. 22, translated in A. Sewelle's " A Forgotten Empire," p. 373.

[2] Note Sewell's comment on this at p. 379: 'This statement, coming as it does, from a totally external source, strongly supports the view often held that the ryots of Southern India were grievously oppressed by the nobles when subject to Hindu government. Other passages in both these chronicles (*viz.*, of Paes and Nuniz), each of which was written quite independently of the other, confirm the assertion here made about the mass of the people being ground down and living in the greatest poverty and distress.' *Cf.* Nuniz, p. 373. 'The common people suffer much hardship, those who hold the lands being so tyrannical.'

[3] P. 125, De Imperio Magni Mogolis, Leydon, 1631.

Wherever the central authority was beyond reach, and the local revenue-farmer inclined to be extortionate, the cultivator had but little to hope for.

There was also a second feature connected with the land that discouraged agricultural production. Private rights in land, there is reason to believe, had not yet been established. The Emperor was the owner of all the land[1]; and often transferred it from one grantee to another, according to his pleasure.[2] The security of the cultivators themselves rested on the same infirm basis; De Laet mentions that the common people were much harassed, and often compelled to change their land every season, sometimes because the Administration wanted it and sometimes because it was to be given to someone else. The evils of constant ejectment and dispossession had become so clamant at the commencement of Jahangir's reign that he issued an order that 'the officials of the crown lands and the Jagirdars should not forcibly take the ryots' lands and cultivate them on their own account,' but the Imperial mandate was but little heeded.

What with the severe rate of assessment and the imposition of additional cesses[3] and what with the insecurity of tenure, the peasant soon found it an unprofitable job to till the soil at all; and if Bernier may be trusted, such land fell out of cultivation for this reason. "Even of those (tracts) that would be fertile, there is much that is not used for want of workmen, some of which have perished by the too evil treatment of the governors who often take from them their necessary livelihood.........others have abandoned the fields.........and desponding out of the consideration that they laboured only for others, have cast themselves into towns or into armies, to serve there for porters or waiting men, and many have fled to the lands of the Rajahs, because there they found less tyranny and more kindness.[1] And again[2] "This tyranny often grows to that excess that it takes away what is necessary to the life of a peasant or tradesman who is starved for hunger and misery; who gets no children or if he does, sees them die young for want of food; or that abandons his land and turns some cavalier's man or flies whether he may to his neighbours in hopes of finding a better condition. In a word, the country is not tilled but almost by force, consequently very ill, and much of it is quite spoilt and ruined, there being none to be found that can or will be at the charge of entertaining the ditches and channels for the course of waters to be conveyed to necessary places, nor anybody that care to build houses or to repair those that are ruinous; the peasant reasoning thus with himself: 'why should I toil so much for a tyrant that may come to-morrow to take all away from me, or at least all the best of what I have, and not leave, if the fancy taketh his, so much as to sustain my life even very poorly?' And the Timariot, the governor and the farmer will reason thus with himself: 'why should I bestow money and take pains of bettering or manuring this land since I must every hour expect to have it taken from me, or exchanged for another? I labour neither for myself nor for my children; and that place which I have this year, I may perhaps have no more the next. Let us draw from it what we can whilst we possess it, though the peasant should break or starve, though the land should become a desert when I am gone.'

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[1] See Nuniz, p. 379, in Sewell; also Bernier, Bangabasi edition, Calcutta, p. 165.

[2] *Cf.* the case of William Hawkins, who represented the East India Company at the Moghul Court about 1611, and was granted a Jagir, but was soon deprived of it. "The Hawkins Voyages," edited for the Hakluyt Society, 1877, p. 411.

[3] *Cf.* Akbar's Dahseri, a cess of 25 lbs. of grain on every cultivated acre.

The English factors of the time also bear witness to this state of affairs. In regard to the general unwillingness of the people to cultivate the soil, an extreme example may be given: 'The governor in this his progress hath with his own hands cut a moc (adam) d'campa in two pieces for not sowing grounds with corns, etc., which act of his hath caused an uproar in this country.'[1].

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[1] "Bernier's Travels, Calcutta edition, p. 185. The reference to the migration to the Rajas' territories is interesting as showing that the zemindars treated the peasant more considerately than the grantees.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 20.

A word may also be said about the influence of the prevailing law of property. The theory of property in land, if there was any theory at all, was that the Ruler was the absolute owner. Bernier remarks that the great Mogol makes himself heir of the Omrahs or lords and of the Mansabdars or petty lords in his pay, and that all the lands of the Empire were his property.[2] Sir Thomas Roe says that the claim of the Mughals extended to the property left by all his subjects, and though this statement is too wide, the Emperor certainly claimed the goods left by the wealthier merchants as well as by his nobles and officers. Other contemporary writers such as Tavarnier, Manrique, and Bernier point out how this practice tended either to discourage the accumulation of wealth, or to encourage secret hoardings. Owing to the operation of this pernicious theory of property, and the general precariousness of life in the provinces where "the soldiery and the governors do impunely abuse the Authority Royal" and prey on all less powerful than themselves, "the people affect to appear poor and moneyless, very mean in their apparel, lodging, household stuff, and yet more in meat and drink; that often they apprehend even to meddle with trade, lest they should be thought rich, and so fall into the danger of being ruined; so that at last they find no other remedy to secure their wealth than to hide and dig their money underground, thus getting out of the ordinary commerce of men, and so dying that neither the king nor the State having any benefit over it."[3] In circumstances such as these, when every attempt to better one's standard of living was a direct invitation to be 'squeezed' by the authorities, or by one's more powerful neighbours, it is obvious that the range of wants must have visibly contracted, till further contraction was almost impossible.

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[1] *Vide* Foster's English Factories in India, 1630-33, p. 232 (O. O. 1311).

[2] *Ibid*, p. 185.

[3] Bernier, Calcutta edition, pp. 205-206.

Nor was the economic classification of those days conducive to material progress. There were, indeed, only two sections in Moghul society,—a handful of men at the top, with their armies of dependents and slaves, leading a wasteful and extravagant life and the vast masses of the population, ground down by tyranny and poverty, on the result of whose sweated labours rested the pomp and pageantry of the aulic splendour of Delhi.[1] A consequence of the political and social system of those days was to withdraw from the ranks of producers all the more venturesome spirits, and induce them to throng at the capital cities, there to live at the expense of the country. Foreign writers who have described the wealth of Moghul India have based their accounts on what they saw in the cities: they have been struck by the lavish magnificence of the Court, and by the ostentatious display of wealth by the grandees. But in the sombre background of it all lay the chilling poverty of the people. If the enormous sums spent by the wealthy few had been directed to productive channels, the country would certainly have reaped some advantages; but as it was, they were directed to the production of articles of luxury, of the splendid trifles needed by the insatiable love of display which was a characteristic of the Court.[2] Bernier warns Colbert not to infer from the rich silks and brocades seen in India that the conditions of their production were equally pleasing. Asks he, "What heart and spirit can an artisan have to study well and to apply his mind to his work, when he sees that among the people which is for the most part beggarly, or will appear so, there is none that considers the goodness and neatness of his work, everybody looking for what is cheap, and that the grandees pay them but ill, and when they please? The poor tradesman often thinking himself happy that he can get clear from them without the Korrah, which is that terrible whip that hangs nigh the gate of the Omrahs." The artistic handicrafts, he says, were kept surviving in the Kharkhanas, or Imperial workshops, under the Emperor's protection, and also in the households of the powerful nobles, 'who did give wages to certain workmen'; but adds: "For what fine stuff so ever comes from those countries, we must not imagine that the workman is there in any honour, or comes to anything; 'tis nothing but mere necessity, or the cudgel that makes him work; he never grows rich; it is no small matter when he has wherewith to live and to clothe himself narrowly. If there be any money to gain of the work, that is not for him but for those great merchants of town."[1] There can be no doubt that the industrial production of India at this time must have been in the aggregate large and valuable; but individually, they must have been of too small dimensions and of too scattered a nature to attract special notice. We have now considered the case of the cultivators and the artisans, but there was an important section of the former community to whose economic position some attention should be directed. Predial slavery, there is reason to think, was a normal feature of economic life in Moghul India. References to slaves are abundant enough in contemporary writings, though agricultural serfdom does not come in for much notice. It is however, only on this basis that we can explain the existence of the large class of landless labourers from the beginnings of the eighteenth century to the present day, considering themselves bound to the soil, and living on wages which hardly suffice to keep off hunger and starvation. Settlement operations in 1918-19 disclosed the fact that the agricultural labourer in the district of Chota Nagpur was not unfrequently a slave who had inherited his servitude, and in turn passed it on to his children.[1] The isolated case that has now come into view may not unreasonably be regarded as a fugitive survival of the old system of slavery. The evidence set forth in the Report on Slavery of 1841 [Slavery (East Indies) Despatch from the Governor-General dated February 8, 1841 (No. 3), Printed by order of the House of Commons, No. 262] shows clearly enough that serfs were a normal element in the rural population of pre-British India: it says that something like slavery existed in the North Indian provinces up to the period at which they were brought under British rule.[2] Even at the present day, the Pulayas of the Malayalam countries, the Padials of Madras Presidency, and the lowest classes of agricultural labourers in the Bombay Presidency and the Central Provinces occupy pretty much the same position. In the olden days, however, they were not free to leave the land to which they were attached, and had no opportunities of bettering their condition though, in the latter respect the small landholding cultivators and artisans were perhaps no better off. It is important, however, as showing that economic freedom as we now understand it was conspicuous by its absence in pre-British India.

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[1] *Cf.* Bernier, p. 236; "In Delhi there is no middle stage; a man must either be of the highest rank, or live miserably.

[2] An English factor of those days writes that Moghul society was 'extraordinary addicted to novelties.' See 'Letters Retters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, Vol. II, p. 108.

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[1] Bernier, p. 209.

In summing up the economic characteristics of India in the sixteenth century, we notice that the predominant features were "inadequate production and faulty distribution." "The whole tendency of economic environment was still further to discourage production, and to enhance the existing faults of distribution. It was therefore to be expected that, conditions remaining unchanged, India had before her a period of increasing economic distress." But conditions did change, and that for the worse. Aurungzebe, the last of "the Great Moghuls" died in 1707; and the weakening of the central authority consequent on the decline of the Empire accentuated the evil tendencies already noted. Even in the lifetime of Aurungzebe, the forces of disintegration had begun to assert themselves. The Mahrattas had begun to give trouble in the West; and in the Deccan, where a state of general insecurity had established itself so long ago as 1565, when the Hindu Empire of Vijayanagar went down before the formidable confederation of the Deccani kings, Aurungzebe's invasion had further sapped the springs of authority. After his death, therefore, the whole country was in a state of political ferment. The history of the Empire till the establishment of British Power is a confused tangle of internal rebellions, civil wars and foreign invasions, in the midst of which the people dragged out a miserable existence in a state of suspended animation. Speaking generally, conditions in the eighteenth century were such that no man who had the energy to rob his neighbour cared to turn to industrial occupations as a means of livelihood. They continued even in provinces where a strong ruler had managed to establish himself in power, and affairs in the Punjab during the régime of Ranjit Singh were almost identical with those of the Moghul days.[1] Incidentally, it may here be mentioned that India must have suffered a heavy loss of her hoarded wealth through foreign invaders like Nadir Shah and Ahmed Shah Abdali. Nadir in 1739 is estimated to have carried away money, plate and jewels valued at from thirty to sixty millions starling. "The true secret of the poverty of India," says Sir H. S. Maine[2] "I take to be the desolation caused by the war and brigandage of about two thousand several chiefs while the Moghul dominion was dissolving. I think that India during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir was probably as rich as the Western world thought, but its carefully hoarded capital was destroyed in the same way as the accumulations of the Roman Empire."

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[1] P. 126, Report on the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1919, Cmd. 950 of 1901.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 38-39.

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[1] See on this point "the General Report of the Administration of the Punjab during the years 1848-50 and 1850-51.

[2] Early Law and Custom.

The inevitable reaction of political conditions and the general environment was to curtail the volume of production, and depress the standard of living. A stationary stage of civilisation supervened, under which the husbandmen simply raised the foodgrains necessary to feed them from one harvest to another. If the foodcrops failed in any district, the local population had no capital, and no other crops wherewith to buy food from other districts ; so in the natural and inevitable course of things, they perished.'[1] Captain Wingate, writing of the Sholapur District in 1839 says ; "Notwithstanding the scanty population and the abundance of unoccupied fertile land, we find that the means of subsistence are obtained with difficulty, that the exertions of even the laborious and industrious cultivator do not always avail in enabling him to preserve his position, and rarely indeed to better it." Meanwhile the demand on the existing stream of commodities must have been great; and the persistence of such practices as Sati and infanticide may be economically interpreted as desperate devices to obtain breathing space, and relieve the strain of population on resources.[2]

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[1] Sir W. W. Hunter, Indian Empire, 3rd edition, p. 660.

[2] That these features of the stationary stage of society still linger in some parts of the country is clear from conditions in our own days. Dr. Lucas shows how the population of Kabirpur tends to remain stationary. In 1898-99, the village had a population of 283; in 1901-02, 225; in 1914-15, 242; in 1920, 283 again. During the time of good harvests, the population is as much as can be maintained by the produce of the soil and others subsidiary occupations; but it just manages to pull through, while at other times when the means of maintenance are lacking, some of the people emigrate or perish. (P. 43.) At p. 48, he suggests that there is a criminal neglect of girls, if not actual infanticide. (Dr. Lucas's Economic Life of a Punjab Village) and at p. 125 of his Land and Labour in a Deccan Village, No. 1, Dr. Harold Mann says: "It appears that the presence of only

Though it was not till the British had asserted their supremacy in the land that affairs began to assume a brighter and more hopeful aspect, the leaven that was to work such mighty changes in India's economic configuration has been introduced even during the Moghul days. Not the most far-seeing of Akbar's or Aurungzebe's statesmen could have detected in the foreign traders who were then humbly suing for concessions, and to whom resort was had for the sake of obtaining the novelties and luxuries which the court demanded, the future masters of their own vast dominions. The work done by the English merchants and their successors during the decline of the Empire was of a two-fold character. We have seen that the usual type of industrial organisation in the Moghul days was that of a large number of individual units working independently, producing articles primarily for their own consumption, and that it was only under the protection of the court or of the powerful nobles that the Kharkhana system of production obtained.[1] This system was an interesting anticipation of a later stage of production, since under it the artisans worked on materials supplied, and had only the producer's interest of wages in the work as opposed to the consumer's. But even in the cities where the larger organisation existed, industrial life was of a precarious nature. Apart from being mercilessly exploited[2] the artisans often found that unless they followed the court and the army in all their wanderings, they were unable to assure themselves of any permanency of work. For, in spite of Delhi and Agra and Vijayanagar, towns had hardly yet begun to spring up, and the capital itself was no more than "a collection of

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161 children below the age of 16 in 111 households represents a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. The data available do not seem to justify any very definite conclusions on the subject, but they make one suspect that the population has reached almost a stationary condition, if it is not actually declining."

[1] See Prof. J. Sarkar's Readership Lecture in Patna University, Feb. 1921, for an account of the Kharkhanas. Also Modern Review of Nov. 1922, pp. 563-569.

[2] *Cf.* Bernier, *supra.*

villages, a camp of an army a little better and more commodiously placed than in the field."[1] Which shrunk to less than a sixth of its population when the Emperor was not in residence. The English merchants stepped into the breach caused by the decay of the Moghul power, and helped to maintain the continuity of industrial life by giving employment to artisans and providing the cultivators with fresh markets; and secondly, they helped by their commercial ventures to bring about a closer correlation between the different parts of the country. It is difficult, during the period of transition from Moghul to British supremacy, to treat India as an economic unit, except in regard to one feature, *viz.*, that it was everywhere characterised by grave economic disorder, caused by the ceaseless warring of the various candidates for power, among whom the English took rank after the Battle of Plassey.

It was the essentially commercial character of English origins in India that brought the English in touch with indigenous industries; and though they maintained unbroken the thread of economic continuity, they also kept up the old Moghul system of exploitation; for the evils of which Bernier had complained continued unabated in the system the English set up for the supply of piece-goods required for their "investment trade." Prof. C. J. Hamilton has thus summarised the position: "In various parts of the country, the East India Company maintained subordinate factories, and each of these had its local branches supervising production in the area around it. In each such area the Company employed a Gomasthah through whom contracts for the supply of cloths, etc., were made with the weavers and advances of money for the purchase of raw materials arranged in order to see that the weavers did not sell their work to outsiders who offered higher prices, peons were appointed to supervise them; and the Company also had its own inspectors to certify to the quality of the cloths produced. The weavers complained that these agents abused their authority, and forced them to accept non-remunerative wages. It will be seen that there was in this system room for the Company and its agents to force the weavers to accept advances, and then compel them to surrender their cloths at unduly low prices, or to suffer at the hands of the peons, while there was equally the real danger that in the absence of strict supervision the Company suffer heavy losses both by making advances for which it got nothing in return, or by having to accept goods of very superior quality.[1] Mr. Harry Verelst, the then Governor of Bengal, traces this perpetuation of Moghul abuses to "the desire at home to derive immoderate advantage from India, and remarked that the entire system proved destructive of industry.[2]

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[1] Bernier's letter to M. de la Mothe le Vater.

The Company was but little interested, at this stage, in the agricultural production of the country. Indigo, however, seems to have early attracted its notice, and in the system of indigo trade which it organised lay the seeds of future mischief. Here again, it is only fair to mention, they were the inheritors of an evil custom. The impecuniosity of the cultivator led him to take advances from his prospective buyer and thus to substitute the relation of borrower and lender for the position of equality so essential for the making of a bargain fair to both parties. The English merchants were not slow to adopt a practice so favourable to themselves.[3] But there is no reason to believe that the merciless exploitation of the indigo-grower which the enquiry of the House of Lords Committee brought to light in 1830, and which consisted in compelling the ryot to grow indigo against his will and sell it at unremunerative prices, had established itself as a normal feature at this early period. On the other hand, the high prices offered [1] must have been a great boon to the hard-pressed peasant.

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[1] *Vide* his Trade Relations between England and India, pp. 73-75.

[2] "View of Bengal," pp. 36-87, 49, and 84-85; at p. 85 he says: 'The gomasthahs or agents of the Company were necessarily entrusted with powers which they frequently abused to their own emolument; and an authority given to enforce a just performance of engagements became, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the higher servants, a source of new oppression. The influence of these agents proved......destructive of industry......'

[3] *Cf.* Thomas Keridge's letter to the East India Company: "Mr. Aldworthe upon my advice made up 500 £ by exchange to be invested in indigo, and being I was alone, he sent Nicho. Withington to assist me............ I wrote him to stay in the pregonas

Whilst the evils of the Company's trading system "of imposing goods upon the ryots at an arbitrary rate, compelling them to part with their labour at an under-price, and spreading the baneful effects of monopoly and extortion on every side" [2] developed space, the constructive part of its work which was to weld India together into a well-knit and compact economic unit, had hardly yet commenced. The general economic life of the country, therefore, continued along the old self-sufficing lines, while the limited nature of both demand and supply formed an endless vicious circle, barring all improvements in the methods or processes of production. Specialisation based on the division of labour can arise only when the self-sufficing stage had been transcended, and the skilled worker can find an open market freely bidding for his talents: an increase in the volume of production, likewise, can be brought about only when there is a market for the excess produce. In the absence of proper facilities for communication, such an extension of the market was denied to the producer. Metalled roads were unknown,

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near Agra where indigo is made, where he hath delivered the greatest part of the said sum beforehand, to be paid when indigo is ready, which is a custom, and the cheapest course of buying." Letters Received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East, Vol. II, 1613-15, p. 106; at p. 153, *ibid*, William Edwards writes: "In your succeeding trade in these parts, it will require that a reasonable stock be left here for the daily buying of indigo.......whereby much good may be done, for that diverse of the country people are constrained to sell to engrossers at very low prices, for want of money to supply the needful......" This shows that the ryots were badly in need of advances at the time.

[1] Indigo cost about two and a half times as much as the same quantity of wheat in Akbar's days.

[2] Verelst's words in 1769.

only a few of the routes were suitable for wheeled traffic, and, in South India, at any rate, carts were practically unknown, and porters and pack-animals were the only means of transport by land. All this entailed a high cost of transport, while the uncertainty of goods reaching their destination, owing to the prevailing insecurity, was also an element to be considered. Thomas Keridge, writing in 1617, says that the local people "in regard to the danger, etc., by travel, deal not in any commodity without apparency of great profit"[1] consequently, the goods dealt in consisted largely of rarity objects of small bulk and great value which could bear a stiff rate of transport charges and yet leave a wide margin for profit. Connection between places accessible through waterways was, however, established much earlier ; and places on the sea-coast or on the navigable river systems[2] were even then doing a fairly busy trade. On the whole, internal trade continued to be set back by the absence of means of communication, aggravated by the predatory practices of the Pindarees and other roving marauders in the north, and by the warring powers of the south.

Even though, therefore, conditions prevented the development of production with a view to trade, specialisation in crops in certain areas was not entirely absent. Bengal supplied sugar to many parts of India even in Akbar's days, while the production of indigo was to a large extent concentrated in two localities : Biana, near Agra, and Sarkhej in Gujrat. Mr. Moreland[3] refers to an observation recorded by Thévenot as showing that towards the middle of the seventeenth century, specialisation in industrial processes also had begun to make its appearance in some localities. Near Ahmedabad Thévenot met a gang of workmen who had no fixed home, but travelled from village to village, ginning and cleaning cotton.

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[1] Letters Received, Vol. V, p. 116.

[2] Such as the Indus, the Ganges and the Jumna.

[3] India in the Days of Akbar, p. 158.

The abolition of the East India Company's monopoly in the Eastern trade marks the beginning of a new era in English commercial activity in India. Their privileged position had excited the jealousy of the mercantile community in England, through whose efforts Parliament bound the Company in 1793 to furnish 3,000 tons of shipping annually for private traders entirely unconnected with the Company. There were however several harassing conditions attached to this concession which led to further agitation which the Company sought to placate by providing extra shipping of a cheaper type at lower rates. In India the private trader found himself handicapped by the system of pre-emption of produce which the Company, by virtue of its position, had imposed on the ryot, and by 1813 the general body of commercial opinion was so thoroughly opposed to a continuance of the monopolistic régime that the trade monopoly in India was abolished that year. In 1833, the whole Eastern trade, including the trade with China, was thrown open, and from this date, the Company ceases to figure exclusively as a commercial corporation. The declaration of the freedom of Indian trade and the consequent inflow of private enterprise have greatly affected the course of Indian economic development. "The company had confined itself in the main to the old methods and the old branches of commerce, but the private traders brought a special commercial ability and a new enterprise to bear, with the result that they opened up markets in India for an increased variety of British commodities, and at the same time began to export from India many articles which had never formed part of the Company's trade."[1]

The change in the character of the Government gave it greater scope to attend to the political needs of the country. At first, however, it was too much preoccupied with the problems of conquest and consolidation to intervene in the economic life of the country, except indirectly as by the suppression of robbery and the establishment of internal peace. The economic policy of these days was frankly the policy of Plantations.[1] Little heed was paid to the nurturing of indigenous industries, but all attention was concentrated on pushing English manufactured goods on the country. A very fair-minded Indian nobleman of those days thus laments the decline of Indian industries : "As these rulers (the English) have all their necessaries from their own country, it follows that the handicraftsmen and artificers of this land suffer constantly, live in distress, and find it difficult to procure a livelihood sufficient to support their lives. For, as now the English are the rulers and the masters of this country, as well as the only rich men in it, to whom can these poor people look up for offering the productions of their art, so as to benefit by their expenses ? It is only some artificers that can find a livelihood with the English, such as carpenters, silversmiths, etc., nay, they subsist upon better terms than they did under the Hindostany Government, and possibly two or three trades more, the names whereof I cannot now recollect, may fare the better for these strangers. But as to those numerous artificers of other denominations, they have no other resource left than that of begging or thieving. Numbers therefore have already quitted their homes and countries ; and numbers unwilling to leave their abodes have made a covenant with hunger and distress, and ended their lives in a corner of their cottages.[2] But even in their own interests some economic reforms had to be effected, which beneficially affected the people of the country; thus, in order to remove the impediments in the way of the development of the import and export trade, the duties had to be revised. Of these, the Sayer duties, which were abolished so early as in 1793, deserve special mention. "These duties which went by the name of Sayer, as they extended to grain, to cattle, to salt, and to all the other necessaries of life passing through the country, and were collected by corrupt, partial and extortionate agents, produced the worst effects on the state of society by not only checking the progress of industry, oppressing the manufacturer, and causing him to debase his manufacture, but also by clogging the beneficial operations of commerce in general, and abridging the comforts of the people at large."[1] The duties and cesses which had no bearing on foreign commerce were left uninterfered with, and the interference of the Home authorities in these matters deprecated, by the various authorities which recommended the removal of those affecting the new system of external commerce.[2] The incoming flow of foreign trade was thus facilitated, with the result that engulfed and submerged the enfeebled industries of the country, and the weavers, particularly, suffered very keenly. Apart from the system of organised sweating which held them in its vicious grip,[3] the existence of a mischievous system of internal duties prevented the free movement of the local made goods and thus restricted their market. When the decline in the indigenous manufacture became too serious to be overlooked, the Company began to consider the necessity for abolishing the vexatious inland duties. The Court of Directors in their Despatch to the Governor-General of Fort William dated the 11th June, 1823, attributed the depression of the Indian cotton industry to "the improved state of machinery in Europe, and the protection which the countries in Europe and the United States of North America are giving to their own manufactures by heavy duties on foreign goods or by absolute prohibition, and recommended the removal of all unnecessary charges from the native manufacture especially when it is considered that the piece-goods of Great Britain are introduced into India at a rate of duty considerably lower than that to which the native manufactures are liable on transit within India." In 1836, the transit and the town duties in the Lower and Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency were abolished. How heavy these duties lay on local manufactures may be seen from Lord Ellenborough's letter to the Court of Directors in 1835. After referring to "the extreme importance in India of encouraging the cotton manufacture which has of late years been so nearly superseded by the importation of British cottons," he contrasts the duties payable by the English cotton imports with those which Indian cotton goods had to pay. The import duty was 2·5 per cent.; but the internal duties for home-made goods were heavy and manifold. A 5 per cent. duty was imposed when raw cotton was brought from one district to another. If after it had been manufactured into yarn, it was then transported, a further 7·5 per cent. was levied. When it was carried from the place where it was converted into cloth, a further 2·5 per cent. became due. If the cloth was then dyed it would again pay another 2·5 per cent.; and thus the native manufacturer before placing the finished goods on the market might have had to pay a total duty of 17·5 per cent. Similarly in the case of leather, a 5 per cent. duty was charged on the raw hide, a further 5 per cent. on the leather, and an additional 5 per cent. when the leather was made into boots or shoes. Thus at each stage of manufacture, commodities in Bengal, if carried from one customs area to another, became subject to a new payment in respect of transit duty. No better method could have been devised for stifling the natural growth of industries and commerce.[1]

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[1] Prof. Hamilton, p. 206.

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[1] *Vide* Ranade Essays, p.

[2] Seir Mutaqherin by Seid Gholam Hossein-Khan; Calcutta edition, 1902; Vol. III, pp. 192-93. See also pp. 201 *et seq.* : where he says that the English engross all the trade of the country and deprive the inhabitants of their accustomed livelihood.

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[1] Firminger, Fifth Report, Vol. I, p. 152.

[2] *Cf.* Para. 138. Report of Mr. Courtenay relative to the duties on export, import and transit of goods in India, 25th January, 1814. (Manuscript in the India Office.) "In regard to internal duties operating on the consumption of the natives, the interference of the Board is the less necessary......They are not affected by the new system of external commerce, nor are any other interests immediately connected with them, than those which are confided to the Indian Governments.

[3] For a description of the conditions at Dacca by Mr. Taylor, the Company's Resident there in 1795, see Hamilton, p. 201.

The external impediments to the expansion of Indian manufactures were equally formidable. The high tariff wall which England, India's principal customer in those days, had built up with the avowed object of protection affected the Indian exports very seriously. Without going into the details of the various tariff laws passed in England during this period, we may sum up the main trend of English commercial policy as having been increasingly protectionist till the second half of the 19th century. Towards the close of this period, the principle of protection was losing ground, but the cost entailed by the Nepoleonic wars necessitated an even higher range of import duties than before, and it was not till the middle of the 19th century that the principles of free trade made their effective way into the commercial policy of the day. An even more powerful reason for the depression of the Indian textile manufactures of this period was the Industrial Revolution in England, which started during the second half of the 18th century and was almost in full swing by the first quarter of the 19th. The harnessing of steam power, and the perfection of machinery made the processes of manufacture cheaper and more efficient, while the simultaneous expansion of transport facilities rendered it possible to move the largely increased output of the factories cheaply and expeditiously to the most distant markets. India with her handlooms and her cottage workers could not possibly compete with the formidable industrial organisation which the Industrial Revolution had called into being.

The reaction of the new environments on agricultural activity was more favourable. By far the most important result of the development of the export trade was the increasing commercialisation of agriculture. In 1788, the indigo trade was left entirely in private hands, and by the early years of the 19th century, the annual export was between 3 and 4 millions starling, while over 1·5 millions sterling was said to be paid each year in respect of the rent of land and the hire of labour ; and there were between 300 and 400 factories engaged in its production in Bengal and Bihar. Likewise, the expansion of the English cotton industry led to a large increase in cotton cultivation ; between 1788 and 1850 various attempts were made by the Company to extend the area of cultivation and improve its quality ; and it is to these early endeavours that we now owe the special cotton tracts of the Deccan area, which form so conspicuous a feature of Indian economic geography. The specialisation in jute production in Bengal is also traceable to this period, though it was only after the Crimean War that the external demand for jute became stabilised.[1]

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[1] For a resumé of the Tariff History of India, see Dr. P. Banerjea's "Fiscal Policy in India," Macmillan, 1922, Chaps. 2 and 3.

The Royal Proclamation of November 1, 1858, by which Queen Victoria assumed the direct sovereignty of India, terminated an era of conquest and annexation, and ushered in a period the dominant characteristics of which were geographical consolidation and the development of political order and tranquility. Foremost among the items in the new programme was an extension of the facilities for communication on the lines laid down by Dalhousie in his famous minute of 1853. The lessons of the Mutiny emphasised the military importance of a rapid means of transit, but the commercial and social aspects of the introduction of railways were not lost sight of. Great tracts, wrote Dalhousie, are teeming with produce they cannot dispose of. Others are scantily bearing what they would carry in abundance if only it could be conveyed whither it is needed. England is calling aloud for the cotton which India does already produce in some degree, and would produce sufficient in quality and plentiful in quantity if only there were provided the fitting means of conveyance for it from distant plains to the several ports adopted for its shipment. Every increase of facilities for trade has been attended............with an increased demand for articles of European produce in the most distant markets of India..............Ships from every part of the world crowd our ports in search of produce which we have, or could obtain in the interior, but which at present we cannot profitably fetch to them; and new markets are opening to us on this side of the globe under circumstances which defy the foresight of the wisest to estimate their probable value or calculate their future extent.[1] Another result which Dalhousie foresaw as resulting from the construction of railways in India through the instrumentality of British capital and enterprise was that this would induce "a more extensive employment of similar capital and similar efforts in connection with the products and trade of India." This policy was so steadily pushed on that while in 1857 there were only 300 open miles of railways in India, by the close of 1919-20, the mileage had risen to 17990; and the capital outlay to the end of the year was £377,585,000. The beneficial results of Dalhousie's policy manifested themselves in his own time; by 1879, over 98 millions sterling had been attracted to Indian railways; and between 1848 and 1856, the export of raw cotton more than doubled itself; and of grain more than trebled itself; the import was more than two and a half times as great as in 1848; and cotton twists and goods particularly rose from three millions to six and one-third millions sterling.

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[1] In 1795, W. Roxburgh sent to the Directors of the East India Company a bale of jute fibre. The Company had at that time extensive jute roperies in the Cuttack District. Warden in his "Linen Trade" says that it was only about 1838, when the Dutch Government began to use jute sacking for their East India coffee trade that the jute trade in Dundee got a proper start. See Article of Jute ; Encyclopædia Britannica.

In examining the influence of improved communications and the consequent growth of trade on the conditions of production, the difference of their incidence on agriculture and manufactures at once strikes the eye. Taking agriculture first, we find that the increased demand for raw produce has caused an extension in the area of cultivation, and to local specialisation in particular crops, which have in some cases actually trenched upon the area formerly devoted to food-grains. The entry of India into the markets of the world has been followed by a rise in agricultural prices. The process has been slow, but with the extension of railways and the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, bulky raw produce such as food-grains and oil-seeds were imported by European consumers, and the exporting agencies, following the tracks opened by the new lines of communication, have commercialised agriculture to a greater extent than ever before. These favourable results were also attended by some undesirable features. The export of the surplus food of the country diminished the supply on which it had to rely in times of scarcity, and led to an abandonment of the old habit of storing grain, which was a surer and cheaper form of insurance against famine than dependence on the railway's ability to transport food from areas which could spare it.[1] The high prices obtainable by the widening of the market induced the peasant to substitute his hoard of grain by a hoard of silver; and this involved loss of a twofold nature. In famine times when food-price rose to dizzy heights, the ryot found himself compelled to buy back the grain he had sold at comparatively low prices in harvest time; and secondly the fall in the value of the hoarded rupee robbed the peasant of a considerable fraction of his savings in a manner which he seldom understood. The rapid growth of the export trade, again, brought in its train an army of unscrupulous middlemen, who intercepted a large part of the ryot's profits. The balance that ultimately reached him, whatever it was, almost always spent unwisely. Even so late as in 1902, we find the Government complaining that "the agricultural classes have not as a rule yet learnt to reward a good harvest not as an occasion for larger expenditure, but, as a means of insurance against failure of crops."[1] This habit of expenditure must have been assisted to a certain extent by the import trade, which engrafted on the simple necessities of the peasant the foreign commodities so profusely poured into the country. The Tenancy laws introduced further complications, in that they provided the ryot with a new form of security on which to borrow,—a convenience of which he took the fullest advantage by mortgaging the land up to the last acre, and plunging into heavy indebtedness. The rise in agricultural prices, again, hit the landless labourer and the small artisan very severely.

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[1] See Sir W. W. Hunter's "Marquis of Dalhousie," Rulers of India Series, pp. 193-194.

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[1] See A. Loveday, Indian Famines, p. 111.

The retail prices of food-grains in India rose from 100 in 1873 to 114 in 1894, 117 in 1905, 168 in 1910, and to 222 in 1914.[2] Describing their condition, the Famine Commission of 1898 says: "So far as we have been able to form a general opinion upon a difficult question......the wages of these people have not risen in the last twenty years in due proportion to the rise in prices of their necessaries of life. The experience of the recent famine fails to suggest that this section of the community has shown any larger command of resources or any increased power of resistance. Far from contracting, it seems to be gradually widening particularly in the more congested districts. Its sensitiveness or liability to succumb, instead of diminishing, is possibly becoming more accentuated, as larger and more powerful forces supervene, and make their efforts felt where formerly the result was determined by purely local conditions. We may take this opportunity of remarking that the evidence given before us by many witnesses proved that in times of scarcity and famine in India the rise in price of food is not accompanied by a rise in the wages of labour; on the contrary, owing to competition for the little employment available when agricultural employment falls off, the rate of wages offered and accepted is frequently below the ordinary or customary rate. Such wages in times of famine prices are not subsistence wages for a labourer with dependents to support."[1] A direct consequence of the numerical growth of this class, always 'living a hand-to-mouth existence, with a low standard of comfort, and abnormally sensitive to the effects of inferior harvests and calamities of season,' was that the costs of famine relief went up, involving another burden on the tax-payer.

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[1] *Vide* the Government of India's Resolution of 1902 explaining its land revenue policy, p. 141; also Report of the Indian Famine Commission of 1900, ch. 876 of 1901, p. 92.

[2] See Times of India, Mail edition, Jan. 13, 1923, p. 11. The corresponding figures for English prices (*Vide* Statist, 18th Nov. 1922) are 111 in 1873, 63 in 1894, 72 in 1905, 78 in 1910, and 85 in 1914.

It would of course be far-fetched to ascribe all these results to the economic revolution brought about by railways in India, but they have all been successive links in the chain of events dating from the middle of the 19th century, the cumulative effect of which it is necessary for us to examine, though their relation to railways and to the growth of foreign trade is not always directly traced. In this connection, it may be relevant to notice the criticism, made by the Famine Commission of 1900 of the school which points to railways as the source of all these economic ills. "In the last famine, according to the Famine Report of the Central Provinces, when exports were carried away in the early months, people pointed to the railways as an aggravation of their ills. In this famine, they have regarded them as their salvation. Such oscillations of feeling serve to illustrate two aspects of policy and two schools of thought. On the one side there is the party which looks to railways to stimulate production by assisting the distribution of wealth; on the other side there is the party which sees in railways, and the export of food from the country which they facilitate, a cause of poverty and a solvent of those habits of storing grain which were formerly, it is asserted, a safe-guard against famine. The latter party have forgetten, it would seem, the lessons of the famines of 1837, 1866, and 1877, (not to go further back), when so far from the habits in question proving a safeguard, millions perished from hunger, owing to the want of railways. They have also apparently forgotten the lesson taught by the famines of 1897 and 1900, that owing to the existence of railways, there was never in these years a dearth of food in any famine-stricken tract. There can be no doubt that the community at large benefits by the more effective circulation of the reserve stocks of food, and that it is in the backward tracts as a rule that famine is soonest and most severely felt. It is true that to a certain extent cultivators, who formerly stored grain, because it could be neither sold nor removed, have ceased to do so because they can sell to advantage ; and that owing to their improvidence, the money slips through their fingers. But this change in the habits of the people is a regular attendant of progress ; it is merely a transient phase of a great economic movement which makes for national prosperity, and which is promoted by education and by those methods for promoting thrift to which we shall refer in the third part of this report. Taking a comprehensive view of the facts, we can find no substantial or lasting support for the contention,—on the face of it a paradox—that the poverty of the agriculturist is permanently increased by the opportunities of getting a high price for his produce." [1]

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[1] Report of the Famine Commission, 1898, c. 9178 of 1898, p. 363.

On a review of the entire position, there is no reason to doubt that a substantial balance of advantage has remained with agriculture as a result of the opening-up of the country and the growth of the export trade. The evils inflicted by the import trade on Indian industries are, comparatively, much more serious. An enquiry into the conditions of Indian trade between 1850 and 1880 shows, according to one writer, that a great displacement of trade had taken place during the period, which had diverted its profits from Indian to English pockets. The Indian may have gained somewhat in the case of cotton goods by buying them in a cheaper market, but so far as the importation of foreign goods had displaced Indian labour, which was thrown back on the soil, and had in times of scarcity to be supported by Government out of taxation, there was a serious set-off against the gain of buying in a cheaper market. If all the persons displaced by foreign competition could have found new industries ready to support them, or could have been persuaded to migrate to the hitherto uncultivated parts of India, or emigrate to other lands, then the readjustments necessitated by the new conditions might have been satisfactorily effected. But the sudden impact of the new order of things on the placid and easy-going life of India produced disastrous results; its whole internal economy was thrown out of gear ; and the people had just then neither the knowledge nor the capital to evolve new types of industry suited to the altered times.[1] In England, also, the period of transition caused by the new inventions was one of grave economic disorganisation and stress ; but the adaptability of the people, and their superior organising capacity appreciably abridged the gulf between the old economic system and the new. The Industrial Revolution of England was the result of indigenous forces, which after a period of disturbance, during which capital and labour shifted to new spheres of action, established a new equilibrium on a more stable footing. Capitalists deprived of the old forms of investment found new ones offered to them ; labourers finding the old occupations disappearing, moved to a much larger world of work. In India, an adjustment equally speedy was rendered impossible, for this, among other reasons, that the stimulus, whatever it was, that agriculture received from the new environments reacted prejudicially on industries; the higher spending power of the ryot widened the margin of the imported articles competing with local production; and the artisan, driven out of work by the inflow of foreign goods, and unable to turn to any other methods of production, fell back on the land. (This will explain how the census statistics show the increase in the number of agriculturists as more than proportionate to the increase in the total population.)

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[1] Cd. 876 of 1901, pp. 76-77.

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[1] *Vide* A. K. Connel, The Economic Revolution of India and the Public Works Policy, Kegan Paul, 1883, p. 51.

As this distance of time, it is possible to speculate on what would have happened if the course of Indian economic development had been directed along different channels, and controlled in a different manner. Even in 1857, Lord Derby remarked, after a personal investigation of Indian conditions, "What was wanted in India was not costly lines for rapid travelling laid down in a few parts, but a comparatively inexpensive, though slow, means of communication extended all over India."[1] But the actual lines of advance were to connect the great agricultural centres and emporia with the sea-ports, leaving internal development to take care of itself. "The external trade of the country has grown at the expense of the internal, resulting in an unhealthy and one-sided development of the country's resources. Roads, railways, telegraphs, the construction of the Suez canal, every improvement in the means of transport both by sea and land has contributed to the difficulties, and in many cases, to the ultimate discomfiture of the Indian artisan. The attention of Government has been almost entirely directed to the opening up of the land, to the provision of irrigation; assistance has in more than one case been given directly to the efforts of English manufacturers to exploit Indian markets, whilst the industrious artisan has been left severely alone to combat as best as he can the growing difficulties of his position."[1] Again Mr. A. Loveday argues: "Had strategic or economic considerations permitted the change (*i.e.,* the introduction of railways) to be more gradual, it is conceivable that greater powers of resistance might have been shown by the native industries, that the lessons of the West might have been taught before destruction was inevitable, so that labour might have drifted to other occupations as well as agriculture."[2]

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[1] Quoted by Connel, pp. 71-72.

It is an attractive speculation how far such a development could have been brought about without unduly letting back or holding up other progressive features in the social life of India. In all probability the linking of India with Great Britain would have inevitably led to this same state of affairs whatever the policy the Government may have followed. Moreover, the fantasy of building up Indian industries as they existed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries seems with many to be born of a misconception. Mr. H. A. Rose, I.C.S. has well described the instability of the industrial organisation under the old dispensation, and pointed out its inherent weaknesses:[3] "Each tribe, if not each village, was a water-tight compartment self-contained and independent of the outside world for the necessaries of life, but for commodities not obtainable within its own borders, it depended on foreign sources of supply, and on the outside castes such as the Labanas, or salt traders, who formed no part of the tribal or village community. Thus, there have never arisen, in this part of India, any great industries; foreign trade, necessarily confined to the few large towns, was limited to superfluities, or luxuries, and such industries as existed were necessarily on a small scale. Further, in as much as each community was absolutely independent as far as necessaries were concerned, the few industries which supplied luxuries never became firmly rooted and have succumbed at the first breath of competition. Everywhere in our official literature, one reads of struggling industries in the small towns, though fostered by intermittent official encouragement dying of inanition. The causes seem obvious enough. Everything essential can be, and for the most part is, made in the village or locality, so that there never is a demand for imported articles of ordinary make, those made by the village artisans however inferior in quality satisfying all requirements. In good seasons, there is some demand for articles of a better class, but when times are bad, that demand ceases, and the industry languishes. Thus the village industries alone are firmly established. If the crop is short, every one from the landlord to the Chuhra receives a diminished share, but small as the share may be, it is always forthcoming, whereas in the towns, the artisan is the first to suffer in times of scarcity and if the scarcity is prolonged, the urban industries are extinguished." It is not easy to believe that industries of such a precarious type could have been sufficiently strengthened to withstand the inflow of cheap machine-made goods, by the merely negative process of a tardy extension of communications.

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[1] See p. 20, Industrial Evolution in India, Sir Alfred Chatterton, Madras, 1912.

[2] P. 107, History and Economics of Indian Famines.

[3] Census Report of the Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, 1901, Part I, p. 368.

The supreme merit of the new policy of Railway development was that it converted India from a geographical expression into a well-knit and consolidated economic unit. The prospects of profit which the opening up of trade held out, and the familiarity with new conditions and ways of life which the extension of communication brought about, as well as the wide range of commodities which the powerful and ubiquitous agency of commerce threw into the country, have left a permanent impress on the general life of the people. From 1882-83 to 1907-08, the imports had increased by 2·59 times, and the exports by 2·15 times. The profits of agriculture and rural trade have called into being a middle-class population—a section of society almost unknown in pre-British days. It is this section of society that has gained most by the new economic environments, their incomes have risen as also their standards of expenditure. The general increase in the desire for better food, housing, clothing, education and recreation has been very marked as is indicated by the increasing consumption of imported goods. On the lower classes of the population, the effect of the new conditions has been less marked; but the statistics of imports show how articles like sugar, kerosine oil, cotton piece-goods, silks, and woollens, boots and shoes, apparel, matches, soap, etc., which were once articles of luxury only within the reach of the wealthier classes, are now in much wider use. Taking the index number of the value of this class of imports at 100 in 1890-94, we find that it had risen to 112 in 1900-01, to 168 in 1909-10, and to 200 in 1911-12.[1] The later figures also confirm the conclusion that the comforts and conveniences of life are showing a visible expansion.

This growth in wants, as usual, has been accompanied by a growth in productive activity. Commerce has led the way to manufactures; the British commercial community in India, like the shrewd businessmen they are, perceived the scope that the prolific raw materials and the extent of the local market offered to manufactures conducted on up-to-date lines; and this led, as Dalhousie had foreseen in 1833, to a flow of British capital and enterprise into industrial undertakings in India. Their example fired the ambition of the more venturesome among the indigenous commercial classes; and Bombay, with its mills and factories, soon became the industrial capital of India. Though, considering the country's extent and population, the output of these factories is disappointingly small, yet the rise of manufacturing enterprise is significant as showing that a countervailing tendency to the ruralisation of which Mr. Justice Ranade and his school complained is coming into operation. Between 1879 and 1892, as Ranade has himself pointed out[1] the export of manufactured or partly manufactured goods rose from 5·25 crores to 16·5 crores of Rupees, showing an increase of 211% in 14 years. There was a steady annual increment of 15%, with only two exceptional years in the whole period. The rise in the export of raw produce from 60 to 85·5 crores was not relatively so high, being only 42% in 14 years, or 3% annually. Manufactured imports rose from 26 to 36 crores, or by about 2·8% per annum; while the import of raw produce almost doubled itself, rising from 13·75 crores to 26·5 crores. Professor Kale has continued the analysis on the same lines from 1892 to 1907 (in his Indian Industrial and Economic Problems, 2nd edition, pp. 88 *et seq.*), showing that the imports of manufactured goods rose during this period by 93%, and of raw material by 127%; while the exports of manufactured goods rose by 139%, and of raw material by only 57%. These results may be summed up in the following table :—

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[1] See table at p. 144, Datta's Report on the Enquiry into the Rise of Prices in India, 1914.

Items	1879	1892	1907
Imports : mfd. in Rs.	259,865,872	362,231,827	698,895,000
,, raw. ,,	137,555,837	263,818,431	599,668,374
Exports : mfd. ,,	52,780,340	164,247,566	392,981,000
,, raw. ,,	596,727,991	855,209,499	1,141,231,335

Percentage of increase in the two periods.

	1879-1882		1892-1907	
	Total.	Annual.	Total.	Annual.
Imports, manufactured ...	39·0	2·3	93	6·0
,, raw ...	91·0	6·5	127	8·5
Exports, manufactured ...	211·0	15·0	139	9·25
,, raw ...	43·0	3·0	57	3·8

The proportion of the imports of manufactured goods to total imports, which stood at 65 per cent. in 1879 and 57 per cent. in 1892, dropped to 53 per cent. in 1907; and in the same way, the proportion of manufactured exports, which was only 8 per cent. in 1879 and 16 per cent. in 1892, rose to 22 per cent. in 1907. These figures, however, slightly misrepresent the true situation. It was one of Giffen's precepts that before drawing any conclusions from any set of statistics, it would be well to enquire how they were obtained; and in making such an enquiry here, we find that the exclusion, among others, of metals and metal manufactures from this classification gives a somewhat exaggerated idea of the growth of Indian manufactures. The real position is indicated by the official trade returns for 1907-1908, which may be summed up as under:—

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[1] Essays, third edition, pp. 97-98.

Items.	Imports.	Exports.
	Rs.	Rs.
Animals living, mostly horses ...	4,410,000	2,159,000
Articles of food and drink ...	171,342,000	446,751,000
Metals and metal manufactures ...	301,430,000	11,065,000
Chemicals, drugs, narcotics, dyes, etc.	35,885,000	110,378,000
Oils	36,561,000	8,582,000
Raw materials and unmanufactured articles	5,004,000	762,297,000
Articles mauufactured and partly manufactured	698,985,000	392,981,000
Total ...	1,298,563,374	1,734,312,335

Review[1] of the Trade of India, 1907-08. For the purposes of the present study, however, what is even more important than the exact rate of manufacturing progress in India is the establishment, beyond doubt, of the fact that such a tendency is now in operation. The trade returns leave us in no doubt as to the existence of such a tendency, which is gaining in strength as years roll on; and there has even arisen a new school of critics who complain that the present rate of manufacturing progress is, in some instances, too fast, and likely to cause grave social disorders unless the pace is slackened.[1]

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[1] *Vide* pp. 8 and 31.

We may now conclude this part of our enquiry. A survey of the main economic tendencies in India throughout the last three centuries, though it does not enable us to postulate anything absolutely definite regarding the general conditions of life of all the peoples of that vast sub-continent, yet brings to light certain broad features of the economic position of the country. It shows us that during the days of the Moghul administration, the environments created by the State were such as to depress and discourage productive effort of all kinds. However benevolent might have been the intentions of the autocrat at Delhi, they were often frustrated by the cumbrous machinery of administration, and the general corruption of his officers. Internal order and security were still things unknown, especially in the outlying parts of the Empire; and it was the rule rather than the exception for the strong to prey on the weak. The conditions of both the ryot and the artisan were miserable in the extreme, and whatever wealth there was in the country was concentrated in the hands of a few nobles and courtiers, who invariably spent it, not in furthering production, but on costly luxuries. The net result was to weaken the will to produce, and encourage the investment of any surplus wealth that remained after meeting the primitive necessities of existence in such unproductive forms as hoarding. A rise in the standard of living was an impossibility under these conditions; anything like the appearance of tolerable comfort indicated the possession of concealed resources, and tempted the cupidity of one's more powerful neighbours. There was, if anything, a worsening of these conditions during the days when the Empire was tottering to its fall, and the Mahratta hordes were overrunning the country. It is not till we come to the days of British ascendancy that we are able to detect any signs of improvement. The establishment of a settled Government, powerful enough to make itself obeyed throughout its dominions, and rigorously enforcing the simple yet fundamental principle that each man shall be free to enjoy the fruits of his labour without fear of being robbed or tyrannised over, has created a new environment which makes for economic development, the healthy influence of which cannot possibly be over-estimated. The commercial origin of the British administration long tainted its attempts to interfere with the economic life of the country; but since 1858 there has been a gradual transition from the régime of administrative exploitation, through a period of inertia induced by the *Laizzez Faire* doctrine, to a conscious attempt at economic development. The change in environment thus brought about, differing so radically from what the people had been accustomed to for centuries, has not yet been fully appreciated by them; their isolated life in the villages, and their appalling illiteracy have stood in the way of their full recognition of these blessings; nevertheless, there has been born in the land a new desire for a higher plane of life, and a new surge of effort and endeavour, which promise to transform the economic life of the country, and if India's economic tendencies have been correctly diagnosed in these pages, she is on the threshold of a fresh era in her history, an era which is to be characterised by rising material prosperity and increased productive vigour.

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[1] *Cf.* Dr. Slater's remarks in his Paper on Protection for India published in the Asiatic Review of April, 1923.

P. P. PILLAI

THE BOOK-TRADE UNDER THE CALIPHATE

When the Arabs made their conquests and established their Empire they were far too much occupied with military affairs and administrative measures to have either the time or the inclination for the peaceful pursuit of letters. Nor had they, as a nation, shown, in the past, any serious literary or studious tastes. True, they achieved considerable distinction in poetry; but there, in that sphere alone, their literary glory began and ended. With Islam religion became, for the time being, their exclusive passion. It overshadowed every other interest—local, tribal, individual. Allah and his Prophet divided their love and homage. For them, then, the Qur'an—the Book of God—was the only book needed. It was the revelation of God, the quintessence of all wisdom. They loved, revered, treasured, studied, copied this book. It was transcribed on well-prepared animal skins, parchment, and leather which came from the factories of South Arabia and was distinguished by smoothness and excellence of quality.[1] This satisfied all their literary yearnings. There was no need for paper then; for they had neither a literature to set down in writing, nor an elaborate system of government calling for ample stationery to meet its requirements. But though the Arabs themselves were little advanced in civilization, the countries they conquered were countries with a past, a tradition, a rich civilization. Thus, on the conquest of Egypt, the Arabs found a highly-developed industry there, in the preparation of papyrus-plant for writing purposes. This industry was of a very remote antiquity, and, under Arab rule, received a great impetus; for the Muslim Government imposed no taxes on native crafts and manufactures. Its chief seat was at Bura—a small sea-coast town in the Deltaic district of Damietta.[2] The

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[1] Von Kremer, Culturgeschichte, Vol. II, pp. 304 et sqq. Fibrist, 40.

[2] Yaqubi, 126, 127.

Arabs encouraged this industry. They even retained the old name of the plant, and called it 'Fafir'—while they called the stuff prepared from it 'Kirtas.'[1] From here mainly did the Bzyantine Government receive its supply of writing-material, with the result that immense became the export of papyrus from Egypt to Byzantine. The price was paid in ready money.[2] Apart from the papyrus it seems that in Egypt a new method of manufacturing paper was early discovered. An old Arab writer tells us that the Caliph Mutasim, who collected, in his newly-built residence, Samarra, artisans from all parts of the Empire, summoned also paper-manufacturers from Egypt. As papyrus did not grow at Samarra, paper could only be manufactured there from other materials, and these were cotton or linen. How did this new method originate? Accurate information fails us, but one explanation suggests itself to us. When the stock of papyrus became insufficient they resorted to the practice of blending genuine papyrus with cotton. This probably led, in course of time, to the discovery of the manufacture of paper from cotton pure and simple. Up to the third century of the A. H parchment, or Egyptian papyrus, was used in all government offices. At the time of Amin and Mamun parchment was in general use. In the war between the two brothers the official documents, written on parchment, were *looted* and carried away. They were subsequently washed clean and were sold as writing materials. It is stated that this supply of parchment for long satisfied the popular demand for writing materials.[3] During the period from the beginning of the third to the middle of the fourth century a great change took place. They not only began to import chinese paper, which always remained very expensive, but there arose also an indigenous paper-factory in North Arabia, Tehama. Here paper was manufactured from cotton.[4] Ibn Khaldun tells us that in Baghdad itself a paper-factory was established at the instance of the Wazir Fadhl Ibn Yahya.[1] In the extreme north-eastern province of the Caliphate an enterprising Chinaman first introduced the art of manufacturing paper from flax. In the *Kitabul Fihrist*—which comes to us from the second half of the fourth century of the A. H—we find a detailed account of the different kinds of paper prepared from flax. This industry attained its zenith in Samarqand. In its trade the export of paper filled the first place. With the rise of national literature, and with advancing civilization, the need for paper grew more and more. Paper factories arose all over the Muslim Empire. From Egypt the Muslims conquered the whole of the North-African coast. Nor even there did their victorious march stop. Forward and forward they went. They conquered Spain. They subjugated Sicily. Both in Spain and in Sicily they introduced the art of manufacturing paper, and in both these countries this industry attained a signal success.[2] Far-famed in the 12th century were the different kinds of paper manufactured at Xativa. While the western countries of Europe had their supply of paper from Xativa, the eastern had theirs from the Levant. In the 11th and 12th centuries paper of Saracenic manufacture displaced the old parchment in Europe. In A.D. 1224 Emperor Fredrick II forbade the use of cotton-wool paper in certain official documents because of its wretched quality. But the question of price made this prohibition ineffective. In the second half of the 13th century paper made of linen makes its first appearance in Europe. To produce paper of cheap quality they mixed up cotton-wool paper with linen ingredients. Possibly this was an invention of the Moors, but nothing can be stated with certainty. From the point of view of civilization, the manufacture of paper, in increasing abundance, and the gradual cheapening of its price, are matters of momentous importance. Books written on parchment or papyrus were so expensive that they were beyond the reach of the average man. The Arabs produced cheaper paper, and with it supplied not only the Eastern but also the Western markets. Thus, learning ceased to be the monopoly of a caste, the privilege of the rich. It became accessible to all. It opened up fresh vistas, struck new veins of thought, broke off the fetters forged by ignorance and fanaticism; it widened the horizon of man. It inaugurated a new age of unwearying activity, of boundless hope.

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[1] Ibn Baitar, I, 127.

[2] Beladhuri, 240.

[3] Fihrist, p. 21.

[4] Fihrist, p. 40.

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[1] Ibn Khaldun, Prolég., II 407.

[2] Idrisi, Geography, Jaubert's Trans. p. 37. Makkari, vol. I, 95 (Eng. tr). *Cf.* Amari, Storia dei musulmani, III, 805.

In intimate connection with the paper-industry stand some other subordinate industries; namely, the preparation of ink in various colours, and the art of book-binding. Originally the bindings were very crude. Books were bound in leather, dressed in lime, which, by reason of defective process, remained much too stiff and hard. At a later date, in Kufa, a more effective way of dressing leather was invented. This was done by means of dates, with the result that the leather became softer and limper. In the ornamentation of bindings and the illumination of books much progress was made. The oldest Arab bindings that have come down to us have tasteful designs pressed into the rim, and central shields, but otherwise they are very simple. Only later did the art of splendid decorations on bindings come into vogue. And this came from Persia. In the earliest times Taif acquired great fame for its book-binding.

The public cultivated and the Court encouraged literary tastes. Learning became a sure passport to popular favour and royal patronage. Scholars gave themselves up to learning with absorbing passion, and the rich and prosperous vied with each other in helping forward the cause of scholarship. It became the fashion to establish *madrassahs* and to found libraries. Under conditions so fair and propitious, the book-trade rapidly attained prominence. It drew people to it from the points of view both of self-culture and sure profit.

An old writer, Yaqubi, tells us that in his time, at Baghdad, there were over a hundred book-dealers.[1] But this statement should not deceive us. In the East the book-trade is no different now from what it has always been. The dealer generally had a small booth in the vicinity of a mosque, where he kept his books exposed for sale. Such is the case even now, in Cairo, Damascus and other Oriental towns. These, naturally, were manuscripts. He replenished his stock either by purchase or by having MSS. copied on his own account. Generally the dealer himself copied rare MSS. The famous Yaqut, whose geographical work has been edited by Wüstenfeld, was an employee of a book-dealer. As such he copied MSS. and acquired much knowledge. Often the booksellers themselves were industrious men of letters. They collected a great deal of information, and put it together in the form of encyclopaedias and compendiums. These were marked by sound literary judgment and insight. One such literary repertory we possess. It was prepared by a book-dealer of Baghdad about the tenth century A.D. In it he has mentioned all the books with which he became acquainted in the course of a long business career. He did more: he added valuable biographical notices of the authors. This work reveals the astonishing range of the Arabic literature of the time. It also reveals the growing popular passion for collecting books, autographs, rare texts. The compiler tells us that he met in Hadyta, a small town in Iraq, a bibliophile who possessed veritable treasures in old MSS. dealing with the most diverse branches of literature. We are informed that in a large trunk he kept old writings, parchments, documents, texts on Egyptian papyrus, on Chinese paper, on paper from Tehama, Khorasan and even writings on leather rolls. Every piece of writing bore the name of the scribe. All, moreover, was attested by the notes and observations of successive generations of learned men. In his collection were also many autographs of renowned historical personages of the early days of Islam.[1]

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[1] Bossier (Cicero and his friends, p. 81) tells us that the book-trade scarcely existed in the time of Cicero. Usually those who wished to read or possess a book borrowed it from the author or from his friends and had it copied by the slaves. When they had more copyists than they needed, they made them work for the public, and sold the copies they did not want.

Such collectors were numerous. Some collected for study; some, simply because it was the fashion; some again to establish libraries and colleges. But, whatever the motive, universal in the Islamic Empire was the passion for collecting books. A scholar relates to us that he happened to see at a sale a copy of the Commentary of Alexander of Aphrodisias on Aristotle's *Akroasis* (in Arabic called Simā'). He offered 120 dinars (1200 francs) for the MS. Not having the money with him, he took immediate steps to procure it; but on his return he found that the book in question, along with other books, had already been sold to a Persian (Khorasani) for 300 dinars.[2] A copy of *Kitab-ul-Ain* of *Farahidhi* was sold in A. H. 248 (864 A. D). for 50 dinars. It was brought by a book-dealer of Khorasan to the book-market of Basora.[3]

But it was not long before fraud and imposture found their way into this trade. Shrewd and unscrupulous book-dealers made interpolations in the works of old renowned masters and obtained large prices. Thus, after the death of the famous musician *Ishaq-ul-Mausili*, a bookseller put together a book of songs and passed it off as his.[4] Similar tricks became only too frequent in the book markets of the East. Forged seals, false dates, forgeries, sometimes too clumsy to deceive, and many other frauds, are only too well-known to those who have dealt in MSS.[1] As mentioned above, the book-collecting passion became almost universal. Mamun founded a splendid library at Baghdad, and the renowned statesman *Saheb Ibn Abad* needed some 400 camels to carry his books—probably a very exaggerated statement. This passion was no less intense in Spain than in Iraq. Cordova held the position of the first book-market in Spain. When a learned provincial died, his books were sent to Cordova for sale. Here is a story, too characteristic of the spirit of the time to be omitted. 'I halted,' says a scholar, 'at Cordova, and continued to visit for sometime the book-market there, for I was in search of a book which I could not find. At last I discovered a splendidly written copy for sale. Full of joy, I began to bid for it, but I was ever and anon outbidden by another, until the price offered far exceeded the worth of the book. I asked the auctioneer who the rival bidder was? He took me to a nicely-dressed gentleman. I addressed him as 'Doctor,' and told him that I was ready to let the book go if he really required it for there was no sense or reason in foolishly enhancing the price. He rejoined: I am neither learned nor am I aware of the contents of the book, but I have just established a library, and, cost what it will, I shall make it one of the notable things of my town. There is just an empty space there which this book will fill up. As it is beautifully written and tastefully bound I am pleased with it, and I dont care what it costs, for God has given me an immense income.'[2]

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[1] Fihrist, p 40.

[2] Ibn Usaiba, fol. 46.

[3] Fihrist, p 42.

[4] Fihrist p. 141.

We can easily conjecture from these facts the popularity and the profit of the book-trade. Every great Arab town, indeed, had its own book-market. With the rapid growth of the book-trade Arab penmanship, at first awkward and clumsy, developed into artistic beauty and form. The books sought after, in the beginning, were books transcribed by discerning, scholarly scribes, who aimed at the correctness of the copy, but such scribes were not, by any means, fine calligraphers. With the growth of the book-trade and the increasing demand for books—larger and larger became the circle of scribes who earned their living by copying MSS. They aimed more at excellent penmanship than accuracy of the text. Thus, a high value was early set on calligraphy. And this stands to reason. To those that were not veritable scholars, fine penmanship made an immediate, irresistible appeal. And the majority of book-collectors were by no means scholars. Hence the importance and increasing importance of calligraphy. The oldest calligrapher, called *Khalid Ibn Abi Hajjaj*, lived under the Omayyad Caliph Walid I, and was appointed copyist of the Qur'an and historical works. To him we owe the golden inscription on the Prophet's mosque at Medina. Even a client *Malik Ibn Dinar* (d. 130 A.H = 747—48 A.D) distinguished himself in this art, and worked for money. With the accession of Mamun, learning and the book-trade received an impetus such as they had never enjoyed before.

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[1] I have in my possession a beautiful copy of *Talib-i-Kalim* bearing false seals and false dates. But it is none the less a fine specimen of Oriental penmanship.

[2] Makkari, I, 218.

Henceforward calligraphy steadily pursues the path of progress. The Wazir Ibn Makla (d. 328 A. H., 940 A. D.) was the first to effect great changes in the clumsy, awkward Arabic script. The improvements effected by him were continued by the calligrapher Ibn Bawwab (d. 443 A. H., 1032 A. D.), who attained great distinction and achieved great success in this art. Like Ibn Bawwab, the celebrated Yaqut later acquired fame as a scribe (d. 618 A. H. = 1221 A. D.). The Arabs, since their fall, have lost ground in every sphere of literary and artistic activities, save calligraphy. Here they show a distinct advance. "I have seen," says Von Kremer, in M. Ayrton's collection (which is, now, in the British Museum), "autographs of Ibn Bawwab and Yaqut, but I can assert, with certainty, that the modern calligraphers of Cairo are superior to the former and, indeed, equals of the latter. But it must be added that the more beautiful the MS. the more untrustworthy the text. Free of faults are the old, inartistic MSS. But this fact did not, in the least, affect the sale of finely-written MSS. to royal libraries, or to the private collections of rich bibliophiles."

Scholars and students alike obtained their living by copying MSS. and selling them to book-dealers. Like every other profession calligraphy, too, became recognized as such —at once honourable and paying.

But, whatever may be the case in Cairo—in India, calligraphy, as an art, is all but extinct. And the book-trade in MSS.—Persian and Arabic—is, likewise, now a trade confined to a small circle, who find a market not among their countrymen but among American cold-weather visitors and stray curio-seeking connoisseurs. During the last twelve months I have had extraordinary good luck in MSS. Among others I have purchased two—the Diwans of Muhtashim and Musannif—exquisite specimens of calligraphy and models of accurate transcription. Some day I shall write a paper on the romance of book-collecting; for a veritable romance it is. No longer now does the book-dealer sit by the mosque with his learned wares. You have now to seek him; and, indeed, full of delight is always the search, and occasionally, wondrous surprises are the finds.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

THE FLOWER OF RAJASTHAN

An Historical Tragedy

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ

Bheem	...	*Rana of Mewar*
Jagat Singh	...	*Prince of Amber*
Rajah Maun	...	*Prince of Marwar*
Sowae Singh	...	*Chieftain of Pokurna*
Sindhia	...	*A Mahratta Chief*
Amir Khan	...	*A Pathan leader*
Seenath of Koochaman	...	*Friend of Rajah Maun*
Dhonkul	...	*A Boy Pretender*
Maharajah Jowandas	...	*A Prince of Mewar*
Ajit	...	*A Brahmin Minister at Mewar*
A Bard		
A Herald		
Rampyari	...	*Rani of Mewar*
Rascaphoor	...	*Jagat Singh's paramour*
Krishna Kumari	...	*Daughter of the Rana*

Soldiers, attendants, maidens, war yogis etc.

ACT I; SCENE I

[*Oodipur.* High mountains in the distance. Nearer in the background is seen the palace on a ridge, and other dwellings, the turrets and balconies of which are crowded with brightly dressed spectators. A flight of marble steps leads downward to a lake in which are to be seen small islands, where the arched piazzas of marble palaces appear through the foliage of orange groves, plantain and tamarind. On either side of the steps are gathered women garlanded with roses and jessamine and arrayed in bright colours. The stage represents part of the shore, to which are moored boats filled with people. Jagat Singh and Sowae Singh are discovered in the foreground.]

Sowae Singh—

Gouri hath left the palace and she makes
Her stately progress to the water's edge.
Now the green fringes of Vassanti's robe
Peep out but shyly from beneath the gold
Of her o'er-spreading mantle, and the air
Is heavy with the scent of jessamine
And meadows make obeisance, bowing down
Beneath their golden weight of ripened corn
Where crimson poppies flaunt their festal scarves
And larks with tuneful rapture flood the skies.
Lo, where the Rana rises with his chiefs
And stands to greet the goddess piously
Before a throne of majesty more high,
Where flash the lustres from her gemmed attire
And milk-white pearls are gleaming. Fair is she;
But scarce, methinks, less fair the goodly array
Of maidens who attend her: scarce less fair
The twain on either side who o'er her head
The silver chowree wave, or those with wands
Who walk before her with gazelle-like eyes
And voices sweet as is the bulbul's song.
And fairer far than Gouri, yea, more fair
Than any beauty human or divine
The Rana's only child, the Earth's princess,
Krishna Kumari, Flower of Rajasthan.

Jagat Singh—

My glance goes flitting like a butterfly
From bloom to bloom, but cannot make its choice.
O Sowae, shew me that my soul may rest
Calmed in the haven of her loveliness.

Sowae Singh—

Mark where they now around the Goddess, throne,
Set at the margin of the lake, join hands
And move in circle form with measured steps
And slow harmonious swayings. That is she
Beating the palm, alone and in the midst,
Control supplying to the cadences
Of rhythmic motion. Now the hymn begins.

Virgins in chorus—

Hail, O Earth Mother, graciously vouchsafing
Blessings to us thy children (who can count them ?)
Greatest of these thyself, who giving all things
Dwellest among us.

Hail, mighty Gouri, mother of abundance,
Smile thou upon us. and regard benignly
Our lowly homage, holding out the lotus,
Symbol of offspring.

So not in vain have moved the lips of Brahmins
So not unblest their holy pray'rs ascended,
From Ishwar's forehead, radiant as the morning
Sprang holy Ganga.

From mead and valley leapt the ears of harvest,
Bowing the trees the golden mango ripened,
Brighter than gleams the blossom of the *cusa*
Gouri, thou camest.

Fill to the brim the vessels of our longing,
Bathe in our streams and make our waters holy ;
Lest we be orphans vagrant in the desert,
Mother us kindly.

(*The hymn finished, the maidens prostrate themselves in silence. Krishna Kumari advances with slow dancing steps to the foot of the throne and offers white flowers and rice. Krishna Kumari sings.*)

Krishna Kumari—

Tenderest mother, in closest embrace
Fold us thy children and guard us thy race;
Shelter thy virgins and fence us around
In the peace of thy cloister on hallowed ground.
From the honey of speech and the flatterer's wile,
From glances of passion and masculine guile
O Gouri, preserve us.

Tenderest mother, we pray thee again
Save us from evil, preserve us from men;
Till with the sunlight of fame on his shield
Stainless in honour and fresh from the field
The chosen, the true one lays claim to his bride;
Then open thy arms, bid me run to his side,
O Mother of true-loves.

(*The maidens all rise: the ring opens. Krishna Kumari carrying a basket of flowers, comes forward and sings facing Jagat Singh.*)

Krishna Kumari—

O beware ye, beware! Draw not nearer a pace
To these holy ablutions: profane not the place
Of our solemn observance. Death surely awaits
Any reckless intruder: his sacrifice sates
The just vengeance of Gouri. Beware and remain
That ye too may be sprinkled with flowers in the rain
Of her favour to mortals.

So hope ye, despair not. Among you she throws
The pink oleander, the champac, the rose.
If his love be a true love on whom they may fall.
He may woo with her blessing, and venture his all
For the sighs, the soft wonder, the blushes that come
With a "Yea" to his pleading, a bride to his home.
Guide, O Mother my strowing.

(*She scatters flowers among the onlookers, some of which fall on Jagat Singh.*)

Sowae—

So on the Prince of Amber falls the choice
Of our discerning goddess. None more worthy
Than, Highness, thou to mate with such a bride,
And none to be thy bride more fit than she.

Jagat—

Art thou in earnest? Would so fair a prize
Were in my grasp! yet nay—it cannot be.

Sowae—

If but the goddess wills it, who shall dare
Of mortals to gainsay thee, gentle prince?

Jagat—

The Rana looks with favour, it is said,
On other suitors for his daughter's hand.
Among them Maun, the Rajah of Maroo,
Of all hath fairest prospect to secure
This peerless blossom of a royal bower.

Sowae—

How? Rajah Maun—whom she of ill repute,
The base Pasbani, fostered in her shame—
His hand to touch the Flower of Rajasthan!

Jagat—

Men say her hand was promised to his house,
And e'en betrothal made when she was born
With Marwar's lord or ever Maun was crowned.

Sowae—

Then Death the tie has broken. She is free,
And thou, fair prince, hast but to woo and win.

Jagat—

Maun may think otherwise and move his hosts
Against me on this issue.

Sowae—

Very like.
So fair a prize were worth contending for.

Jagat—

By Rama, worth a kingdom! I will go
Prepare an embassy to press my suit.
Who blocks my path must bid his life farewell.

Sowae—

There spoke a Rajput. See thou lose no time.
Whom have we here? By all the gods, 'tis Maun.

(*Enter Rajah Maun. He stoops and picks a flower from the ground, and presses it to his lips, Jagat tries to snatch it from him.*)

Rajah Maun—

Who art thou, fellow? Keep thy distance, churl!

Jagat—

I am the Prince of Amber, Jagat Singh,
Whom thy defiling, sacrilegious hand
Robs of a flower as dear to him as life.

Maun—

Is the man mad? The flower was on the ground.
'T would have been crushed had I not rescued it.

Jagat—

And thou restore it not, thy life shall pay
The debt of thy presumption.

Maun—

Insolent! (*He draws his sword.*)

Sowae—

Nay, gentle princes, it were scarcely meet
To brawl before the goddess and defile
This holy ground with bloodshed. Bide your time.

Jagat—

My vengeance shall o'ertake thee later on,
O Son of the Pasbani!

Maun—

Get thee hence,
And from mine anger hide thy craven head.

Jagat (*going*)—

My curse upon thee till we meet again [*Exit*]

Maun—

So starts the feud 'twixt Amber and Maroo
As from some tiny spark the forest fire
Spreads rampant till it wastes a mountain side.
This little flower I hold within my hand
Breathes in its fragrance ruin to a race,
A people's mourning and a state's decease.

Sowae—

Such is the might of princes! Yonder stands
She, the sweet wager of your rivalry,
The flower unpluckt as yet by envious hand.

That tiny blossom from her basket strown,
It is her sign and token. 'Tis a cause
Worthy the strife and rivalry of kings,
The clash of armies and the reck of thrones.
Prince, wouldst thou see the prize in triumph borne
By him who flung into thy teeth his taunt
"O Son of the Pambasi"?

Maun—

Peace, forbear!

Sowae—

Shall she, whose hand was promised at her birth
To Marwar's royal line, be pluckt away
To grace the throne of Amber, and to shed
Her fragrance through the palace of Jeypur,
Whither would turn the envious eyes of kings,
And first among the states should Amber rank
Because she holds the Flower of Rajasthan.
All should cry shame on Marwar, shame on him
Who let unscathed a Cuchwa steal his bride!

Maun—

Peace, ere thou madden me!

Sowae—

At times, O Prince,
There is a madness that becomes a man,
As doth his roar the lion, and her rage
The mother tigress of her cub bereft.
E'en now goes Jagat Singh thine enemy,
Prickt with the spurs of passion, to prepare
His troops on embassage with nuptial gifts
For Mewar's pride, the Rana's lovely child.

Maun—

Now Vishnu speed my vengeance ! This hath stung
My soul to frenzy, and the sword undrawn
Would fly its scabbard of its own accord
To drink the blood of such a reprobate.
An embassage, forsooth—an embassage!
This Amber Swain shall learn sagacity
Yelping for shelter back to Jeypur's gate.

Sowae—

Then not in vain thine offer for the hand
Of Krishna shall assail the Rana's ear.
The goddess shield thee, Maun, and prosper thee!

Maun—

Jai Ram ! I count on thee, O Sowae Singh !

[*Exit*]

Sowae—

On the mongoose so might the serpent count
As prince of Marwar on Pokurna's chief.
Still to avenge the blood of Devi Singh
Sheathed in my girdle waits the dagger bright ;
And Marwar's fate and thine, hot-headed youth,
Are writ thereon in lettering of blood.

(*The goddess on her throne is raised up again and the procession of maidens begins to return with her to the palace, maidens singing as they go.*)

Chorus of maidens—

Queen of the harvest, mother of all offspring,
Come to thy children, holding out the lotus,
Bring with thee Peace, her olive branch extending
Over our borders.

[*Curtain*]

ACT I; SCENE II

[A room in the palace at Oodipur. The Rana Bheem discovered with his Rani, Rampyari.]

Rana Bheem—

Each passing hour too quickly flown brings on
The dread bereavement that we cannot stay.
Krishna, our darling child, our little one,
The joy of both our hearts, may not remain
To glad with loveliness our waning sight,
Nor ease our weight of years with her sweet ways.
Already upon her childish beauty dawns
The grace of womanhood, while from her soul
Looks out the mute demand through wistful eyes
No parent's love hath ever yet supplied.

Rampyari—

Let us not cross the flood ere falls the rain.
Trouble comes fast now, but faster still
To the fulfilment of ill-omened words.
Is it so long ago he took his leave,
Our son Juvana, of my fond embrace
And left me in my tears beside the well
Where I was fain to throw myself indeed,
But ill contented with the acted show,
So much I loved him and so much I grudged
His heart to any other. Had not I
Rockt him to rest and kist his baby feet?
To whom came running he on eager quest
With all his childish troubles and his joys?
Who fired him with the tales of mighty deeds
And glories of his Rajput ancestry,
Or shared with him his dreams of warlike fame,
His pride in the first quarry of his spear,

Or the first buckling of his sword to thigh?
Whom sought his burning eyes from fevered bed,
On whom in weakness leaned he? and what face
Felt the soft rain of kisses from his lips?
O happy years and days when he was mine,
Then came the witch that stole his heart away
And I must force myself to smile on her
E'en while she tore my heart away with his.

Rana Bheem—

In his contentment let it find content,
But 't will be hard to let our Krishna go.

(*Flourish; enter a bard with three others bearing gifts, weapons and jewellery which with a profound reverence they lay at Rana Bheem's feet.*)

Bheem—

Who are ye and whence come ye? why these gifts?

Bard—

Divine one, we be humble envoys sent
By the great prince of Amber, Jagat Singh,
Who, not content with sending embassage,
Himself within a league of Oodipur
Encampèd lie with some three thousand horse
Expectant of thy favour from our lips.

Bheem—

What business hath your royal lord with us?

Bard—

Behold the symbol, Sire, of his intent,
A fruit new gathered from the Coco palm.

Bheem—

That fateful tree so long a shadow casts
Its gloom had fallen upon us ere ye came.
The prince of Amber for the fruit he pluckt
Would snatch a goodlier from its parent stem
And leave us childless.

Bard—

Nay, O dazzling one,
But to the number of thy sons would add
His most illustrious person. Childless? Nay!
Not childless taking to your arms a son,
Not childless when you count around your knees
Your children's children in the sunset glow
Of a reign brightening to its glorious end;
But childless when, condemned to childlessness,
Your daughter's heart is waxed cold to you
Who forged the chains to hold her from her bliss,
The love of husband and the care of child,
Not elsewhere, than in these to be obtained.

Bheem—

O Rampyari, what shall we reply?

Rampyari—

Dost thou to woman turn thee for advice?
If sooth the bard have spoken, she it is
Whose need for ever flies and cling to man
Supplying little and receiving all.
What if our daughter, reverend sage, mistrust
The bliss he deems himself empowered to give?

Bard—

Nay, gentle queen, thou hast misread my speech.
In one another's bliss the bliss of both

Alone hath substance ; 'tis a mutual need.
Denied her, he will roam disconsolate.

Bheem—

As I, my Rani, should, bereft of thee.

Rani—

Ay, ev'n a woman hath her place and use—
If not to counsel, then at least to lend
To her lord's wisdom an attentive ear—
When he is sick to run with healing hands,
When he is vext to sooth his ruffled mood,
When he is sad, to cheer him ; but to keep
Shut from his knowledge every secret woe,
Sealed from his observation every pang,
Lest it disturb the surface of his peace.
To watch his every want and wait hard by
With ready ministries of heart and hands ;
In succour swift, in understanding sure,
Quick to console and silent to endure.
Such is the use of woman to the man,
As to the stately swan subserves the lake
On its wide bosom sailing, though ashore
He waddles helpless with uncertain gait.

Bard—

Then, madam, of such helplessness I pray
My royal master find a swift relief.

(*To Bheem*)

Humbly we wait your pleasure, majesty.

Bheem—

How should we cancel what the gods decree ?
Bear to the prince of Amber our reply
With jewels and a steed and rich brocade,

Twelve shields of shawls, a necklace of fair pearls,
An elephant with gold caparisoned,
And silken howdah. Add withal our prayers
Which call upon the gods to prosper him
And visit evil on his enemies,
His life preserving for his people's good.
O'ercome by his munificence we take
His gifts with glad acceptance, and retain
The fruit he gathered from the coco palm
In token of our favour to his suit,
And bid his royal person to a feast.

Bard—

This gracious message from your royal lips
I shall with haste my royal master bear.
To be the carrier of such joyous news
Is second only to receiving it.

Bheem—

This pan-leaf and this essence of the rose
Assure thee of the honour and esteem
An envoy of the Prince of Amber finds
At Mewar's palace always. Tell thy lord
Beside the cushion of our state a place
Is vacant till he fill it.

Bard—

Majesty,
We kiss thy feet—thy face hath blinded us.

(*The bard prostrates himself—then rising strikes a few chords on the zitar and sings with his companions.*)

Bard et cetera—

Praise to Ganesa
The elephant-headed

Who shelters the hearth-stone
Of lovers new-wedded;
Regarding benignly
Each due supplication,
Rewarding divinely
Each vow and oblation.
White as the crescent
Agleam in the dusk
Is the curve and the grace
Of his ivory tusk.

For prospered adventure
And labour completed
For journey accomplished
And evil defeated,
For guiding the sword edge
To triumph and glory
For the health of the homeland,
And fame of her story,
May his birth and his beauty
Be sung by all flesh
And our joy and our duty
Be praise to Ganesh!

[*Curtain.*]

ACT II; SCENE I

[The camp of Jagat Singh, in the royal tent. Jagat Singh discovered reclining on cushions, Sowae Singh standing at his side.]

Jagat—

How lag the hours, the dull, the dreary hours!
Our envoy tarries; he was due long since.
Ishwar vouchsafe it have not gone amiss!

Sowae—

No fear of that, serene one! To thy suit
Mewar will make obeisance. Should he dare
Offend the Lion of the World?

Jagat—

And yet
My heart misgives me. Has thou never known
How sore a thing it is to be in love?

Sowae—

The answer will lay balm upon the sore
And bring it speedy healing. Not from Mewar
Need the king ought of evil hap forebode;
Let him beware of Maun and Marwar's guile.

Jagat—

O name him not. His spectre haunts my dreams,
And hovers o'er my bed with sword in hand
And eyes agleam with hate and cruelty.

Sowae—

Courage, O Lion of the World—be strong!
Thou hast a trusty ally found in me
Who plot and plan his speedy overthrow.
His sun already verges to its west.

Jagat—

Sowae, most wonderful of men art thou,
What is the scheme afoot?

Sowae—

'Tis simple, Sire;
But to assist thine understanding it
Needs must I with a short historic sketch
Beguile thine ear against the Bard's return.

(*Jagat Singh sighs wearily, but Sowae Singh resumes.*)

Ere Beejy Singh, the Lord of Marwar, died,
He named Maun Sing, thine enemy his heir
Though but his grandchild, and albeit his sons
Were six in number living, passing o'er
Zalim his eldest, and his heir by right,
To please his mistress, the Pasbani slave,
Infatuate with her beauty, and to console
Her loss of offspring. The infant Maun was placed
Into her lap, adopted son and heir
Of Marwar's lord with pomp and pageantry.
To him the nobles of the Court were bidden
To pay allegiance as their future king,
Their pride but ill sustaining homage paid
To a slave's son. Some with dark looks obeyed,
Others rebelled and bided but the time
To right the wrongs of Zalim. In the midst
Of strife and conflict, ere the threatening storm
Could burst in all its fury, Beejy died,
And Bheem, another grandson, took his seat
On Marwar's cushion.

Jagat—

Where was Zalim then?

Sowäe—

Waiting his lucky hour at Mairta gate
Until some Brahmin in the pay of Bheem
Should hold the time propitious. Fortune ne'er
Waits at the stirrup of the unready knight;
She runs to meet quick spurs and timely blades
But passes by the fools who wait for her.
Prince Zalim was a poet.

Jagat—

All is said
But what of Maun?

Sowae—

Then but a stripling he
Safe in the castle of Jhalore reclined,
Whence the strong fingers of blood-thirsty Bheem
Felt out to pluck him, since of royal blood
A rival claimant only he remained ;
And could Bheem's dagger or the poisoned cup
Reach him, his tale of victims were complete.
The castle was beleaguered, but in vain—
So goodly stands the stronghold—and the years
Rolled on with Maun uncaptured, though anon
Maun would break venturous through the unwary foe
Returning with his spoil unscathed at eve,
While the red Rajah raged in Marwar's halls,
And offered oxen to his baffled chiefs
In lieu of horses, which estranged them more
From Bheem's allegiance.

Jagat—

Hast thou nearly done !

Sowae—

Be patient, prince ; my story nears the close.
At length with grim starvation face to face
And but a maund of millet flour to feed
His weakened garrison, to Rajah Maun
There fell a change of fortune. From the camp
Of the surrounding host a herald came,
And ready as eye upon the prince's lips
Sat armed defiance, but this time instead
Of summons to surrender came the news
Of Bheem's decease and meek acknowledgment
Of Maun's accession. 'Thou art master now,'
So spake the herald, 'and 'tis ours to serve,

We cry thee pardon for the past assault ;
We but obeyed the orders of our king,
His tools unwilling—now we are thy men'.—
So Maun became the Rajah of Maroo,
Since Bheem was childless when he joined the Sun.

Jagat—

'Tis a dull tale and hath an evil end.

Sowae—

The end is yet to come, and 'twill be evil
For Maun, not thee, divine one. Hear me out.
Bheem had died childless, yet a child was born
After his death of lawful, wedded queen.
His mother, fearing for his safety, sent
Her new-born babe, beneath a servant's care,
Hid in a basket to Pokurna's chief,
E'en to thy faithful servant Sowae Sing.
Nor hath he proved unworthy of the trust.
That child I cherish as I would my life,
Since he shall be the overthrow of Maun,
The blight of his pretensions.

Jagat—

Where's the child ?

Sowae—

He waits without the tent, divinity,
To be presented as the lawful prince
Of Marwar's line to Amber's royal grace.

Jagat—

Right joyful are we to acknowledge him.

Sowae (*to Attendants*)—

Admit his Majesty, the lawful prince
Of Marwar, Sojut, Sambar, Mairtea:
First chieftain of Nagore and Bhadvajoon,
Lord of Rawasso, master of Jhalore,
The Maharajah of Baniapur
And half a thousand townships!

(*Attendants bring in the boy Dhonkul*)

Jagat—

Rama's woes!
He hath no lack of titles. And his name?

Sowae—

Dhonkul, so please Your Highness, meaning *born*
To strife and tumult.

Jagat—

Ishwar help the boy!
We will at least befriend him. From this day
'Nephew of Amber' to his titles add.
On him we now confer the royal right
To eat from the same platter as ourselves.

Sowae—

I will proclaim it through the length and breadth
Of Marwar's plains and her dependencies,
Denouncing Maun for traitor, and adjure
Her vassal chiefs their fealty to transfer
From an usurper to their lawful king,
Bheem's son and true successor. I myself,
The chieftain of Pokurna, publicly
Will render homage to my overlord,
And never more abase Pokurna's pride

Before the son of a Pambasi slave.
And Marwar's chiefs will follow Sowae Singh.

(*Enter a messenger, who flings himself at the feet of Jagat Singh.*)

Messenger—
Fly, fly, Your Majesty ! a host of men
Under the Prince of Marwar hath surprised
The camp and on three sides hath circled it.
His heralds claim surrender.

Sowae (*striking him*)—
Base-born serf !
Durst thou thy lord and sovereign bid to fly,
The Lion of the World to turn his tail
For a slave-woman's son ? Take this—and that !

Jagat—
Vishnu, preserve us ! What are we to do
In this our sudden, dread emergency ?
Sowae, advise us.

Sowae—
Gird thine armour on.
Then out and at him ! win, or die the death
Worthy a man and Rajput !

Jagat—
But we are
Surrounded, out-manoeuvred.

Sowae—
Renegade !
Wouldst thou surrender to him ?

Jagat—

If I fight,
Wilt thou, Pokurna's chief, beside me stand
Against thine overlord—and die with me?

Sowae—

Nay, I shall smite him with a deadlier blow.
Till then I must restrain me: and besides
I have the sacred charge of Majesty,
And dare not risk its safety. Dhonkul, come!

Jagat—

Thou leavest me in danger, thou, a friend?

Sowae—

Farewell, O Lion of the World! Be strong.

(*Exit Sowae Singh with Dhonkul.*)

[*Enter a herald.*]

Herald—

A proclamation of our royal lord,
Maun, prince of Marwar, unto Jagat Singh.
His Majesty with some three thousand horse
Surrounds the camp of Amber, and her men
Lie at the mercy with their prince ensnared.
Yet in his royal clemency our king
Will spare them and their master Jagat Singh
On two conditions. First, they must lay down
All arms and weapons: then, they must depart
Outside the bounds of Marwar ere the sun
Have dipt his chariot wheels behind the hills.

Jagat Singh—

His Majesty of Marwar hath excelled
His wonted friendliness to Amber's lord,
And suddenly, without a warning word,
He tears our treaty on a neutral soil
And breaks the peace between our sister states.
Thus doth he violate the code of law
That governs all the principalities
Throughout the length and breadth of Rajasthan.

Herald—

His Majesty unto his royal word
Added this message. Let not Amber think
His action to be warlike. Were it so,
Not one from Amber had survived the day,
Whereas the lord of Marwar hath bestowed
On each free passage home to Jeypur's gate.

Jagat—

What if we give him battle?

Herald—

Then our master
Will render thrust for thrust and blow for blow,
Not as aggressor but in self-defence.
And, when a conqueror, still will stay his hand
From royal life-blood. Yet not all unscathed
Shall Jagat Singh return to Jeypur's gate,
But branded as an outlaw.

Jagat (*falling back on to the couch*)—

Fellow, go!
And take thy lord our message. We forbear
Resistance until later—until war
Hath been declared in Amber. We comply

With his demands—yet under protest, say,
And sore resentment at our grievous wrong.

(*To attendants*)

Bid to our feet the Captain of the host,
That we may give our royal word, Retire !
Then home to Jeypur, where we may contrive
A vengeance that will bring him to his knees.

(*Aside*)

To Jeypur—home again—without a bride !
Maun, with thy life-blood thou shalt pay for this.

[*Curtain*]

(To be continued)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

THE BENGALI BRAIN AND EDUCATION

The world of education moves as man moves in his various stages of evolution. We are apt to forget that with education is bound up the well-being of the world. But some master-minds there are who are alert and studying the problem in newer and newer lights. We in India are moving in old ruts: while the world is dynamic, India is static. She had her indigenous system of education. The Western system has been engrafted on to the Eastern since the advent of the British. Though the policy of the British was one of conservation and progress, the hybrid system that exists to-day is more Western in character than Eastern. One important consequence that follows from this is that what Sir John Woodroffe calls the seed of race has not been preserved. For the sake of mankind as a whole this ought to have been valued. Educationists should realise this just as Economists know the value of the theory of Geographical Division of Labour. But this is not all. The system that has been set up here is not exactly the pattern of the West. Moreover, it has become out of date, not being able to keep pace with the march Education has made in recent years in Europe and America.

The results following from the system are many. There is no denying the fact that it has enlarged our outlook, opened out new vistas of knowledge and awakened national consciousness. We have got our J. C. Bose and P. C. Ray and we are content with this. But the hour of reckoning has come, when a survey of the present and the past, of our own country and the world around us, brings to light the fact that much more might be done, had more scientific and more proper methods been adopted in educating our children. The output of Bengali brain would have been far greater if the mother tongue were used as the medium of instruction and the inductive method were followed. What a sad waste of time and energy in learning a thing through a foreign language, and how unnatural it is! Not to speak of modern systems, a host of educators such as Ratichius, Comenius, Port Royalists and the rest placed the mother tongue over foreign languages. Ratichius says, "First let the mother tongue be studied and teach everything through the mother tongue so that the learner's attention may not be diverted to the language." This is exactly what is happening to-day in our country. Again, says Comenius, "Let all things be delivered to each nation in its own speech." The neglect of the mother tongue, be it said to the credit of the Port Royalists, was one of the traditional mistakes pointed out and abandoned by them. De Saci was quite right when he discouraged the study of classics by saying, "To turn them into citizens of ancient Rome we make them strangers in their native land." So we Bengalis are strangers in our own country but are quite familiar with the land of our rulers and the continent. Later in the 19th century Pire Girard, the Swiss educationist laid great emphasis on the importance of the mother tongue. His method consisted in "choosing a study which may be considered as one essential part of the instruction common to all the classes of society and which nevertheless is fit for calling into existence all the intellectual powers." This study was the mother tongue which Gerard employed for the moral and religious development of children.

The inductive method preached by Francis Bacon and advocated by a generation of educationists set the ball of education rolling in quite a new direction. The 'Novum Organum' of Bacon created a stir in the educational world. The basis of knowledge is experiment and observation: from particulars we proceed to generalisations. This is par excellence the natural method in which knowledge grows. It develops the powers of the mind in such a way as no other method does. Furthermore, it generates in the learner a spirit of enquiry and self-help which helps him forward all through his life. Jacotot, beyond all other teachers, succeeded in co-ordinating the method of elementary teaching with the method of investigation. One should ponder over what Herbert Spencer says in this connexion: "General formulas which men have devised to express groups of details and which have severally simplified their conceptions by uniting many facts into one fact, they have supposed, must simplify the conceptions of a child also. They have forgotten that a generalisation is simple only in comparison with the whole mass of particular truths it comprehends; that it is more complex than any one of these truths taken simply; that only after many of these single truths have been acquired, does the generalisation ease the memory and help the reason; that to a mind not possesessing these single truths, it is necessarily a mystery. * * he primary rule implies that the mind should be introduced to principles through the medium of examples and so should be led from the particular to the general, from the concrete to the abstract." Jean Jacques Rousseau, a revolutionary in education as in politics, went so far as to say, "The child is not to learn science but to discover it." Frœbel's aim, as we all know, was to educate the pupil through his self-activity. Locke, the high-priest of reason, could not but be in favour of the inductive method. Again, this method finds an exponent in that great master-mind, Edmund Burke. In his treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful he says, "I am convinced that the method of teaching which approaches most nearly to the method of investigation is incomparably the best; since, not content with serving up a few barren and lifeless truths, it leads to the stock on which they grew; it tends to set the reader (or learner) himself in the track of invention, and to direct him into those paths in which the author has made his own discoveries." We need not multiply quotations. Let us conclude with what a modern educationist, Sir Joshua Fitch says in his Educational Aims and Methods: "The other great instrument in thinking and reasoning is the inductive method, that of proceeding from the observation of particulars to the discovery and proof of general propositions. * * * But we, as teachers, have also to think of the inductive method of study rather as generating a certain habit of mind, and as calling forth powers which are applicable to our views of history and morals, to our judgments of books and of one another and to much of the business and conduct of our daily life. And in the formation of our own character and in fitting us to deal wisely with the problems that every day presents, it is of far more consequence that we should know how to use particular experience as a means of arriving at general truths, than that we should argue correctly from given premises to correct conclusions. This being so, it behoves us to enquire whether the habits of mind brought into exercise by the inductive method may not be encouraged by ordinary school studies, and made operative on the formation of character even in the early years devoted to instruction."

The modern systems of education all the world over are the outcome of the experience and thoughts of generations of thinkers who have left their legacy with us. The mother tongue and the inductive method have been given their due places in them. Systems and personalities have given their verdict. But it is a thousand pities that even in this twentieth century we need arguments to realise the value of a truth discovered long ago. How much more the Bengali could learn, if he learnt through the medium of his mother tongue, and how much more he could add to the world's stock of knowledge by following the method of reason ! The method in vogue in our educational institutions engenders a slave mentality which takes every thing on trust from others—What an intellectual death for an intelligent people ! The evils have been suffered to exist, simply because we are concerned not so much with real education as with mere examination passes. This is a question of national importance ; and we hope our nation-building ministers and leaders of thought will take note of this.

BHUPENDRA NATH SARKAR

THE VISHNUDHARMOTTARAM*

> " He who paints waves, flames, smoke and streamers fluttering in the air, according to the movement of the wind, should be considered a great painter."
>
> *Vishṇudharmottaram, ch. 43, V. 28.*

> " Painting is the best of all arts conducive to dharma, pleasure, wealth and emancipation. It gives the greatest pleasure, when placed in a house. "
>
> *Vishṇudharmottaram, ch. 43, V. 38.*

Part III of the Vishṇudharmottaram gives the fullest account known hitherto of the various branches, methods and ideals of Indian painting. It deals with the religious aspect but also, and to a far greater extent, with its secular employment. It proclaims the joy that colours and forms and the representation of things seen and imagined produce. Speaking of artistic representation in relation to religion it points out their mutual limitations. " Vajra said :—The supreme god has been described as devoid of form, smell and emotion and destitute of sound and touch—so how this form can be (made) of him ?

Mārkaṇḍeya replied : "Prakṛiti (and) vikṛiti (come into existence) through the (variation in) the form of the supreme soul. That form of him (which is) scarcely to be seen was called prakṛiti. The whole universe should be known as the vikṛiti (*i.e.* transformation) of him, (when) endowed with form. Worship and meditation (of the supreme being) are possible (only when he is) endowed with form......The best position of the (supreme) soul (however) is to be imagined without form. For the sight of the worlds (he) exists with eyes closed in meditation......[1] This concession being made, life in its entirety becomes fit for artistic representation, and the realm of imagination is as close within the reach of the artists, as nature that surrounds him, for tradition guides him in the one case and observation checks and inspires him in the other.

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* Published by Kshemarāja Krishṇadāsa, Proprietor, Veṅkaṭeśvara Steam Press, Bombay, 1912.

The Vishṇudharmottaram admits in several places, that it is but repeating and compiling from older sources. These being lost to us, our text represents the earliest exhaustive account of the theory of painting. Its date can be ascertained partly from chapters being copied from earlier sources, and partly from a custom of setting up statues to renowned personages with which the text deals.

Vyāsa, the reputed author of the Mahābhārata, was worshipped as a deity. Directions as to the making of the image of Vyāsa are given in the chapters dealing with image making, consecutive to the chapters on painting.[2] There directions are also given for making images of Yudhiṣṭhira, Bhîma, Arjuna, Nakula, Sahadeva, Kṛshna,—Sumanta, Jaimini, Paila, Vaysampāyana,—(the four disciples of Vyāsa), Devaki, Jaśodā, Balarāma, Rukmiṇî, Satyabhāmā, Śamba and Aniruddha.

At the time of the compilation of the Vishṇudharmottaram the Mahābhārata must have been held sacred to such an extent, that not only its heroes, but also its so-called author and his disciples were worshipped as deities. Valmiki too was worshipped as a deity and how to make his image is also told in the Vishṇudharmottaram.[1]

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[1] (V. dh. P. III Ch. 46, verses 1-19).

[2] (V. dh. part III Ch 85, verses 65-79.)

The complete book of the Rāmāyaṇa being not anterior to the Mahābhārata,[2] and the Mahābhārata in its present shape being assigned to a period between 200 and 400 A.D.[3] the Vishṇudharmottaram cannot date earlier than the 5th century A.D. This date is also evident from that of the Vishṇupurāna, of which the Vishṇudharmottarm is an appendix. The Vishṇupurāna is based in its genealogical accounts on those of the Bhavisya, Matsya and Vāyu......[4] 'The Vāyu borrowed the Bhavisya's augmented account about or soon after the year 330 or 335 A.D.[5] The Vishṇupurāna therefore cannot be earlier than the 2nd half of the 4th century A.D.

The lower age limit however, of the Vishṇudharmottaram must be advanced still further, for Part III, Chapter 27 dealing with colours, is borrowed verbatim from Bharata's Nāṭyaśāstra, and the number of rasas in the Vishṇudharmottaram is nine, while only eight are dealt with by Bharata.

The upper age limit of the text may again be found from an iconographic peculiarity of its pantheon. In it every god, hero, philosopher or sage finds his place somewhere round the central figure of Vishṇu, the god supreme. Yet no mention is made of Śankara, who up to the present day is worshipped in the form of an image. Had Śankara existed at the time of the compilation of the chapters on painting, the author would have incorporated him into the Vaishṇava pantheon inspite of his being an incarnation of Śiva.

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[1] (Part III Ch. 85, verses 63-64).

[2] (Hopkins, Great Epic of India, pp. 58-84).

[3] (L. C. p. 389).

[4] (Pargiter Dynasties of the Kali Age, Intro. pp. XIII and XVI).

[5] (V. dh. Chapter 41 v. 11).

The chapters of the Vishṇudharmottaram dealing with painting must have been compiled in the seventh century, contemporary with the latest paintings of Ajanta; and so we get acquainted with the theories prevalent at the time of the full maturity of their practice. But it must not be forgotten, that our text is but a compilation and its recipes and prescriptions go back into a remoter past. Valuable as these manifold informations are, we have to be aware, that like all theories they are derived from, and subservient to the practice. They left every freedom to the artist, to work as the text says 'according to his own intellect.' What Srî Kumāra, modestly states in his Śilparatna (verse 14) also holds good for our text: "I describe the methods of Chitra for the benefit of the ignorant."

Painting in ancient India, especially in the Gupta age was of great importance in the life of the citizen. The interest taken in pictures varied with the education of the spectator. "The masters praise the rekhās (रेखा) (delineation and articulation of form), the connoisseurs praise the display of light and shade, (वर्तना) women like the display of ornaments, to the rest of the public richness of colours appeals." The artists therefore should take great care, that the painting may be appreciated by every one. There was ample opportunity for contemplating and appreciating paintings.

From the great hall built by the Bodhisat—according to the Mahā Ummagga Jātaka[1]—painted with beautiful pictures, and the subterranean palace of the same Jātaka, with its stucco-coated walls bearing paintings of the splendour of Sacca, the zones of Mt. Sumeru, the sea and the ocean, the four continents, Himavat, lake Anotatta, the vermillion mountain, sun and moon, the heaven of the great kings with the six heavens of sense and their divisions,—to the picture gallery (cittagarē) in the royal pleasure grove of Prasenajit, King of Kosala, where many people used to go, amongst them the Bhikkhunis, who were forbidden to do so[1]—to those many portraits and landscapes painted by artists of the royal and the servant class alike, as mentioned in Ratnāvalî, Raghuvaṁśa, Sakuntalā and Uttararāmacharitam—we see an unfading delight taken in the magic and the sensuousness of painting. Wherever there was a festival, painting enhanced its mood—"from the city gate to the palace, and from the palace to his own house, on both sides of the road, he erected lattice work, and covered all over with mats, covered all with pictures, scattered flowers upon the ground, hung flags and banners."[2]

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[1] Jatakam vol. VI p. 159 and 223.

As permanent or temporary decoration, on the floors, on the walls and ceilings of private houses, palaces and temples, and on the streets, paintings instructed and enlivened the mind of the public. Even religious teachers used painting as the most popular means of communication, that could be understood by the illiterate and the child. "There is a class of Brahmanical teachers, known by the name of Nakha. They make a (portable) framework upon which they cause to be drawn a variety of pictures, depicting scenes of good and evil destinies, of fortunes and misfortunes, 'by doing this deed one attains this,' 'by doing that, one attains that' thus showing different destinies, they wander about with these pictures."[3]

That every cultured man had in his house a drawing board, and a vessel for holding brushes and other requisites of painting is evident from Vātsyāyanas Kāmasūtra.[1] But one should not have a painting by one's own hand in one's house, thinks the Vishṇudharmottaram. Certain objects only are to be painted in private residences, suggesting love, gaiety and peace, while the supernatural and the terrible aspects of life were reserved for the walls of temples and royal audience halls. (cf. Ch. 43.)

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[1] (Vinaya, Vol. IV, Pacittya nr. XLI. p. 289).

[2] (Mahā Umagga Jataka p. 212).

[3] (Sārattha-Pakāsinī, Siamese edition, Part II, p. 398).

The paintings were executed in various types, wall-paintings, pictures on board and on canvas were equally frequent (*cf.* Kāmasūtra and Vishṇudharmottaram). The latter were sometimes in the shape of rolls, exhibiting continuous representation. Such a roll was spread out by a spy of Cānakya before the people in Candanadāsa's house and was exhibited by him with songs.[2] If framed they were of oblong, square and round shape and the Vishṇudharmottaram accordingly distinguishes 4 types of pictures: (1) satyam, (सत्यं) true, we may say realistic, in an oblong frame, (2) vaiṇikam, (वैणिकं) which may mean lyrical, in square frame, and (3) nāgaram, (नागरं) of the citizen, genre-pictures in round frames, while the fourth type simply is miśram, (मिश्रं) mixed. In connection with wall paintings the Vishṇudharmottaram also alludes to floors inlaid with precious jewels. From the Śilparatna on the other hand we know that Dhūlichitram, powder painting, familiar to Bengali ladies as Alpona, was applied as temporary coating of powdered colours on a beautiful piece of ground.[3]

Painting taking such a wide part in secular and religious life, it was only natural, that legends were invented to explain the origin of the art. The Vishṇudharmottaram[4] gives a long account of how the sage Nārāyaṇa in order to put the Apsarasas to shame created the most beautiful nymph Urvaśī, by drawing her outline with mango juice. The Citralakshana[1] again tells how king Nam-grags-a Jigs t' ul, ordered by Brahmā painted the likeness of a deceased son of a Brahmin; whereupon Brahmā made it come to life and having thus defeated Yama, he restored the son to his father. In either legend the origin of the art of painting is seen in the outlining of a human figure[2] for the purpose of creating a living human form. This reconstructed origin is magic and non-æsthetic. A similar notion is to be found in Bhasa's Svapna Vāsavadatta[3] where king Udayana and princess Vasavadatta, with whom he had eloped, are though absent, married in effigie, by their parents, by drawing the portraits of the two on a board. These instances prove that the artist draws from his memory when visualizing a portrait. With this tradition however another has to be held together. A Tibetan text of the eighteenth century, the d'pag bsam ljon bzair (ed. by Sarat Chandra Das, Calcutta, 1908) tells how king Utrayana of Rāvana caused a picture of Buddha to be made, by taking the reflex of the figure of the Dacabala, as his model. This picture has become known under the name of l'u lon-ma (derived from the water).[4] The Śilparatna accordingly defines painting as what bears a resemblance (and) looks like a reflex in a mirror.[5] The imitative and the imaginative origin of pictorial representation therefore were felt as equally true. The Vishṇudharmottaram quotes the

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[1] Benares ed. pp. 32, 44.

[2] (Mūdrārākshasa, Act I).

[3] Śilparatna (ch. 46 *verses* 143—145).

[4] V. dh, Part I, Chap 129, verses 1—19).

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[1] Citralakshana, (German transl. Lauffer, Dokumente der indischen Kunst p. 129—136)

[2] (*Cf.* A. K. Maitra, Aims and Methods of Painting in Ancient India, Rūpam 1923).

[3] (Transl. S. Subba Rau, Madras p. 48).

[4] (Lauffer. l. c. p. 186.)

[5] Śilparatna, (IV ch. 46 verses 145—146).

Urvaśī-legend, yet the text never grows tired to point to things seen as ever fresh sources of artistic inspiration, when dealing with the dṛishṭam (*i.e.*, with things seen). But not only the two-fold origin of painting in observation and imagination was theoretically known to the authors of the various treatises ; the Vishṇudharmottaram, moreover, introduces its chapters on painting with a discourse, where Mārkaṇḍeya instructs king Vajra, that without a knowledge of the science of dancing the rules of painting *scarcely can* be understood. In a following passage again, the observation of nature and of the rules of dancing are indicated as the ultimate resources of the painter. This does not mean that the positions of dancers have to be painted. None of the nine positions of the treatise on painting in the Vishṇu dharmottaram coincides with any of the 101 positions explicitely described in Bhārata's Naṭya-śāstra. What is meant by the derivation of painting from dancing is the movement in common to both these expressive forms; it asserts itself in purity through dancing, it guides the hand of the artist, who knows how to paint figures, as if breathing, the wind as blowing, the fire blazing, and the streamers fluttering. The moving force, the vital breath, the life movememt, (chetanā), that is what is expected to be seen in the work of a painter, to make it alive with rhythm and expression. Imagination, observation and the expressive force of rhythm are meant by the legends of the origin of painting, to be its essential features.

The Vishṇudharmottaram clearly distinguishes between dṛishṭam and adṛishṭam, the latter comprising things invisible or rarely to be seen. The dṛishṭam, things that

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[*] Greek tradition, agreable to an appreciation of the naturalistic aspect of art only, has it that painting began with the outlining of a man's shadow, (The Elder Pliny's chapters on the History of Art, Book XXXV, 15).

are seen easily by ordinary mortals, excels in what we call landscape painting. The hours of day and night, the seasons are described (ch. 42.) There we find that close connection of mood and time, that reached its height in the Rāgmālā pictures, where season, hour, emotion and music became fused as painting. At the same time details are observed with such sincerity as we find them in the pictures of Dutch masters, for instance in the case of the description of the drinking place. The prescriptions for producing light effects too, as the faded light of the candle in the morning dawn, show a very sensitive reaction to optic effects. Yet at the same time we are told that moonshine should be shown by a Kumuda flower in full bloom, sunshine by drawing creatures suffering from heat. In one instance atmospheric effects are observed, while in the other the behaviour of one object or the other, reacting to the atmospheric change is represented suggestively. This interest in the living individuality of the single forms of nature gives to Indian landscape the charm of story telling.

Yet side by side with the naive joy in the variegated forms of nature we learn that rivers are to be represented in human shape, as was the case with them in Greece too, but they should stand on their vāhanas, their knees should be bent and their hands should hold full pitchers. What an amazing association of ideas! The personification of the river put again into action as an ordinary human being, bending down under the load of the full pitcher of water drawn from the river. This versatility in visualizing abstraction and actual action replaces the mere observation of nature. That seas should have water depicted instead of a halo, and that an artist should show a pitcher, to suggest a tank but a conch shell if representing a conch shell, and a lotus flower in representing a lotus flower, once more points to the absorbing interest, the single form of nature exercised on the mind of the artist. He rendered it faithfully. Yet where large appearances like whole rivers and seas, landscapes with rising suns, etc., had to be painted, he took his refuge and delight in introducing personifications or such actions of some members of the scene appropriate to, and indicative of, their surroundings. The Indian artist never took the world in a sweeping glance.

Observing the details of appearance, the author of the Vishṇudharmottaram describes the different types of men. Country people, the nobility, widows, courtesans, artisans, wrestlers, soldiers, etc. are vividly described in movements, habits and features, peculiar to their class, while at the same time most of them belong to one of the five standardised types of men, called Haṁsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Ruchaka and Śaśaka. Their respective measures should be 108, 106, 104, 100 and 90 angulas, in contradistinction to the measurement given in the Bṛhat Saṁhitā, where the relation of sizes is inverse, 96, 99, 102, 105 and 108 angulas respectively. A detailed description of the 5 types is given there.[1]

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[1] J. R. A. S., Vol. VII, 1875.

The Bṛhat Saṅhita (translated by H Kern), pp. 93-97.

(2) By Jupiter being in its power will be born (the personage denominated) Hansa; by Saturn, the man Çaça; by Mars, the Rucaka; by Mercury, the Bhadra; and by Venus, the Malavya.

(7) The length and stretch of the Hansa is of 96 digits. The personages going by the names of Çaça, Rucaka, Bhadra and Mâlavya, are each taller than the preceding by three digits.

(10) The Mâlavya will be marked by arms resembling an elephant's trunk, and by hands reaching to the knees. His members and joints are fleshy, he has a well proportioned and neat frame, and a slender waist. His face, of oblong form, measures 13 digits, the transverse measure between the ears being three digits less. He has fiery eyes, comely cheeks, even and white teeth and not too thick lips.

(11) Having by his valour obtained wealth, he will, residing in the recesses of Mount Pâriyâtra, reign as a wise king over Mâlava, Bharoach, Surâshtra, Lâta, Sindh, and so forth.

(12) This Mâlavya will at the age of seventy years piously depart from life at a place of pilgrimage. Having in due form indicated the characteristics of this man, I now proceed to mention those of the others.

The figures may appear in various positions, of which nine are the leading attitudes. (1) The front view, ऋत्वागतम् (rijvāgatam), (2) the back view, अनृजु (anṛiju), (3) a bent position in profile view, साचीकृतशरीरं (sāchîkṛitaśarîraṁ), (4) the face in profile, the body in three quarter profile view, अर्द्धविलोचनम् (ardhavilochanam), (5) the side view proper, पार्श्वागतं (pārsvāgatam), (6) with head and shoulder-belt turned backwards, परावृत्तं (parāvṛittam), (7) back view with upper part of the body partly visible in forlorn profile, पृष्ठागतं (pṛshṭhāgatam), (8) with the body sharply turned back from the waist upwards, परिवृत्त' (parivṛittam) and lastly (9) the back view, in squatting position with body bent, समानतम्

(13) The man Bhadra is marked by having the arms thick, equal, round and long, his length is equal to the stretch of his arms from one side to the other; his cheeks are covered with soft, small and dense hairs.

In his constitution skin and sperm are predominant; his breast is broad and thick; his prevailing quality is goodness. He has a tiger-like face, is steadfast, forbearing, virtuous, grateful; he has the pace of an elephant, and knows many sciences.

(15) He is sagacious, handsome, clever in the arts, constant., an adept at ascetic philosophy; has the forehead and temples well-shaped; the loins likewise, the hands and feet lined like the lotus calix, the nose fine, the eyebrows even and well knit.

(13) His person smells like earth when moist from fresh rain, or cassia-leaf, saffron, frontal juice of elephants, agallochum. The hair of his head is black, curled, and such that each single hair has its own pore.

(18) Should his length come to 84 digits and his weight to one bhâra, then he will be lord over the Middle country; but if he have the full measure implied in the words "taller by three digits" he will be emperor of the whole country.

(19) After dutifully ruling the country he acquired by his bravery, the Bhadra, at eighty years of age, will depart from life at a place of pilgrimage and go to heaven.

(20) The Çaça will have somewhat projecting, otherwise fine teeth, fine nails, blubber eyes; a swift pace; he takes delight in science, mining and trade; has full cheeks, is false, a good general; fond of love's sport and partial to other men's wives: restless, valorous, obedient to his mother, and attached to woods, hills, rivers and wildernesses.

(21) The same Çaça is suspicious, and a keen observer of another's weak points. He is 92 digits in length, and, not being very heavy, has a soft step. The chief constituent of his body is marrow.

(22) His waist is slender.

(samānatam).[1] In a further passage thirteen positions are enumerated—this however is clearly an interpolation.

These positions are obtained in painting with the help of kṣaya (क्षय) and vṛiddhi (वृद्धि,) decrease and increase, that is to say, the science of forshortening.

Kṣaya and vṛiddhi, forshortening, and proportion, (प्रमाण) pramāṇa, constitute with regard to single figures the working of observation and tradition ; the law of kṣaya and vṛiddhi was as intensely studied by the ancient Indian painter as was perspective by the early Italian masters. Pramāṇa on the other hand was the standardized canon, valid for the upright standing figure and to be modified by every bent and turn. The Haṁsa measure is detailed in full; it is of the uttama navatāla type. The annexed plates compare the uttama navatāla measure of the Vishṇudharmottaram with those

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(23) This Çaça will be a border chieftain or provincial governor. . . . He will, seventy years old, reach Yama's home.

(24) The marks of the Hansa are; the mouth red, the face gold coloured, and showing thick cheeks and an elevated nose; the head round; the eyes honey like. the nails wholly red ;—etc.

(25) He delights in water. . . . His length according to the statement of the Sages; will be 96 digits.

(26) The Hansa will possess the country of Khasa, Çûrasena, Gândhâra, and the land between the Ganges and Jamuna ; after exercising the royal power for 90 years, he will meet death within a wood.

(27) (The worthy Ruchaka by name) will have good eyebrows and hairs ; a red tinged dusky colour, a neck marked with three folds like a shell; an oblong face. He is brave, cruel, an egregroius counsellor, a chief of robbers, and a practised soldier

(28) The measure of Ruchaka's face, in length, being taken four times, gives the measure of his middle. His skin is thin.

(29) . . . His length is a hundred digits.

(30) He is an adept in charms and spells, and has thin knees and legs. When this Rucaka has reigned as king over the Vindhya, Sahyagiri and Ujjain, he will on reaching seventy years, find his death by sword or fire.

(31) There are five other men, who will be the attendants of the fore-mentioned monarchs.

(105) The number of digits which make the measure of men's height is, for the tallest, 108 ; for those of middle height 96 : for the shortest 84.

[1] (Cf. Śilparatna ch. 64 v. 60-110.)

found in Bṛhat Saṁhitā, Śukranītisāra, Citralakshaṇa, and with the uttamanavatāla in G. Rao's Tālamāna.[1]

Though not distinctly mentioned, it is evident that the body a of God should be of the size of a Haṁsa. Rishis, gandharvas, vidyādharas, daityas, dānavas, ministers, brahmins, Samvatsara (*i.e.* Siva) (sic!) and the family priest (purohita) should be of the size of a Bhadra. Yakshas, prostitute women and Vaisyas should have the size of a Ruchaka. Kinnaras, rākshasas, nāgas and domestic women should have the size of a Mālavya, while the chief amongst men and the śudras (!) should be of the size of a Śaśaka, (chapter 42).

Together with pramāṇa, and kṣaya and vṛiddhi, the knowledge of modelling or shading (varttaṇa) was fully known to the Indian masters of old. It is stated to be threefold.[2] (1) patraja, (पत्रज) cross lines (2) airika, and (ऐरिक) stumping and (3) vinduja (विन्दुज) dots (chapt. 41). How much observation and technical experience is needed to state their results in such clear terms, will be understood. Yet "whatever the artist represents he should avoid placing one figure in front of another," (ch. 43). Once more the same counteraction of abstraction and observation as in the case of landscape painting. A logical employment of kṣhaya and vṛiddhi would have implied oversecting. But the Indian artist cherishes every single form as a whole, as containing all he has to express and as containing the whole of nature—and so he cannot bring himself to cover and hide one of its parts.

Remains the employment of colour as indicated by the Vishṇudharmottaram and other sources. Five primary colours, white, yellow, black, blue, and of the emblic myrobalan according to our text (ch. 40), or white, red, yellow, black, green, (ch. 27) also according to our text and to the Nāṭyaśāstra; white, red, yellow, soot and syāma (dark, blue or black) according to the Śilparatna. The Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi (Ms. 12 ct. Mysore library) knows as pure colours, white made of conch—shell, red (prepared from red lead or from alaktaka juice, *i.e.*, lac, or from red chalk, gairika), green—brown (haritāla) *i.e.* sulphurated arsenic, and black from kajjala, (soot, used as eyeblack).

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[1] Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India V. 3, pp. 22-25.

[2] A photo taken before restoration of one of the female figures painted on the rock of Sigiriya shows the various manners of shading.

The mixing of these colours is left to the ingenuity of the artist. He may coat them with lac and resin. Colouring substances are : gold, silver, copper, mica, deep coloured brass, red lead, vermillion, tin, yellow orpiment, yellow myrobalan, lac, indigo and some kind of iron oxyde. Prescriptions for the preparation of these vegetable and mineral colours are given in the Śilparatna.[1] Red chalk for instance ought to be ground on stone and left covered with water for a day, red lead also ought to be ground and covered with water for half a day, red arsenic, however, should be made into powder but it should not be covered with water. Then the colours should be ground once more and again put into water for five days. Afterwards they should be mixed with the exudation of the Nimba tree, then at last they are ready to be applied on walls and in pictures.

Gold-leaf should be divided into finest leaflets, and then ground with a well smoothed stone; afterwards it has to be mixed with water and with a small amount of sand. When this paste is well ground it should again be put into water, so that all dirt may rise to the surface. The gold paste then should be pressed, mixed with vajralepa and applied with suitable brushes.

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[1] Śilparatna, ch. 46 vs. 119-130.

There were nine brushes for every colour.[1] When dry the artist should rub it slowly with a boar tusk until it becomes bright. Then again he may place over this very fine gold leaves and rub them with hard cotton. The same prescription is to be found in the Abilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi.

As to the preparation of the ground buffalo skin has to be boiled in water, until it becomes like soft butter. The water then has to evaporate and, sticks have to be made of the paste and dried in the sunshine. This hard plaster is called vajralepa.[2] If then boiled in a mud vessel with water, it will make any colour fast with which it is mixed. If mixed with white mud, it has to be used as coating for the wall, in three layers, each layer being allowed to dry before the application of the next. On this the painting may be applied.[3] Previous however to the process of the vajralepa coatings, the wall has to receive a thick coating consisting of bricks, burnt conches and the like powdered according to the Śilparatna, and mixed with sand, the watery preparation of molasses, and drops of the decoction of mudga, (phaseolus munga, mung pulse) amounting to a fourth part of the mortar powder. Into this, smashed ripe banana fruits have to be put, also a fourth part of the amount of the mortar. After three months, when this mixture has dried, it shall be ground again. Then it shall be mixed once more with molasses-water, until it gets the touch of fresh butter. In this stage it should be applied to the wall with a spoon, the wall having been cleansed with cocoanut fibres and having been sprinkled for some time with molasses water. This is the twofold process by which the wall is made ready for the drawing and theapplication of colours.

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[1] *Cf.* K. P. Jayaswal—A Hindu Text on Painting, Modern Review, XXXIII, p. 734.

[2] For the preparation of Vajralepa see Bṛhat Samhitā, Ch. 57, Abhilashitārtha Chintāmaṇi, verse 86 and following, and Śilparatna, vs, 131-133.

[3] For the preparation of the wall underneath the Vajra-lepa cover. *Cf.* Vishṇudharmottaram, p. III, Chap. 40, vs. 1 onwards and Śilparatna, verses 41-24.

The outlines ought to be drawn in yellow and red colour as a rule. "The painter should think of the proportionate size of the thing to be painted, and think of it as having been put on the wall. Then calculating its size mentally, he should draw the outline marking all the limbs. It should be bright in prominent places and dark in depressed places. It may be drawn in a single colour, where comparative distinction is required. If depressed places are required to be bright, jet black should be used." [1] The modelling capacity of the outline is also described in the Vhidhashalavaṁjikaṁ. This outline has to be filled with the first colour wash, which as a rule is white, but according to the Vishṇudharmottaram also may be green.

The colouring of things seen, says the Vishṇudharmottaram is true to nature; great emphasis is laid on the thousandfold mixtures of colours left to the imagination of the artist, and on the light and dark shade of every tone; the range of colours must have been wide enough to render with subtlety the local colour of objects. The different tribes and castes of India are thus distinguished as dark, when belonging to the Pulindas and people of the South, to Pāñchālas, Śūrasenas and Magadhas, to Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas, to Śudras,—to sick men and to family men engaged in toilsome work. Śakas, Yavanas, Pallavas and the Vālhikas should be predominantly white, and so are the twice-born and the Kṣatriyas, kings and prosperous people.[2] Yet those too are of dark colour who are oppressed by evil stars, and it is also clear that evil doers ought to be of a dark complexion. The colour thus has partly descriptive and partly suggestive significance. The dṛishṭam and adṛishṭam hold their sway; symbol and illustration are amalgamated into an expressive language, keenly alive to all those visual impressions that are on a small scale, obtrusively finite, and seem to carry their meaning expanded within their outlines, as local colour. But this ambiguity of the colour in its suggestive and descriptive faculty was clearly kept apart. While in a naturalistic and descriptive sense the sky, the atmosphere has to be painted as almost without any "special colour (Part III, Ch. 42), the sky on the other hand"[1] is of the colour of the blue lotus and wears a garment of that colour," if represented as a statue, when it should carry the sun and the moon in its hands. Colour symbolism however, underlies not only the painting of statues which, according to their sāttvic, rājasic and tāmasic aspect had to be painted white, red or dark, but was respectively selected for rasa-chitras, the pictures of emotions, which according to the Śilparatna formed a group by themselves distinct from the realistic paintings that were resembling what actually is seen in nature and looked like a reflex in a mirror (Śilparatna, vs. 145-147). Each rasa (emotion) had to be painted in its expressive colour, the śṛingāra (erotic) was of śyāma hue, the laugh-exciting (hāsa) of white colour, the pathetic (karuṇa) of grey colour, the furious (rudra) of red colour, the heroic, (vîra) of yellowish white colour, the fearful (bhayānaka) of black colour, the supernatural and amazing of yellow colour and the repulsive (loathsome, bhîbhatsā) of blue colour.[2]

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[1] Abilashitārtha chintāmaṇi, p. 60.

[2] V. dh. p. III ch. 27 cf. nāṭyaśāstra.

The expressionism of colours visualizes a temperamental attitude and is concerned with the wide range of emotions. Yet side by side with it, colour in its descriptive quality was made use of to a large extent.

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[1] V. dh. 62 Ch. verses 1-2.

[2] Nāṭyaśâstra, Ch. VI. verses 42-43.

It was not only known as local colour, distinctive of, and unchanging with, the various objects, but also its modifications due to light and surroundings were considered...." Vajra said: my curiosity (runs) high and I wish to hear (more) about the true and untrue colours of water, mentioned by you. Mārkaṇḍeya replied: The untrue colour of water resembles that of lapis lazuli. It is the effect of the reflexion of the sky in the water. But the natural colour of water is seen in the falling down of water falls; it resembles moonlight.[1]

The abstract and the realistic vision, which as a rule we hold apart as poles in the evolution of art, isolated from one another by gradual steps of development or by the sudden gap of reaction, are but the two sides of Indian art, contemporary and organic, for the obverse is turned towards that what lies outside, changeable, alluring in its variety and provoking observation, whilst the reverse faces the within, essentially unchangeable, because continually stirred by emotions, of which chetanā, the life movement is the common source. To do justice to them a language of symbols comprises colours and measurements in solemn hierarchy.[2]

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[1] Vishṇudharmottaram, Chapter 52, verse 10-12.

[2] The Vishṇudmottaram declares the rules for painting as valid also for sculpture, which either may be hollow or massive (Chapter 43,); worth noticing as an example of hollow sculpture is the use of skin, coated with clay and painted over. Hollow figures must have stood amongst other places also on the stage, where images of gods, demons, yakshas, elephants, horses, deer and birds were to be made of clay, wood, cloth, leather or iron (chapter 27, vs. 3-)

CANON OF PROPORTIONS.

VERTICAL. MEASUREMENTS.

	Vishṇudharmottaram		Bṛhat Saṁhitā		Śukranitisāra		Citralakshana		Uttamanavatāla	
	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava
Face	12	...	12	...	12	...	12	...	12	...
Uṣṇīsa—Keśānta (from the root of the hair—crown of the head)	2	...	22	...	...	...	...	...	3	...
Throat	4	...	...	...	4	...	4	...	4	...
Throat—heart	12	...	12	...	12	...	...	...	12	...
Heart—navel	12	...	12	...	12	...	...	...	12	...
Navel—penis	12	...	12	...	12	...	...	...	12	...
Thigh	24	...	24	...	24	...	25	...	24	...
Knee	3	...	4	...	4	...	4	...	4	...
Foreleg	24	...	24	...	24	...	...	...	24	...
Ankle—ground	3	...	4	...	4	...	4	...	4	...
Total	108	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

Measurements of the Face.

	Vishṇudharmottaram		Bṛhat Saṁhitā		Śukranītisāra		Citralakshana		Uttamamavatāla	
	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava
Width of head near the scalp	12	...	12	...	10	...	12	...	...	...
Forehead (width) ...	8	...	8	...	8	...	8	...	...	...
Forehead (height) ...	4	...	4	...	4	...	4	...	3	...
Temple (width) ...	4	...	4	6	...	...	...	...	...	...
Temple (height) ...	2	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Eye (length) ...	3	...	...	...	3	...	2	...	2	...
Eyebrow (length) ...	3	...	4	...	4	...	4	...	...	...
Eyebrow (width) ...	...	6	...	6	...	4	...	3	...	...
Distance between eyebrows	2	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
From the end of the eyebrow to the auditory passage	4	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...
Black orb of the eye (diameter)	1	...	...	8	...	8	...	...	...	5
Pupil (diameter) ...	$\frac{1}{5}$	...	$\frac{2}{15}$	...	...	...	...	...	...	1
Ear (width)	2	...	2	...	...	...	2	...	2	...

Ear (length) ...	4	...	4	...	4	...	4	...	7	...
Middle of the ear	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	1
Nose (length) ...	4	...	4	...	4	...	4	...	4	...
Nose (elevation of top)	2	...	2	...	1	4	2	...	...	...
Nose (width) ...	3	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	2	...
Nose-wing (length)	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...
Nose-wing (width)	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Middle part between nose and upper lip, (gōjī)	½	...	...	5	...	...	...	5	...	4
Mouth (width) ...	4	...	4	...	4	...	4	...	4	...
Upper lip (breadth)	1	...	...	6	...	4	1	...	...	5
Lower lip (breadth)	1	...	1	...	...	4	...	5	...	...
Teeth (width) ...	½	...	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	5
[8] large teeth (width)	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
[8] large teeth (height)	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Teeth sum total	40 teeth		...	...	...	...	40 teeth		32 teeth	
Chin (height) ...	4	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chin (width) ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	11	...
Cheek (height) ...	5	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...

Measurements of the Body.

... ...	Vishṇudharmottaram		Bṛhat Saṁhitā		Śukranītisāra		Citralakshana		Uttamanavatāla	
	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava
Neck (width)	10	...	10	...	...	...	10	...	8	...
Neck (girth)	21	...	21	...	22	...	...	...	24	...
Width of chest between arm-pits	16	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	12	...
Distance between clavicles ...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Distance between nipples ...	16	...	16	..	12	...	...	...	12	..
Girth of abdomen ...	42	...	42	...	...	...	...	...	42.	...
Navel diameter ...	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...
Pelvis (width)	18	...	18	...	...	...	...	...	16	...
Pelvis (girth)	44	...	44	...	...	...	...	...	48	...
Scrotum (width) ...	4	..	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...
Penis (girth)	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Penis (length)	6	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	5	...

Measurement of the legs.

	Vishṇudharmottaram		Bṛhat Saṁhitā		Śukranītisāra		Citralakshana		Uttamanavatāla	
	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava	Aṅgula	Yava
The width between the lines formed by the junction of the thighs with the abdomen ...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Knee (width) ...	8	...	8	...	...	...	8	...	...	...
Forepart of leg, beneath the knee (width)	12	...	14	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Forepart, of leg, beneath the knee (length)	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Forepart of leg, beneath the knee (girth)	15	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Heel (width)	3	...	...	...	...	...	3	...	4	...
Heel (height)	4	...	4	...	4	...	5	...	4	...
Sole of foot (length) ...	12	...	12	...	...	...	8	...	...	...
,, ,, ,, (width) ...	6	...	6	...	...	...	5	...	6	...
Great toe (length) ..	3	...	3	...	...	...	4	...	3	
Length of the other toes ...	3, $2\frac{7}{8}$, $2\frac{3}{4}$, $2\frac{5}{8}$	...	3, $2\frac{7}{8}$, $2\frac{3}{4}$, $2\frac{5}{8}$	...	...	...	2	...	$3\frac{1}{6}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{1}{3}$, $2\frac{1}{12}$	...

Measurement of arms and hands.

	Vishṇudharmottaram		Bṛhat Saṁhitā		Śukranîtisarā		Citralakshana		Uttamanavatāla	
	Añgula	Yava	Añgula	Yava	Añgula	Yava	Añgula	Yava	Añgula	Yava
Girth of arm round shoulder joint	16	...	16	...	16	...	...	...	16	...
Upper arm (length)	17	...	12	...	20	...	18	...	17	...
Fore arm (length)	17	...	12	...	16	...	18	...	...	...
Hand (length)	12	...	...	...	...	...	12	...	12	...
Palm (length)	7	...	7	...	7	...	7	...	7	...
Palm (width)	5	...	6	...	5	...	5	...	...	...
Middle finger (length)	5	...	...	...	5	...	5	...	5	...
Thumb (length)	3	...	...	...	3	...	4	...	...	...

TRANSLATION of Vishṇudharmottaram, part III.[1]

Part III. Chap. 2. Verses 1–9.

Vajra said: (Oh) sinless (one) speak to me about the making of images of Gods, so that (the deity) may remain always close by and may have an appearance in accordance with the śāstras.

Mārkaṇḍeya said: (Oh) Lord of men he who does not know properly the rules of chitra[2] can, by no means, be able to discern the characteristics of images.

Vajra said: (oh) propagator of the race of Bhṛgu narrate the rules of painting, as he who knows the rules of painting alone knows (its) characteristics in words.

Mārkaṇḍeya said: Without (a knowledge of) the science of dancing, the rules of painting are very difficult to be understood: Hence no work of (this) earth, (oh) king should be done even with the help of these two, (for something more has to be known).

Vajra said: Please speak to me about the science of dancing and the rules of painting you will tell me (afterwards) for, (oh) twice-born one, the rules of the science of dancing imply (those of) painting.

Mārkaṇḍeya said: The practice of (dancing) is difficult to be understood by one who is not acquainted with music. Without music dancing cannot exist at all.

Vajra said: (oh) you, who are conversant with dharma, tell (first) about music and (then) you will speak about the science of dancing (because) when (the former) is well known, (oh) best of the Bhṛgus, (a man) knows dancing too.

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[1] For assisting me with the translation I am indebted to Mr. Rakhahari Chatterjee, and to Mr. Akshaykumar Maitra for many valuable suggestions.

[2] Chitra, *i. e.*, sculpture in the round, relief and painting. *Cf.* Ch. 46, Śilparatna, and K. P. Jayaswal, a Hindu Text on Painting; Mod. Review, Vol. XXXIII.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : Without singing music cannot be understood. He who knows the rules of singing knows every thing properly.

Vajra said : (oh) best of those who support dharma, please speak to me about the science of singing as he who knows the science of singing is the best of men and knows everything.[1]

Part III. Chap. 27 verses. 7–26.

(Oh) king, I shall now speak to you about the preparation of the principal colours. (Oh) best of kings there are five principal colours, *viz.*, white (śveta), red (rakta), yellow (pîta), black (kṛishṇa) and green (harit). It would be impossible to enumerate the mixed colours in this world (which are produced by) the mixture of two or three (primary colours) and through invention of various states or conditions, (*i. e.*, shades or tones.) (Oh), best of kings, I shall speak now about the division of dark (śyāma) and white (gaura), which is due to the great suitability for getting mixed, of the different colours of this world ; from which the twofold colour of all is explained (*i. e.*, the light and dark shade of every colour).

Among these (colours) white (*i.e.*, the light shade) should be of five kinds and the dark of twelve kinds. Bright (gold) light (white), tooth-white, pure-sandal-white, autumn-cloud-white and autumn-moon-white, these five traditionally are called the fivefold white (light shade).

(The varieties of śyāma) should be: reddish-dark, mudga (brownish) dark, dūrvā sprout (greenish) dark and grayish dark too (oh) king, tawny dark and topas dark, Priyangu-creeper dark and monkey dark. Then come blue-lotus (nilotpala) dark and blue as the nîlakanṭha bird and purple-lotus (raktotpala) dark and cloud-dark.

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[1] Here follows a lengthy account of the science of singing, its history and origin, Part III. Chap. 27.

Their application is said to be in accordance with the colours of (the respective) objects and (they) gain in beauty by intermixture of colours.

Having ascertained with precision the colours of gods I shall speak now (about them). Among them, all those of whom I shall not say anything, should be painted white. Vāsuki[1] should be of śyāma (colour) and the nāgas should be white in the dvāpara (age) and the daityas, danavas, rākṣasas, guhyakas, piśachas are of the colour of water, without any glow (*lit.* unglowing by colour). People in the six islands should be of golden colour in the continent of Jambūdvipa, excepting one only, (namely) Bhārata, (oh) king. In Bhārata (people) born in many countries should be painted. Pulindas and the people of the Deccan are mostly dark by colour, (while) Śakas, Yavanas, Pallavas and those who are the Vālhikas born in Uttarāpatha should be predominantly white; Pāñchālas, Śūrasenas and those who are of Magadha, Aṅgas, Vaṅgas and Kaliṅgas are mostly dark. Twice-born (ones) should be painted of the colour of the moon and the Kṣatriyas of the colour of the padma (while lotus). Vaiśyas again (should be) (only) slightly light in colour and Śudras dark. Gandharvas and Apsaras are traditionally said to be and were (actually painted) in many colours. Kings and prosperous people are of the colour of the padma. The sick, the evildoers, those who are oppressed by evil stars, (or) (have) taken shelter in penance, and all family men engaged in toilsome work (should) again be dark.

The colour of things seen, should be painted resembling (their natural colouring).

Part III. Chap. 35, verses 1-18.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : From now I shall speak to you (oh) sinless (one) about the rules of chitra. While creating Urvaśī in days of yore, the rules of chitra (were evolved) by the sage Nārāyaṇa, (oh) son of the king, for the good of the worlds. The great sage for deceiving the divine damsels (already) mentioned,[1] created the most beautiful woman, taking the juice of mango tree. By means of (the science of chitra) she was endowed with beautiful form and became the best apsara. Seeing her all the celestial nymphs went away struck with shame. The great sage having thus created (the art of) chitra, with its rules, made the immovable Viśvakarma apprehend it.

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[1] Nāgaking.

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[1] Part I Chap. 129, verses 1 - 19. V. said : Tell me how Urvaśī was born and chose as husband a human king (though) of the lunar race. M. said : The two sages Nara and Nārāyana (of whom I had) spoken before, were Sādhyas, sons of Dharma and these two, who were formerly kings, oh descendant of Yadu, were very powerful, being partial incarnations of Vishṇu and were always engaged in penance. Their hermitage, charming, full of fragrant trees, auspicious with mild coolness of the winter, was called " the hermitage of Vadarī." There (flowed) the Ganges carrying its warm waters cooled and looking charming with gold and garlands of pebbles and with goldsand. There (was) the Vadarī, enchanting and always full of flowers and fruits. For the good of all mankind, they two, the lords of all people were engaged in severe penances there, they (who were) tigers among sages. While they were thus engaged in practising penances, apsarasas (born) of Manu, determined to cause hindrance to their penance, arrived there, wearing various ornaments.........Roaming amorously and at pleasure and culling flowers they all with eyes like those of the young deer, were seen by Nārāyaṇa, who, the best as he was of those versed in the Veda, could easily discern their purpose. He who had conquered anger and the god of love, possessed of great lustre, and versed in religion and (in the proper employment of) wealth, taking the juice of a mango tree, which excites amour, created the auspicious nymph with charming limbs by painting her on his thigh. The damsel, beautifully drawn, created out of the thigh through painting, in that very moment was endowed with large eyes. No goddess, no gandharvī, no wife of an asura and no nāga-damsel, no woman like her was (to be found) in the three worlds, that beautiful maiden. Having seen her, all the ten apsarasas (born) of Manu, went away in shame. Oh king, Purandara heard all this in detail and (driven) by curiousity he came to see that Vadarī hermitage. The thunder-bearing bowed to the feet of those two Sādhyas who always were (devoted to) religion and saw that (damsel) with auspicious limbs like another goddess Śri. Then the lord Sādhya smilingly said to Nārāyaṇa : "Oh one knowing religion, this (damsel) born of thigh (uru) should be Urvaśhi. Take her to heaven, she will be the most auspicious of the apsarasas. Being thus addressed he was delighted and then, duly saluting the two sages, took to heaven that goddess with eyes like those of the young deer.

In dancing as well as in chitra the imitation of the three worlds is enjoined by tradition. The eyes and the expressions, the limbs and their parts all over and the hands, have to be treated as aforesaid in dance, (oh) best of kings. They should be the same in chitra. Dancing and chitra are considered as (equally) excellent. Hence I am going to speak about that by which measurement in dancing was said (to be regulated). (But now please) listen: Fives types of men should be known, *i. e.*, Haṁsa, Bhadra, Mālavya, Ruchaka and Śaṣaka. I shall speak about their characteristics now. Equal in height and breadth[1] they are all to be known from (their respective) measurements. (Oh) king, the measurement of a Haṁsa is 100 aṅgulas, increased by 8, according to the measure of his own aṅgula; a Bhadra has only six aṅgulas more (than hundred). Then (oh) king, a Mālavya is 4 aṅgulas more (than hundred). A hundred is be said to the (measure ment) of a Ruchaka, and 10 aṅgulas less of a Śaśaka.

The space covered by 12 aṅgulas is called a tāla. The height of the feet up to the ankles is said to be three aṅgulas and the legs are two tālas (in measurement. The knees (in length) are equal to the feet, the thighs as long as the legs. From the navel to the penis the measure is one tāla. The same measurement (holds good) from the navel to the heart and from the heart to the throat. The throat should be one-third of a tāla and the face a tāla. The distance from the crown to the root of the hair (*lit.* between head and forehead) is said to be one-sixth of a tāla. In the middle (of the entire length of the figure) is the penis. Thus is explained the length.

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[1] [*i.e.*, the length of the body is equal to the length across the chest along the outstretched arms from the tip of the right, middle-finger to that of the left; the proportion remains the same in every case.]

The hand, (oh) king, (is) said to be a tāla (long), the arms (above the elbow) seventeen aṅgulas and the fore arms (just) as much. Half of the chest is 8 aṅgulas broad. (Oh) king, thus has been described to you the measurement of a Haṁsa according to breadth.

(An artist) should infer (the measurements) of others in accordance with this. In all cases the proportion between breadth and circumference is constant, oh lord of men, (*lit.* as regards breadth and circumference they are all equal). The measurement of a Haṁsa king has been told by me in outline, (oh) best of kings. (Oh) lion among kings, listen to the measurements in detail of each part of the limb to be told by me.

Part III, Chap. 36.

Mārkaṇḍeya said : now comes the division of limbs one by one. The head measures 12 aṅgulas in width. The forehead measures 8 aṅgulas and has an elevation of 4 aṅgulas. The temples measure 4 aṅgulas, their elevation (being) 2 aṅgulas. The cheeks (measure) 5 aṅgulas (in length), (and) the chin 4 aṅgulas. The ears (measure) 2 aṅgulas, their height (being) 4 aṅgulas. The middle of the ear (measures) 1 aṅgula.

The nose (measures) 4 aṅgulas, the elevation of its top (being) 2 aṅgulas, the breadth 3 aṅgulas. The nose wings are one aṅgula long and twice as high. The middle part between the nose and the (upper) lip, measures half an aṅgula, the (upper) lip an aṅgula and the mouth 4 aṅgulas (in breadth). The lower lip (is) an aṅgula and (the lower half of) the chin two aṅgulas. (There should be) 40 teeth, half of an aṅgula long, of which eight should be large teeth, $\frac{1}{12}$ th of an aṅgula in elevation ; a large tooth is one aṅgula broad. The eyes are three aṅgulas long. The black orb is $\frac{1}{3}$d of the eye and the (width of) the pupils $\frac{1}{5}$ th. The eye-brows are three aṅgulas long and $\frac{1}{2}$ an aṅgula wide and the distance between the two is two aṅgulas. From the end of the eyes to the ear holes (the distance amounts to) 4 aṅgulas. The neck is 10 aṅgulas wide and 21 aṅgulas in circumference. The distance between the nipples is 16 aṅgulas and that between the clavicles 6 aṅgulas. The circumference of the arm round the shoulder joint is 16 aṅgulas; the palm of the hand (is) 7 aṅgulas long, and 5 aṅgulas broad, the whole length of the hand being 12 aṅgulas. The middle finger (measures) 5 aṅgulas in length. The forefinger (is) shorter by the front most part than that of the middle finger and the ring finger (is) similar. The little finger (again is) shorter by the frontmost part than the ring finger. All have three knots at the same distance from one another. The nails are half the length of (the distance between) the knots. The thumb has only 2 knots and measures 3 aṅgulas. The circumference of the abdomen is 42 aṅgulas. The navel is one aṅgula according to the information to be gathered from (all) known sources. The breadth of the hip (is) 18 aṅgulas and its circumference 44 aṅgulas. The scrotums are 4 aṅgulas wide. As much in circumference the penis (is) 6 aṅgulas long—from the middle of that the thighs (are) four aṅgulas. The breadth of the knees (is) twice as much aṅgulas in expanse.

The breadth of the forepart of the leg beneath the knee (is) thrice of that; (the length being) 5 aṅgulas and the circumference 14 aṅgulas. The (soles of the) feet (are) 12 aṅgulas long and 6 aṅgulas broad; the large toes (is) 3 aṅgulas long. The toe next (to the large one) (is) similar to the large toe (in length) and the rest (are) less (in length) by an eighth part. The nail of the large toe (is) by a fourth part narrower than the breadth of the toe. The nail of the next toe (is) half of that, (the measure) of all other nails (is) an eighth part (less?) of that; (the sum total of?) all the toes of the feet is 8 aṅgulas in height. The heel (should be) three aṅgulas, its height (being) four.

This is the measurement of a Haṁsa....The measurements of the remaining best inhabitants of the earth are to be inferred in accordance with reason, by following this direction, and consistent with their own (respective) measurements.

A Haṁsa should be strong, with arms like the king of serpents, with a moon-white complexion, with sweet eyes, with a beautiful face and nice waist and with swan-like movements. A Bhadra should be high-souled, of the colour of the lotus, with elephant-like step, with a hairy forehead, with full-grown and taperingly round arms. A Mālavya (is) dark like the kidney-bean,'[1] with a body very beautiful on account of the slender waist, with arms reaching up to the knees, with broad shoulders, broad jaws and nose like that of an elephant (*i.e.* very prominent). A Ruchaka is said to be a truthful, high-souled, strong, and clever figure with a conch-like neck and autumn-white complexion.[2] A Śaśaka is said to be a clever (figure), reddish-dark and of a slightly variegated colour with full cheeks and sweet eyes.

Part III, Chap. 37, verses 1-17 :

Mārkaṇḍeya said : As there are five types of men, according to the measurement of the various limbs and their parts, so, (oh), best of men, it must be noted that there are five types of women. (Oh) lord of men, (each) women should be placed near her man. Every one (of them) should be made to reach the shoulders of the man (on her side) in proper proportion. The waist of a woman should be made 2 angulas thinner than that of a man. The hip (on the other hand) should be made wider, (by adding) 4 angulas. The breasts should be made (oh) king, charming and proportionate to the measurement of the chest.

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[1] Or Mudga pulse.

[2] Because the moon is whitish in autumn nights.

All kings should be (made) endowed with the marks of mahāpurushas and all sovereign rulers should be (made) with webbed hands and feet. And a circle of hair should be (drawn) auspiciously between their eyebrows. On the hands of kings should certainly be drawn three beautiful auspicious lines slenderly curving and resembling the scratches (made) by a hare.

The hair should be represented auspicious, fine, resembling the deep blue sapphire, adorned by its own greasiness and with the undulation of that essential requisite.[1] (The different) classes of hair are the following: (1) Kuntala, (loose) hair, (2) Dakṣināvarta, curled towards the right, (3) Taraṅga (wavy,) (4) siṁhakesara (mane like), (5) vardhara (parted) and (6) Jūṭaṭasara (matted).

An eye should be of the form of a bow or (like) the abdomen of a fish or like a petal of the blue lotus (utpala) or of the white lotus (padma), a fifth (oh) great king is said to be of the form of a grindstone.[2] As an eye of the form of a bow should belong to women (in general), so an eye of 4 yavas (in width) (is) called by the name of fish-abdomen. A blue-lotus-petal-eye (is) traditionally said to be 6 yavas and a red or white-lotus-petal eye is 9 yavas in measurement. So an eye of the shape of a grindstone should be 10 yavas. The measure of a yava should be calculated proportionate to the measurement of an aṅgula, which has its own standard.

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[1] For aṅga in the sense of essential requisite *cf.* Raghuvamsa 4.59 and 3. 46.

[2] Three words are used in three places: (1) śāna, (2) śaśa, (3) śāra, *i.e.*, grind-stone. hare, deer. As śaśa and śāra do not yield any sense, śāna may be read in all three cases.

The eye assumes the shape of a bow when looking at the ground in meditation. (An eye) of the form of a fish-abdomen should be painted (in the case) of women and lovers. An eye of the shape of the blue lotus petal is said to be of the ever-calm. An eye of the padma-petal shape befits the frightened and crying. An eye of grind-stone shape is in its place with the angry and woestricken.

Sages, ancestors (*i.e.*, manes) and gods, (oh) lord of men, should be made glowing and with ornaments consistent with their own colour and outshining (*lit.* robbing) the splendour of others who are lustrous. (Oh) best of kings, that (is) verily beautiful and devoid of crooked lines (which is) done as aforesaid with these measurements, suitable, unreproachable, in positions with various rays of light (स्थानैरनेककिरणैः) on them, within (appropriate) surroundings (*lit.* fixed grounds) (स्थिरभूमिलम्भैः) by the exertion of (the artist's) own intellect, after he has carefully considered (everything).

Part III, Chap. 38, verses 1-28:

Mārkaṇḍeya said: The eye (becomes) charming (when it is) like the blue lotus petal (utpalapatrābha), red at the corners and with black pupils, smiling, gentle and ending in long eye-lashes, (oh) best of men. The hands of gods, (oh) king should be conducive to the welfare of the people (*i.e.*, represented in a benevolent attitude). The eyes (should be) wide, with black pupils, adding beauty to the divine face, beautiful to look at, charming to the mind, smiling and with ends like those of blue lotus petals, with eye-lashes bent at the ends, of equal size, gentle and (with the white) of the colour of cow's milk.

The face beautiful all over should be fully developed: (it should be) well finished, benignant, marked with all the auspicious marks, not triangular and not crooked. One who wishes good to the people should discard (a too profuse employment of) large circles, triangles and other (geometrical shapes) when representing gods. (Oh) perpetuator of the Yadu race, gods should be represented according to the Haṁsa-measure. They should have hairs on their eye-lashes and eye-brows only, their body (however) should be entirely devoid of hairs. Those who live in heaven have always smiling faces and smiling eyes, and look like (youths) of the age of sixteen. They should be drawn wearing auspicious strings of garlands and ornamented by crowns, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, ornaments of the upper arm, long girdles reaching up to the ornaments on the feet, and sacred threads with ornaments for the head. Their shoulders should be broad. (Oh) tiger among men, (they) should be represented with beautiful loin-cloth on the left, reaching below the knee; the right knee (however) should be shown. The linen scarf, which the gods wear round the upper part of their body should (also) be executed beautifully. The halo should be drawn round their heads, proportionate to the measurement of the head and the colour of the halo-circle, (oh) great king, should resemble the colour of the deity. In their case an upward look, a downward look and also a sideward look should be discarded. The same applies to a too small, to a too big, to a depressed (looking) to an angry and harsh eye. It is said that look upward causes death, look downward causes sorrow, sideward look causes loss of wealth, too small eyes cause death, too large eyes cause sorrow and so do the depressed (looking) eyes, (oh) best of Kings. A harsh look causes loss of wealth and an angry look causes fear. (The image of a deity) should not be done with either shrunk or inflated abdomen or with wounds (an the body, oh) perpetuator of the

Yadu race. (It should not be) bent, of a rough colour, with an open mouth, or with limbs short of, or exceeding (appropriate) measurement, (oh) descendant of Yadus, (It should not fall) short of, or exceed (the prescribed) measurement, (oh) ruler of the earth. (cf. v. 6, ante, where it is said that images of goods should have the measurement of a Haṁsa). A shrunk abdomen is conducive to starvation and fear, and an inflated abdomen causes death. A body with wounds causes death, one that is too short brings about loss of wealth, one too long creates sorrow, and one with rough colour conduces to fear. (An image) with open mouth brings about the destruction of the whole race; nor should it be bent. A halo in the east causes loss of wealth, in the south death, in the west destruction of sons, in the north fear. (*i.e.* it ought to be behind and round the head). A nimbus short of measurement leads to destruction and one exceeding the appropriate measurement bespeaks ruin to the country. A rough (image) is said to cause death and an angry (one) destroys beauty. Even when (duly) invoked by the best of Brahmins, the gods never enter images short of (śāstric) measurements and devoid of the marks (lakṣaṇas) (of divine form); (but) demons, ghosts and hob-goblins always enter into them, and so great care should be taken to avoid shortness of measurements. (An image) possessed of all the beautiful marks is said to be excellent from every point of view. It adds to wealth, crops, fame and the length of life, yet when devoid of (those) marks (it) destroys wealth and crops, (oh) best of kings; gods always should be made beautiful, having gaits (like one of the following) animals, (*viz.*,) the lion, the bull, the elephant and the swan. Blessed (is) a work of art (endowed) with all (the śastric) marks, (as it brings luck) to the country, to the king and the maker (and is as the gods) long for it. An image, therefore, should be properly made by all men with great care, (endowed) with all (the śāstric) marks.

Part III. chap. 39. verses 1-32.

There are nine positions of variegated colours, with auspicious forms and gestures. Please listen to (all of) them in due order. The first should be the straight position (*lit.* derived from the straight, ṛijvāgatam, (ऋज्वागतं) the second (is) the non-straight (anṛiju), (अनृजु) then with a bent body (sāchîkṛitaśarîram) (साचीकृतशरीरं). Then comes (the position) with one eye (*lit.* with half eyes) (ardhavilochanam), (अर्धविलोचनम्) after that comes the side-view (*lit.* derived from the side, pārśvāgatam) (पार्श्वागतं) Then comes the "cheek-turned" position (parāvṛittam), (परावृत्तं)[1] then the back view, *lit.* derived from the back (pṛishṭhāgatam), (पृष्ठागतं) and (finally) the "turned round" position parivṛittam[2] (परिवृत्तं) and then (the one which is) thoroughly bending (samānatam) (समानतं).

In painting (bhūshite) these positions with many transitions (*lit.* distinctions) (from one to the other) are nine (altogether); now, (oh) king, hear from me, one by one, (what is) the nature of each of them (and how) it comes into existence.

The preeminent position amongst those (mentioned) in the beginning (of our enumeration) has a beautiful appearance[3] which is due to a (static) posture called ṛiju. In this way it is accompanied by the various organs of sense.[4] A very pleasing body, well finished and accompanied by distinct qualities of measurement

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[1] The text has Purāvṛittam, a copyist's slip for Parāvṛittam. *Cf.* verses 20-24.

[2] The text has Purāvṛittam which must be changed to Parivṛittam. cf. v. 26-28.

[3] Read instead of Kāntā rūpaṃ Kānta rūpaṃ.

[4] *i.e.*, in this way all the organs of sense (the 2 eyes, mouth, nose ears) are visible.

(*i.e.* well proportioned), very fine (in execution) and shaded with ornamental display of light and shade, faces the spectator; very pure, charming and adorned by manifold lines and embellishments, the portions on the back should be without forshortening (*lit.* diminished limbs).[1] The front view, face, chest and abdomen should also remain unforshortened, (undiminished) (The figures), (oh) intelligent one, grow narrower (*lit.* have attained thinness,) towards the waist from the thighs (as well) as from the shoulders. Their nose-wings and lips appear forshortened by a fourth part of their width (*lit.* a fourth part of nosewings and lips has been reduced to decay) and their limbs are forshortened by a third part (of their breadth).[2]

(3) What (looks) charming, due to the attainment of a curved posture (tirjak), well rounded, tender, all over (lit. all the four parts being) slender and conducive to (the beauty of all the limbs) is called, oh king, bent, on account of imitating the sky. (Its characteristics are:) Half of the eyes and of the forehead and also of the nose (are) shown. The eye that represents the half that remains after division (*i.e.* the one eye that is to be seen in profile) is forshortened (*lit.* suppressed) by artistic means and the eyebrow is also artistically suppressed (*i.e.*, forshortened) and (is) painted with gentle lines. The face is neither straight nor irritating, neither black nor shady.

(4) The next position is called "adhyardhākshaṃ." (अध्यर्धाक्षं) *i. e.*, 'ardhavilochanam' (with one eye). The signs were as follows and have a specific character. One eye in the face of the figure is shown (in full), half of the eyebrows are suppressed (*i. e.*, one eyebrow

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[1] *i.e.*, the back should be quite straight.

[2] The second position 'anṛiju' is not described; it is the reverse of the first one.

is not to be seen). The forehead and one eyebrow are visible, (*lit.* the only essential part of the rest of the face [that is] to be seen is the curve of the forehead in half its usual size and the curve of the eyebrow). The next visible part is half of the cheek from one side only while the other half is invisible, (*lit.* suppressed). Half of the usual length (*lit.* measure) of the lines on the throat and a yava only of the chin are shown. The navel, one aṅgula-less than the opening of the mouth, and three quarters (*lit.* half and half of that half) of the waist and other (parts) should be shown.

(5) That position occasionally is called chhāyāgatam, (छायागतं) *i.e.*, coming out of the shade, whose side is seen, either the right or the left, whose limbs and movements enter into quite a new (*lit.* different) constellation, of whom one eye only, one eyebrow, one temple, one ear and half of the chin and the hair should be (shown) and which is possessed of qualities like sweetness, grace, and proper proportion. It is (also) called " derived from the side (parśvāgatam.) (पार्श्वागतं) It should also be called : " on the wall" (bhittikaṃ) (भित्तिकं).

(6) This position is said to be " turned back by the cheek " (gaṇḍāparāvṛittam) (गण्डपरावृत्तं) whose limbs are not very sharply (delineated); it has appropriate measurement in (proper) place and has attained kṣaya (diminution) called " dark " in forehead, cheek and arm and also in the throat,—(*i.e.* these parts are vaguely discernible, as, they are lying in the shade)—(which is) artistically forshortened (*lit.* made slender)[1] and looks tender.

(7) In pictures and wall paintings, (that) is traditionally called " derived from the back" (pṛisṭhāgatam) which reveals a bodily frame attractive towards the back, with

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[1] Read instead of Kalakshîṇe, Kalākshîṇe (artistically slender).

muscles and joints like those of Śiva (Sarvajña) with a tortuous frown,—very calm and pleasing to the eye. One side only is seen; the chest, (one) cheek and the outer corner of the eye are only faintly shown. It is possessed of qualities like sweetness (mādhurya) and grace (lāvaṇya) and has (its appropriate) measurement.

(8) (A figure) whose upper part of the body should be turning back and only half to be seen on account of its reversed position with a face tainted by envy, whose upper and lower portion of the body should be somewhat lost in shade towards the front (while) the (lower) half (of the body) should be like that of a rustic, whose middle (is drawn) properly forshortened and agreeable to the eye, should be known as "turned round" ("Parivṛittam") and should be represented for (the purpose of) upholding (?), (oh) lord of men.

(9) But what is drawn with the buttocks in full view, with the soles of the feet joined, with half of the body faintly seen from above, with the part about the entire waist shown, with the two entire soles shown, with fore-shortened lower part of the toes, beautiful all round, well finished, not terrible-looking, with arms visible and head and trunk well joined, and bent down towards the legs, (*lit.* suppressed towards a part of the legs) (is known) by the name of Samānatam (thoroughly bending).

Part III, Chap. 39, verses, 34-51.

These positions should be drawn with care (accompanied), by qualities like māna (proportionate measurement, etc. (Oh) blameless (one), these nine positions (are) seen in all conditions. There is none besides and superior to these. I—who have always moved around the world, inhabited by creatures moveable and immoveable —(oh) sinless one, narrated in entirety the group of three, *i.e.*, kṣaya, (decrease), vṛiddhi (increase) and pramāṇa (proportionate measurement). (These again are) of two kinds, chitra (simple) and vichitra (variegated); (the latter) again is of three kinds according to the good result (obtained by) proportionate measure, whether it be uttama (full), madhya (middling) and adhama (small). Now I shall relate to you by degrees the rule (to be observed) in kṣaya and vṛiddhi (decrease and increase). This vṛiddhi as well as kṣaya, (being) without any (other) name known to the painters, and having (their) origin in the body and its various limbs, is said succinctly to be of thirteen varieties (here) and (varies) otherwise according to the manifoldness of the positions (*lit.* of manifestation). (The thirteen positions are):[1] visible from the back (pṛṣṭhāgatam) and belonging to the straight (ṛijvāgatam) then "half and half" (ardhārdham), "quartered middle" (madhyārdhārdham) and the "bent face" (sāchîkṛitamukham), bent (natam), "turned back by the cheek" (gaṇḍaparāvṛittam), and "derived from the back" (pṛṣṭhāgatam). Then should be known the position "derived from the side" (pārśvāgatam), as also "painted as going upwards" (ullepam) and "moving" (chalitam), and lastly "with the face upwards" (uttānam) and "turned round" (balitam). (Oh) king, all these positions are clearly indicated (*lit.* should be known) by their names. Herein the positions of the feet (are varied) by a series of motions like pratyālîḍha (*i.e.*, with the left knee advanced and the right knee retracted), vaiśākha, (*i.e.*, with feet a span apart). The legs again are straight or half straight, standing or moving. The positions of the straight and non-straight legs should be of two kinds. Thus the position characterised by legs standing is traditionally called samapadaṁ (straight-leg), (while) the second (type) should be maṇḍalam (in circular motion).

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[1] The thirteen positions are an interpolation. The first and the eighth position moreover are identical.

Other positions than these are with one leg straight, varied and unsteady. Among these are vaiśākha, (the feet being a span apart), ālîḍha, the right knee advanced and the left leg retracted, and pratyālîḍha the left knee advanced, the right one retracted, those being (typical) positions of the bowmen. Uneven motion in curves characterises the sword—and shield—carriers. Persons carrying a pike, a spear, (with bamboo handle) a stone javelin, a sting and other instruments walk with difficulty and with one leg in āliḍha position. (Persons) who carry wheel, a spear, a club and a (steel) javelin walk (in a sort of) gallop. The flight (*lit.* running away) of stout men is in some cases depicted with one leg in a straight position and with the other (placed in such a way that) the wanton body should be (shown) with the neck stretched forward. The learned painter should paint a female figure with one foot calmly advanced, with the part about the hips and loins broad and flurried, on account of amorous dalliance. A figure devoid of pramāṇa (proportionate measure) is bound to suffer in the opinion of the passing ages and their (varying) taste inclinations (*lit.* through the force of time and sentiment). Having this in mind, proportionate measurement should be employed by a learned artist with (the help of) his own intellect, in unison with kṣaya and vṛiddhi.

Part III, Chap. 40, Verses 1-30.

Brick powder of three kinds has to be mixed with clay, one third part (in amount of the brick powder). Having mixed saffron with oil (one) should mix (*lit.* place) (with it) gum resin, bees wax, liquorice, molasses and mudga[2] preparation in equal parts. One-third part of burnt yellow-myrobalan should be added therein. Finally the astringent made of the Bel-tree (*Feronia elephantum*) destructive (of all injurious agents) mixed in the proportion of two to one should be added by an intelligent artist and also a portion of sand, proportionate to the amount of the whole. Then the artist should drench (this mixture) with moist split pulse dissolved in water. The whole of this moist preparation has to be kept in a safe place for one month only. (After) the moisture has evaporated within a month a skilful (artist) should put (this) dried (yet still damp) plaster on the wall, having carefully considered (everything). It should be plain, even, well distributed, without ridges or holes, neither too thick nor too thin. Should it (look) ill done after having become (quite) dry (due to shrinkage), then it ought to be carefully smoothed by coatings of plaster (made) of that clay (as mentioned before) mixed with resin of the Śāl-tree (*Shorea robusta*) and with oil. (It is further made) smooth by (repeated) anointing, constant sprinkling with water and by careful polish. (O) lord, when this wall has promptly dried, it does not go to ruins anywhere even at the end of a hundred years.

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[2] *Phaseolus munga* Murukam most probably in a mistake for mudgakám. *Cf.* Silparatna. Ch. 46.

By this means various jewelled floors can be made of variegated texture in twofold colours. In painting with care on a wall, dry, brilliant and smooth, an artist devoted to his master, should begin his work on an auspicious day, with his face towards east, thinking of God, having worshipped and bowed down to Brahmins and preceptors who know this (*i.e.*, painting) well, uttering svasti (success!), clad in a white garment and restrained in his soul. Then the learned artist should draw (outlines) with unoozing black and white brushes in due order and fix them on the duly measured ground. These then should be filled with colours in appropriate places. Green as well as white is the colour in general (applied as first coating ?). (One) should show that (very clearly). The characteristics of that (*i.e.* of the colours) (already) had been described in detail (Chap. 27, verses 7-26.) Primary colours are said to be five: white, yellow, of the colour of the emblic myrobalan, black and blue. (Oh) best of kings, intermediate (colours) are traditionally said to be hundred-fold. (But an artist) should (*lit.* divide) mix the primary (*lit.* full) colours according to his own logic and imagination and make thousandfold (what is) hundredfold. If the blues are transformed a great deal, green colour is produced. It is either pure, with an admixture of white, or blue-predominating. One or more (of these shades) are (used) as it is suitable to the (special) painting. Blue (too) is of three kinds: with white predominating, with very little white or with both in equal parts. Thus it is variously transformed by being connected with any thing applied as an astringent. Thus beautiful (*lit.* auspicious) paintings should be made yellowish like the dūrvā sprouts, green like the wood apple and dark like the kidney-bean. Blue tinged with yellowish-white (becomes) changed in colour and of various kinds according as either of the two (constituents) is (present) in greater or smaller degree or in equal parts. For that reason the blue-lotus-colour (nilotpalanibhā) appears beautiful when partly shaded dark like the māṣa. By proper selection and distribution of colours paintings become delightful. A painting in red and dark like the red lotus (raktotpala) becomes beautiful when combined with white lac, covered by a coating of lac and resin. The latter also transforms various other colours.

(Oh) king, colouring articles are gold, silver, copper, mica, deep coloured brass, red lead, tin, yellow orpiment, yellow myrobalan, lac, vermillion and indigo too, oh best of men. There are many other similar colouring substances, oh great king, in every country; they should be prepared with an astringent. A fluid should be made of iron leaves. A mica defile placed in iron should serve as a distiller. In this way iron becomes suitable for painting. In the (work called) Surasendrabhumija a decoction of hides was said to be a distiller of mica. . . . In the case of all colours the exudation of the Sindūra tree is desirable. A painting, firmly drawn with a magnificent hairy brush (*lit.* tail) on a canvas (dipped in) the juice of the best dūrvā grass cannot be destroyed and remains (intact) for many years though washed by water.

Part III, Chap. 41, verses 1-15 :

Mārkaṇḍeya said : Painting is said to be of four kinds —(1) "true" (to life) (satyam) (2) "of the lute player" (vaiṇikam) (3) "of the city" or "of common man" (nāgaram) and (4) mixed (miśram). I am going to speak about their character (now). Whatever painting (bears) a resemblance to this earth, with proper proportion tall in height, with a nice body, round and beautiful, is called "true (to life)." That is called vaiṇi kam (which) is rich in the display of postures, maintaining strict proportions, placed in an exactly square field, not phlegmatic not (very) long and well finished. That painting should be known as nāgaram, which is round, with firm and well developed limbs with scanty garlands and ornaments. (Oh) best of men the miśram derived its name from being composed (of the three categories).

Methods of producing light and shade are said to be three:—

(1) Crossing lines (*lit.* lines in the form of leaves, patraja), (2) by stumping (airika) (3) by dots (vinduja). The first method (of shading) was called (patraja) on account of lines in the shape of leaves. The "airika" method we call so because (it is) said to be very fine. The

"vinduja" method was called so from the restrained (*i.e.*, not flowing) handling of the brush.

Indistinct, uneven and inarticulate delineation, representation of the human figure with lips (too) thick, eyes and testicles (too) big, and unrestrained (in its movements and actions) such are the defects of chitra (pictorial art). Sweetness, variety, spaciousness of (back) ground (bhūlamba), proportionate to the position (sthāna) (of the figure), similarity (to what is seen in nature), (and) minute execution are mentioned to be the (good) qualities of chitra. (Oh) best of men, in works of chitra delineation, shading, ornamentation and colouring should be known as decorative (*i.e.* as the elements of visualisation). The masters praise the rekhās (delineation and articulation of forms) the connoisseurs praise the display of light and shade, women like the display of ornaments, the rest of the public like richness of colours. Considering this, great care should be taken in the work of chitra, so that (oh) best of men, it may be appreciated by every one. Bad seat, thirst, inattentiveness, and bad conduct are the root evils (in the painter) that destroy painting. In a work of painting the ground should be well chosen, well covered, very delightful, pleasant in every direction and its surface (*lit.* space) should be well coated (*lit.* annointed). A painting should be then very beautiful, when a learned (artist) paints it with golden colour, with articulate and (yet) very soft lines, with distinct and well arranged garments and lastly not devoid of the beauty of (proportionate) measurement.

Part III. chap. 42, verses 1-84.

Mārkaṇḍeya said: A king (ruler of the earth) is to be depicted just like a god. In the case of kings (however) the hair on the body should be drawn one by one. Sages, gandharvas, daityas, dānavas, ministers, the brahmins (in general), Saṁvatsara (*i. e.*, Śiva), and the family priest (purohita) should have the size of a Bhadra, (oh) lord of men. Sages should be represented with long tresses of hair clustered on the top of their head, with a black antelope-skin as upper garment, emaciated, yet full of splendour. Gods and gandharvas should be represented without crowns but with crests (oh) great king! Brahmins should be represented with white garments, and emitting divine splendour, (oh) great king. An artist should draw ministers, Saṁvatsara, and the family priest adorned with all ornaments and diadems. Daityas and dānavas should have frightening mouths, frowning faces, round eyes and (one) should represent them with gaudy garments though without crown. Oh lord of the earth, their dress should be of the uddhata style (haughty). (Oh) King, Vidyācharas should be of the size of a "Rudra"[1] with garlands and ornaments and accompanied by their wives. They should be shown either on land or in the air and with swords in their hands. Kinnaras, rāksasas and nāgas should be of the size of a "Mālavya." (Oh) lord of men, yakṣas (should have) the size of a "Ruchaka." (The artist) should represent the chief amongst men with the size of a Śaśaka. Piśāchas, dwarfs, hunch-backed men, pramathas and (those) who enjoy the earth, should be represented consistent with the rules of (proportinate) measurement and in accordance with the rules of rūpa (creative form). The females are traditionally said to be suited to the measure (of the male type). Kinnaras are said to be of two kinds, (some) with human faces and horse bodies, and others again are said to be with horse-faces and human bodies. Those with horse-faces should be decorated with all ornaments, with splendour and musical instruments.

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[1] Printing mistake for Bhadra.

Rākṣasas should look terrible with the hair erect and bewildered eyes. The nāgas should be fashioned in the shape of the gods (with the difference that) they should wear snake hoods. All yakshas are said to be decorated with ornaments and they have been dealt with by me (already). No special measure is fixed for the pramathas among the suras (*i. e.*, gods) nor for the piśāchās. Gaṇas among the gods should have the faces of various creatures and should wear various sorts of dresses and weapons, engaged in various pastimes and sports, (oh) great king. But the gaṇas of Vishṇu should all have the same outward appearance, and still there should be made four divisions of them. The gaṇas of Vāsudeva should be represented shining and similar to Vāsudeva. The gaṇas of Saṁkarshaṇa, Pradyumna and Aniruddha again are similar to each of them and carry the weapon (of the special manifestation of Vishṇu) and his expression. Prostitute women should have the size of a "Ruchaka." (They should be painted) with vermillion or emerald colour, moonwhite (in complexion) or dark like the petals of the blue lotus. The dress of prostitutes should be unrestrained (uddhata), calculated to excite erotic feeling. Women of good family should be made bashful and of the size of a "mālavya" wearing ornaments and not very showy dresses. The wives and mothers of daityas, dānavas, yakṣas and rākṣasas ought to be according to the rules (laid down for their men). The same holds good for the wives of pisachas. Widows are to be shown with grey (hair) wearing white clothes and devoid of all ornaments. A hunch-backed, a dwarfish and an old woman also should be (represented) in (their) natural condition. Amongst a host of royal wives an old chamberlain should be represented.

A vaiśya should be of the size of a "Ruchaka" and a śudra of the size of a śaśaka. (Oh) lord of men, these two should (have) dresses suitable to their caste. Wives of daityas should always have attendant women. By one who knows painting, the commander of an army should be represented (as) strong, proud, tall, with fleshy shoulders, hand and neck, with big head, powerful chest, prominent nose and broad chin, with eyes raised up towards the sky, and with firm hips. (Oh) great king, soldiers should generally be painted with frowns on their faces. Foot-soldiers should be represented with short and showy uniforms; they should have arrogant looks and carry weapons. Swordsmen and shieldmen should ber of the karṅāṭaka type. The good archers and bowmen should have naked legs. Their dress should not be very short and they should wear shoes. Elephants, horses and such other animals should be possessed of the marks described. Elephant-riders should have a swarthy complexion, their hair should be tied in a knot, they should wear ornaments as well. The uniform of the cavalry should be of the northern type. Bards should have a resplendent dress, their look should be directed upward and the veins on their neck should be shown; heralds should be drawn tawny and squint-eyed, slightly resembling the danavas, and as a rule carrying staffs in their hands. In a fight (one) should not represent the squint-eyed and the tawny (heralds). The doorkeeper is known by the sword hanging by his side. He holds a staff in his hand, does not look very mild and his dress is not too conspicuous. Merchants should be represented with their heads covered on all sides by turbans. Musicians, dancers and those who can correctly regulate the sound of musical instruments should wear a gorgeous dress, (oh) best of men. The most respectable people of country and town should be painted with almost grey hair, adorned with ornaments suitable to their rank, wearing white garments, stooping forwards, ready to help and with a mien calm by nature. Artisans should be represented eager in the pursuit of their respective crafts. Wrestlers should be drawn with broad shoulders, fleshy limbs, thick neck, head and lips, with closely cropped hair, arrogant and impetuous. Bulls, lions and other animals should be represented in appropriate surroundings as they are seen in nature, (oh) lord of men. I have given hitherto the full description of the appearance of objects not (usually) seen. Things that usually are visible to all, should be represented well resembling (what is seen in nature). The chief (aim) of painting is to produce an exact likeness. Men should be painted according to their country; their colour, dress and (general) appearance should be well observed. Having carefully ascertained the country, employment and place (of occupation) and the work (a man is engaged in), seat, bed, conveyance and dress should be drawn (correspondingly), (oh) lord of men.

Rivers should be represented in human form, with their conveyances (vāhanas). Their knees should be bent and their hands should hold full pitchers. (Oh) best of men, in representing mountains an artist should show the peak on the head (of the personification). The representation of islands makes the earth beautiful. (Oh) best of men, seas should be drawn with hands carrying jewel—vessels, and (the artist) should depict water in the place of the halo and further he should partially show the signs of weapons on their heads. When representing a tank (the artist) should show a pitcher and when representing a conch-shell, (he shall show) a conch-shell. (Oh) best of kings, of a lotus, a lotus (should be depicted) and of all other things representations (should be drawn) resembling (what is seen in nature). • Every part of the object to be represented should agree with the general treatment of the whole object. Of divine beings an artist should show as a distinctive mark the rosary and the book.

Now I am going to speak about the appearance of things actually seen. A learned (artist) should show the sky without any special colour and full of birds (oh) king, similarly (the artist) should show the firmament adorned by stars and the earth with its vegetation in all its variety (*lit*: with all its distinctive attributes). (Oh) best of kings, (an artist) should show a mountain by a cluster of rocks, peaks, (with) metal (-veins) trees, waterfalls and snakes. A learned (artist) should show a forest by various sorts of trees, birds and beasts. (He should show) water by innumerable fishes and tortoises, by lotuses and other aquatic animals and plants. A learned (artist) should show a city by beautiful temples, palaces, shops, houses and lovely royal roads. An artist should show a village by its boundaries containing sparingly gardens. Fortresses should be shown with battlements, ramparts, high mounts and entrances in their enclosures. Markets should be shown containing articles of merchandise; drinking places should be represented full of men engaged in drinking, and those engaged in gambling should be drawn devoid of upper garments,—the winners merry and the losers full of grief. The battlefield has to be shewn as containing four divisoins of the army (*i.e.*, elephant corps, cavalry, chariot corps and infantry), with soldiers engaged in fighting, strewn with corpses and besmeared with blood. The burning ground should be represented with funeral piles and dead bodies. (A painter) should represent a road, with caravans consisting of camels and other (animals) carrying burdens. The night should be shown with moon, planets and stars, with approaching thieves and men (fast) asleep and others engaged in wordly pleasures (*lit*, showing what is of the world.) In the first part of the night women are to be shown going out to meet their lovers. The (breaking of the) dawn is to be shown by the rising sun, the lamps (looking) dim and crowing cocks. Or a man should be drawn as if ready for work. The evening is to be shown by its red glow and by brahmins engaged in controlling their senses. The (setting in) of darkness has to be shown by men approaching their abodes. That the moon is shining should be shown by the kumuda flower in full bloom, while the many petals of the lotus flower should be closed. When depicting a shower of rain, (that it is) raining should be shown by a man well covered. That the sun is shining should be shown by (drawing) creatures suffering from heat. (An artist) should represent spring with merry men and women, by "laughing" vernal trees, with bees swarming about and cuckoos.

The summer has to be shown with dried pools, with languid men, with deers seeking the shade of trees, and buffaloes burying themselves in mud. An artist should show the rainy season by flashes of lightning, beautified by rainbows accompanied by heavily laden clouds, birds perched on trees and lions and tigers sheltered in caves. A painter should paint the autumn with trees heavy with fruits, the earth (covered) with ripe corn (-fields) and with tanks beautified by lotuses and swans. The "dewy" season (hemanta, the approach of winter) a learned artist should show by frost on the horizon, with the earth lopped (of her crops) and the ground covered by dew-drops. A learned (painter) should paint the winter with the horizon shrouded in hoar-frost, with shivering men and delighted crows and elephants.

(Oh) lord of men seasons should be represented by trees in flowers and fruits and creatures delighted (or otherwise) and by looking at nature. Sentiments and expressions should be represented as spoken of already. (An artist) should also suitably employ herein what was said about dancing.[1] A painting in which an object is devoid of shading (varttanā) is called 'mediocre,' (madhyamam). A picture which in some parts is shaded and in others remains without shading is 'bad,' (adhamam). A picture shaded all over is 'good' (uttamam). (A painting in which) everything is drawn in an acceptable (form) in its proper position, in its proper time and age, becomes excellent, while in the opposite case it becomes (quite) different. A painting drawn with care, pleasing to the eye, thought out with supreme intelligence and remarkable by its execution, beauty, charm (*lit.* amorous pastime), taste, and such other qualities, yields the desired pleasure.

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[1] In another Chapter of the Vishnudharmottaram.

Part III, Chap. 43, verses 1-39.

Mārkaṇḍeya said: The sentiments (rasa) represented in painting are said to be nine, *viz.*, śṛiṅgāra (erotic), hāsya (laugh-exciting), karuṇa (pathetic), vīra (heroic), roudra (furious), bhayānaka (fearful), bîbhatsa (loathsome), adbhūta (strange and supernatural) and śānta (peaceful).

That which shows beauty and nicety of delineation of form, and dress and ornaments according to the taste of the learned, becomes the śṛiṅgāra rasa. Whatever is dwarf-like, hunch-backed, or otherwise deformed in appearance with unnecessary shortness of hands should be laugh-exciting in sentiment. (A painter) should depict in the "pathetic sentiment" what is pity-exciting in adversity, sale, abandonment, separation, mendicancy and such other circumstances. Harshness, anger, slaughter—these things befit the "roudra" in which there should be flashing weapons and bright ornaments. Display of prowess arising out of a firm determination, coupled with the look of nobleness, with perhaps a smile on the lips, and a slight frown appertains to the "heroic." Wicked, hard-looking and almost mad vindictiveness, bent on killing appertains to the fearful rasa of painting. That painting (which depicts) a terrible position (*i.e.* a scene of execution) and (is) loathsome on account of the (representation of the) cremation ground, should be the best of all paintings in (showing) the bîbhatsa sentiment. Whenever (a painting) depicts (lit. shows) thought and a slight horripilation (and) the submissive face of Tarkshya and other (similar figures), it is indicative of the adbhūta sentiment. Whatever is shown benign in appearance, in meditation, and in postures and seats suited to the same, full of ascetic people, appertains to the śānta rasa.

Pictures to embellish homes should belong to śringāra, hàsya and śānta rasa. The rest should never be used (in the house) of anyone. (But) in the palace of a ruler and in the temple of a god all the sentiments may be represented. (Yet these representations) should not be made in the residential quarters of the ruler. They should however be painted in that part of the palace of kings which is occupied by the assembly houses. Except in assembly (halls) of kings and in temples, the inauspicious, (as for instance) bulls with horns (immersed) in the sea, and (men) with their hands (sticking out of) the sea (whilst their) body (is) bent (under water), men (with) ugly features, or those inflicted by sorrow due to death and pity, war and the burning ground, should never be depicted. (Oh) great king, Vidyādharas, the nine gems[1] sages, Garuḍa, Hanumān and all those who are celebrated as auspicious on the earth, should always be painted in the residential houses of men. (Oh) king in one's own house the work of painting should not be done by oneself. Weakness or thickness of delineation, want of articulation, improper juxtaposition of colours are said to be defects of painting. (Proper) position, proportion and spacing, gracefulness and articulation, resemblance, decrease and increase (kṣaya and vṛiddhi) (*i. e.*, foreshortening) these are known as the eight (good) qualities of painting. Painting which has not (the proper) position, devoid of (the appropriate) rasa, empty to look at, hazy with darkness and devoid of life-movement (chetanā)—is said to be inexpressive. One that seems as if dancing by its posture or appears to look frightened, laughing or graceful, thereby appears as if endowed with life, as if breathing. These pictures are (considered) of an auspicious type. (A painter) should make his (painting) to be without darkness and emptiness. No (painting depicting a), figure with defective limbs, covered all over with hair, overwhelmed with fear due to internal disease, or smeared with a yellow pigment (ought to be executed). An intelligent artist paints what looks probable (*lit.* what commands trust), but never what transcends it. (Oh) lord of men, a painting (by) the skilled, the righteous and those (who are) versed in the śāstras brings on prosperity and removes adversity very soon. A painting cleanses and curbs anxiety, augments future good, causes unequalled and pure delight, kills the evils of bad dreams and pleases the household deity. The place where a picture is firmly placed does not look empty.

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[1] The nine gems of Kuvera, *i. e.*, Padma, Mahā Padma, Śankha, Makara, Kachhapa, Mukunda, Kunda, Nîla, and Kharba.

He who paints waves, flames, smoke and streamers fluttering in the air according to the movement of the wind should be considered a great painter. He knows chitra who makes one portion of the body lower than the other,[1] who (represents) the dead devoid of life-movement and the sleeping possessed of it. In painting (one) should carefully avoid, in the case of all these, placing one (figure) in front of another. In every case (their) regular succession is praise worthy.

[1] To suggest the 3rd dimension.

Oh lord of men, the same rules as applied to painting also refer to carving in iron, gold, silver, copper and other metals, and also (to) images made of iron, stone and wood. The same rules that are valid for painting are also applied to clay-modelling. It is said to be of two kinds: ghana and suṣira, massive and hollow. Iron, stone, wood and clay may be worked massively; skin, brass, and iron may be worked hollow. (In the latter case) a thick superimposition of clay has to be given to the skin and the painting has to be executed on it as on a canvas.

In this treatise only suggestions were given (oh king), for (the subject) could never be described in detail even in many hundred years. Whatever had not been said here, should be inferred from (the rules of) dancing, (oh) lord of the earth; whatever is not noted in (the rules of) dancing should not be made use of here (either), (though) it be interesting, (oh) lord of men.

Painting is the best of all arts, conducive to dharma, and emancipation. It is very auspicious when placed in a house. As Sumeru is the best of mountains, Garuḍa, the chief of birds, and a lord of the earth the most exalted amongst men, so is painting the best of all arts.

STELLA KRAMRISCH

DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI LITERATURE, 1850-1900

The year 1850 is the year in which *Bhārâtendu Haris Chandra* was born and marks the beginning of an era in which a new development set in in Hindi literature. The influence of the British rule on Hindi literature may be traced back to the third decade of the 18th century, when the printing press was introduced into India. The peace which the British Government brought in its train was an important factor in the development of the vernacular literature of the country. The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 had no concern with the learned community and in no way influenced Hindi literature.

The new influence on Hindi language and literature has been in evidence since the time of *La luji lāl* and *Sadal Miśra* in the beginning of the 19th century. Indeed the modern Hindi language (Khariboli or High Hindi) may be regarded in a manner as the creation of the above two Pandits.

We get a glimpse of Khariboli in some *dohās* of *Amir Khusru*. The poet *Sital* (1773) wrote his Gulzārchaman in praise of Lāl Behāri in a language which is a near approach to Khariboli. Modern Khariboli begins from *Lalluji lāl*. But his language was not the same as that which is in use now. He used many Brajabhāshā words and forms in his language. This style has changed, and has become more and more Sanskritised. For a time the language did not seem in any way different from Urdu. Arabic and Persian words had by this time entered copiously into the language of the people and had become so familiar to them that any substitution of Sanskrit words for them made the language look like a foreign language. Rājā *Śiva Prasād* tried to make a compromise between Urdu and Hindi by writing his books in a mixture of the two languages. But there was still a preponderance of Arabic and Persian words, which made the language of *Śivaprasād* unpopular. The first chaste writer of Khariboli prose was *Bhāratenduji.*

Hitherto there were few writers of prose. *Gorakhnāth* is said to have written a work in prose in the fourteenth century as also *Gangā Bhāt* in the time of Akbar. *Viṭṭhal Nāth* wrote Mundan, and his son, *Gokul Nāth*, the Chaurasi Varta in prose in the 16th century. *Jheṭhmal's* Gorā Bādal and *Damodar Dās's* Markundeya Puran were prose works written in the 17th century. The next prose writers were *Lalluji lāl* and *Sadal Miśra.* There were indeed some commentaries of works, written in prose, but their language was very awkward.

Before the middle of the 18th century Hindi dramatic literature was almost unknown. The few dramas that were written before this time had no exits and entrances and other essentials of a drama and could not be called dramas in the real sense of the word ; take for instance *Dev Kavi's* Deva Māyā Prapanch (1700), Sakuntalā of *Newāj* (1700) and Prabodh Chandroday of *Brajabāsidās* (1700). The first real play Nahush Nātak was written in 1843 by *Gopal Chandra,* father of *Haris Chandra.* Next came the Sakuntala of *Rājā Lakshman Singh* (1862). Then followed the 19 dramas of Haris Chandra, of which Satya Haris Chandra and Chandrāvali are the best. Later play-writers were *Srinibās Dās, Totā Rām, Gopāl Rām, Kāsināth Khatri, Purohit Gopināth, Lālā Sitā Rām* and a few others.

A new impetus was given to Hindi literature by the introduction of new ideas derived from contact with Englishmen and from the introduction of English education. By the establishment of the railway and telegraph, communication among the people of the several parts of the country became easier. There was exchange of thought and creation of new ideas. These found their vent through the press, till by and by the press became a potent factor in the dissemination of new thought. There was a struggle for existence unknown before. A national feeling was aroused in the minds of the educated community. People became eager for political rights and privileges. There was a desire to learn the arts and industries. And thus books on various subjects began to be composed. There was no longer a dearth of subjects as in the previous ages. Though in the previous centuries there were very great poets who acquired celebrity by their native genius, there were others who had no originality and were only imitators of greater poets. The subjects on which poetry was written were confined to a limited number of subjects. (1) The Bardic poets wrote in praise of the great men who were their patrons. (2) The Deistic Bhakti poets wrote on Morals. (3) The Rāmait Bhakti poets wrote on incidents connected with the life of Rām. (4) The Krishna Bhakti poets wrote on the boyhood and amours of Krishna. (5) Numerous poets wrote on the art of poetry. (6) A large number of poets wrote on prosody. (7) Many writers wrote on love and the pangs of separation. (8) Several writers wrote on Nāyāk Nāyikā Bhed. (9) There were writers on Nakhshikh. (10) Some writers wrote on Niti. (11) Some wrote on heroic subjects. (12) There were also annotators on the above subjects. These were about the only subjects on which Hindi poetry was written before the time of *Haris Chandra.*

But by the time of *Haris Chandra* the subjects of composition were no longer limited. There was a greater tendency to write prose than to write poetry. The Arts, Sciences, Mathematics, History, Biography, Travels, Fiction, Commentaries, Criticisms are now matters the authors deal with. The most common and prolific subject of composition now is patriotism. Bhārat Mātā is being done to death by the poets. Modern writings find their vent in independent publications and through magazines and newspapers.

The modern tendency is to write poetry in Kharibcli. There is a large importation of Sanskrit words both in poetry and prose. Poetry seems now to be at a discount. Moreover

Khariboli has not yet been found suitable for poetical composition. In Brajabhāshā the words could be changed freely and adapted to requirements, but this cannot be done when Khariboli is used. Brajabhāshā seems, therefore, to be more suitable for verse than Khariboli. But if poets continue to use Brajabhāshā for poetry, then the language of poetry will be quite distinct from that of prose. This is a difficulty which requires serious consideration. Poets of Khariboli have not been able to keep themselves free from श्रुतिकटुदोष and यतिभङ्गदोष. But this is natural in an age of transition.

The following is a brief summary of the writers and their works from the middle of the 19th Century—some of these were born before 1850 but wrote after that date:

I have already mentioned the dramatists of the period.

Lalit Kishori and his brother *Lalit Mādhuri* wrote poems in Brajabhāshā. *Nabin*, who imitated *Padmākar*, was a fairly good poet. *Krishnadās Vyās* edited the poetical anthology known as Rāg Sāgarodbhab Rāg Kalpadrum. *Gaṇeś Prasād Farrukhābādi* wrote his poems in excellent Khariboli. *Mādhab* wrote his Adi Ramayan on the basis of the Padmapurān. *Kāsimshāh* wrote Hans Javāhir, a long love story, after *Jāysi's* Padmāvati. *Pajnes*, *Sevak Bandijan* and *Sardār* were good poets, especially the last who also wrote Brajabhāshā prose. *Bābā Raghunāthdās* wrote the Visrām Sāgar. *Lekhrāj Gandhauli* wrote alliterative verse. *Dayānand Saraswati* was a vigorous prose writer in Khariboli on the Arya Samāj Movement. *Gadādhar Bhaṭṭ*, grandson of *Padmākar*, wrote beautiful verse. *Audh* and *Dwija Baladev* were fairly good poets. *Munshi Debiprasād* made researches on historical subjects. *Nabin Chandra Rāy* wrote on social reformation. *Totārām*, the dramatist, translated a portion of the Vālmiki Rāmāyan into Hindi verse. *Jugmohan Dās* wrote several useful and popular books. *Rājā Rampal Singh* was editor of the 'Hindustan' till his death. *Rasikes* wrote several works of merit on devotional subjects. *Mahārāni Brishabhānu*

Kuṇwar of Orchha wrote devotional poems in Brajabhāshā. *Lalit* wrote a nice work on Prosody. *Sahaj Rām* followed the style of *Tulsidās* in writing his Prahlād Charit. *Mohanlāl Vishnulāl Pānḍeya* made laborious researches on the Prithwirāj Rāso and other antiquarian subjects. *Ajodhyā Prasād Khatri* wrote creditable poems in Khariboli. The first history of Hindi Poetry was written by *Siva Sinha Sengar* (born 1821). He wrote the anthology known as Siva Singh Saroj. It is an excellent and very reliable work, containing the lives of 1,000 poets. His ब्रह्मोत्तर and शिवपुराण are translations into Hindi prose. He wrote poetry also. *Rāy Iswari Pratāp Nārāyan Singh* (born 1802—died 1868) wrote beautiful verse. *Raghu Rāj Singh* (b. 1827, d. 1879) was the Mahārājā of Rewā. He was a patron of poets and was himself a good poet. He wrote many works, of which Rukmini Parinay and Raghurāj Vilās are two. *Mahārājā Mānsingh Dwijadev* of Ajodhya, who died in 1873, was a patron of learned men, and was himself a good poet. *Ramdayāl Nebaṭiā* (b. 1825, d. 1918) was a Mārwāri tradesman. He was a very learned man and a good Hindi poet. Two of his works are Premānkur and Balabhadra Bejay. *Raja Lakshman Singh* (b. 1826, d. 1896) got the title of Raja for helping the British Government during the Sepoy Mutiny. He was a Deputy Magistrate. He translated the Sakuntalā, Meghduta and Raghubansa. He never used a single Persian word in his composition. *Giridhar Dās*, alias *Gopāl Chandra*, was the father of *Haris Chandra* (b. 1833 and d. 1860). He wrote 40 works, of which Jarāsandhbadh was an epic and Nahush Nātak a drama. He was known for his श्लेष and जमक. *Lachchhi Rām* (b. 1841, d. 1904), belonged to the Basti District. His patron was *Mahārājā Mānsingh of Ajodhyā*, who gave him the title of Kavirāj. He was a mediocre poet. *Gobind Gillābhāi* (b. 1848) was a Gujrāti. He was author of several Hindi poems,—Nitibinod, Sringār Sarojini, Shaṭh Ritu, etc. *Bālkrishna Bhaṭṭ* was a prose writer. *Badrinārāyan*

Chaudhuri (b. 1855) was a Sarajupāri Brahman of Mirzapur. Besides being editor of periodicals he wrote several books. His poems are mostly in Brajabhāshā: हार्दिक हर्षादर्श, आनन्द बधाइ, भारत-सौभाग्य नाटक, etc. *Bināyak Rāo* (b. 1855 in Sāgar District) was a Sanāḍhya Brahman. He was a Brajabhāsā poet, wrote a commentary on Tulsi's Rāmāyan and was the author of school books. *Pratāp Nārāyan Miśra* (b. 1856 in Unao District) was a Khariboli poet and translated Bengali books. He was the Editor of the 'Brāhman' and was a writer of nice prose and verse.

Then follows a period in which prose predominated—though there were in it good poets also. *Ambikadutt Vyās* was born in 1858 at Jaypur. He lived at Benares. He was a Brajabhāshā poet, dramatist and prose writer. He wrote Bihāri Bihār and was the author of 78 books, large and small. *Durgāprasād Miśra* was an editor and good writer. *Lālā Sitārām* is a Brajabhāshā poet. He is known for his translations, dramas and other works. *Lālbihāri Miśra* wrote several poetical works which contain alliterations and other poetical excellences. *Nāthurām Shankar Sarmā* (b. 1859 in the Aligarh district) was a Gaur Brāhman. He was a poet of Khaṛiboli and used many new metres. He wrote Sankar Saroj, Anurāg Ratna, Bayas Rahasya, etc. *Jagannāth Prasād Bhānu* (b. 1859) rose to be Extra-Asst. Commissioner and Settlement Officer. He was a Brajabhāshā poet and was author of Chhand Prabhākar, Nava Panchāmrita Rāmāyan, Kalā Prabodh, etc. *Shib Nandan Sahāy* is also a good writer. *Sridhar Pāṭhak* (b. 1859 in Agra district) was Deputy Superintendent in the India Office. He was a poet in Brajabhāshā as well as in Khariboli. *Sudhākar Dwivedi* (b. 1860 at Mirzāpur, died 1910 at Benāres) was a Mahāmahopādhyāya. He was a Brajabhāshā poet, a commentator and a miscellaneous writer. *Jwālāprasād Miśra* has written works which show considerable research. *Mahābir Prasād Dwivedi* (b. 1864 in the district of Rae Baraeli) was at first a Railway Officer but subsequently took to literature. He is a very good scholar and a very good prose writer. He is also a Khariboli poet. He has translated works from English, Sanskrit and Bengali into prose. He has translated the Mahābhārat from Bengali, the Raghu Bans, Kumār Sambhab, Meghaduta from Sanskrit, and Mill's Liberty and Bacon's Essays from English. He wrote Kāvya Manjushā, a collection of poems and criticisms on various subjects. He was the able Editor of the 'Saraswati' for 20 years. The improvement in Khariboli poetry is greatly due to him. *Jugal-Kiśor Miśra* was a good poet and made a profound study of Hindi literature. *Rādhā Krishna Dās* (b. 1865) was a near relation of *Haris Chandra.* He was both a poet and a prose writer. He was author of दुःखिनी बाला, निस्सहाय हिन्दु, etc., in Brajabhāshā. *Bālmukund Gupta* (b. 1865 in the Rohtak District) was a critic and one of the best poets in Hindi. He was Sub-Editor of the 'Hindi Bangabasi' and then Editor of the 'Bhārat Mitra.' He translated works from Sanskrit and Bengali. He wrote poetry, generally comic, in both Brajabhāshā and Khariboli. *Ajodhya Singh Upādhyāy* (b. 1865 in the Azamgarh District) was a good Khariboli poet. *Lala Bhagwān Din* (b. 1866 at Fatehpur) wrote poetry in Khariboli and Brajabhāshā. His poetry was generally of the heroic style and he used Urdu metres. One of his works is Birprapanch. *Jagannāthdās Ratnākar* (b. 1866 at Benāres) was an Agarwala. He was Private Secretary to the Maharaja of Ajodhyā. He wrote the Haris Chandra Kāvya and was a good poet of Brajabhāshā. *Rāi Deviprasād Purna*, B.A., B.L. (died 1915) belonged to Cawnpur, where he was a pleader; he wrote Chandrakalā, Bhānu Kumar Nātak, Dharādhar Dhāban in Brajabhāshā. *Sayyad Amir Ali Mir* (b. 1875 in Chhattisgarh) is a good Hindi poet and prose writer. He is a Khariboli poet and has written बुढ़ेका व्याह, बच्चेका व्याह. His मुसद्दर मीमांसा is on an historical subject. *Jagannāth Prasād Chāturvedi* (b. 1875) is a good Brajabhāshā poet. He wrote a fiction called Sansār Chakra. One of his poetical works is Basanta Mālatī. *Rām*

Charit Upādhyāya was born in 1865 in the Azamgarh district and died in 1913. He wrote, in the old style, Bijayi Basant, Shrāban Shringār, Sudhā Shatak. Subsequently he wrote in Khariboli. *Misra Bandhu* :—Their father P. Bāladutt Misra was a merchant, zamindar and poet. He had four sons. The eldest was a pleader and died early. The following three brothers are included in the name of Misra Bandhu. They write in collaboration.

Pandit Ganes Bihari Misra	...	B. 1865
„ Syam Bihari Misra	...	B. 1873
„ Sukdev Bihari Misra	...	B. 1878

Pandit Syām Bihāri, M.A., was first a Deputy Magistrate, then Police Superintendent and then Dewan of Chhatrapur. *Pandit Sukdeo*, B.A., is a Sub-Judge. They are Brajabhāshā poets, prose writers, critics and dramatists. Their Misrabandhu Binod is a history of Hindi Literature. *Raghunāth Singh*, a Talukdar of Pratāpgarh district (b. 1878, Honorary Magistrate and Munsiff ; descended from Prithwiraj) is a poet of Brajabhāshā and Khariboli. *Kishorilal Goswāmi* (b. 1865) translated 15 Bengali books. He is a dramatist, poet, journalist, biographer and fiction writer. He wrote poetry in Brajabhāshā.

I have omitted the names of more recent writers such as *Gopāl Rām* (novelist), *Mādhab Rāo Supru* (good writer), *Gauri Shankar Ojhā* (antiquarian), *Baladev Prasād* (translator), *Devinandan Khatri* (writer of fiction), *Gopal Rām Guhman* (fiction writer), *Thākur Gadādhar Singh*, *Murāri Dās* and *Mathurā Prasād* (good writers), *Brajanandan Prasād* (prose writer), *Gangā Prasād Agnihotri* (good writer and translator), *Maithili Sharan Gupta* (good poet of Khariboli), *Śyām Sundar Dās* (Hindi scholar and writer), *Prem Chand* (novelist, etc.).

I have also omitted to mention the following recent periodicals :—The *Saraswati*, the *Maryādā*, the *Stri Darpan*, the *Abhyuday*, the *Saddharma Prachārak*, the *Mādhuri* and others.

Other deserving names have also been omitted:—The *Nāgri Prachārini Sabhā* of Benāres, the *Sāhitya Sanmilan* of Allahabad, the *Sāhitya Sabhā* of Arrah, etc.

Preponderance of Sanskrit words and a silent influence of Bengali are two of the characteristics of this period.

NALINIMOHAN SĀNYĀL

LINES FOR VALENTINE

Some say that love is of the head,
But mine is of the heart instead,

If I mistake, then tell me why
That when the postman happens by

To leave me letters, and I see
That *You* have written one to me,

At once my heart begins to beat
As fast as jockey-horses' feet.

WAYNE GARD

MUSIC AND THE HINDU PANTHEON

"Before the creation of the world, an all-pervading sound rang through space."

Hindu mythology and Iconography present bewildering perplexities to the student until he begins to understand that the various incarnations of the Gods merge into each other, each one being a part of the whole, and each one having attributes in common with the other. Thus the second God of the Puranas, or Vishnu, has at least thirteen separate forms or incarnations, each avatara having its own intricate history and succession of lesser forms, names and symbolical representations.

The oldest myths, as conceived in the Rig Veda, represented the Indian Trinity under the forms of Agni, Indra and Surya, the three principal forces of nature, as Earth, Air and Sky. From this earliest form of animism and pantheism there gradually evolved the Vedic Triad in the God-forms of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva, or the Creator, the Preserver and the Destroyer. They were given personalities and became types in the Puranas and Tantras. Further multiplications of images and idols came to being under the head of the Inferior Gods of whom there is an infinite number in the Hindu pantheon.

"When these individual Gods are invoked, they are not to be conceived as limited by the power of others, as superior or inferior in rank. Each God, to the mind of the suppliants, is as good as all the Gods. He is felt at the time as a real divinity as supreme and absolute, in spite of the limitations which to our mind, a plurality of Gods must entail on every single God."—(Max Müller.)

The study of this formidable subject is worth while to any one interested in the origin and development of thought in the human race, because in Indian theology, we can probably trace the first source of all extinct and extant theological and philosophical systems, artistic conceptions and scientific methods of investigations.

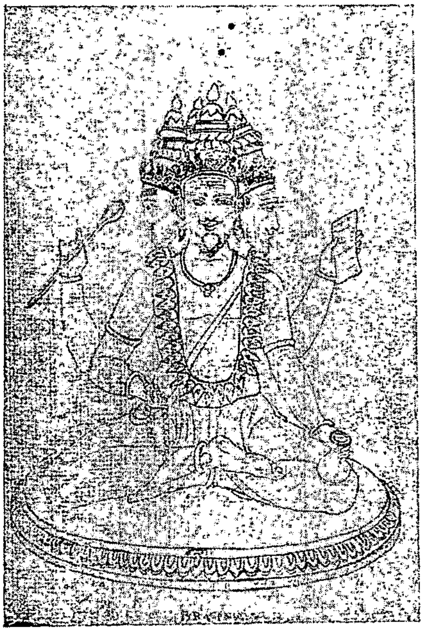
Before man was, Music existed in Nature, in the voice of the storm, in the roar of the seas, in the sweep of the winds, in swaying plant and bending tree, in the shimmering vibrations of light, and the soft cadences of darkness.

When its existence became a fact of daily consciousness to early man, he discovered that sound might be artificially produced and accordingly musical instruments came into being, and the varieties of musical expressions were determined by the various sorts of instruments created The next step was for primitive man in realizing its beauty, to associate music with his Gods. With the characteristic ingenuity of imagination of the infant mind, various gods were credited with the invention of the musical modes and instruments.

All of India's history, art, and philosophy, inevitably date back to her much-boasted ancient heritage, lost in the haze of the past mythological genesis. So in going back to the Gods for a brief study of their contributions to music, we will really be learning something of Indian Music of to-day, for it has been essentially unchanged by the progression of the ages, and the same instruments are used now as were mentioned in the four thousand year old books of Hindu religion.

Brahma.

Brahma, the Supreme Being, is the first of the Hindu trinity and is called the Creator. He is said to have loved and patronized Music, in fact his divine qualities pervade all creative gifts, and his power as life-giver is the source of all creation. He is accredited with the invention of the first drum, the long double-headed instrument called the *Mrr̥daṅga.*



Brahma

(From a Zinc Statue in the Museum at the East India House)

It is said that he made the body of the drum from the blood-soaked earth where he had slain his enemy Tripura the demon-god, and that for the two drum-heads he used Tripura's skin.

Of all the instruments of India, the drum is the most important; it figures in most of the legends and sacred books and in some instances is surrounded by a sinister atmosphere, originated, no doubt from the first drum and its sanguine history. The term "Mrydanga" literally means "clay-bodied" and many of the old drums were made of mud and skin. While the form of the Mrydanga has changed very little it is now made of both clay and wood.

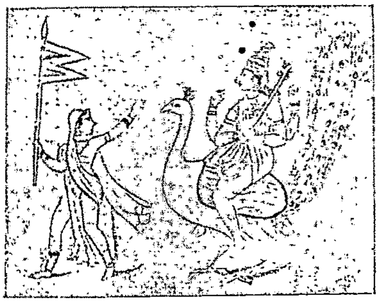
"In Hindu legends other instruments can scarcely be heard for the din of the drum. It beats the night watches, heralds proclamations, and preludes the sentence of death." —(Fox-Strangeways.)

"Brahma added six Raginis (female musical modes) to each of the principal Ragas and began to impart a knowledge of music to five of his disciples...he created the four Vedas (or revealed scriptures of the Hindus) and, out of them, four Upa-vedas of which Gandharva Veda (musical science) was one. This was evolved out of the Sama Veda. The hymns in the Sama Veda used to be chanted according to rules laid down which are followed in most parts of India."—(Tagore, S. M.).

Sarasvati.

Sarasvati, the consort of Brahma the Creator, was "adored as patroness of fine arts, especially music and rhetoric; as the inventress of the Sanskrit language of the Devanagry characters, and of the science which writing perpetuates; so that her attributes correspond with those of Minerva Musica in Greece and Italy who invented the flute and presided over literature."—(Sir Wm. Jones.)

Besides being the Goddess of Music, Science and Genius, Sarasvati has been called "the River Goddess" and her name described as flowing, eloquent, harmonious, fluid as a river. Ancient paintings and sculpture depict her as sitting on a peacock or swan, and holding in her four hands the *Vina*, a book or scroll, a lotus and a rosary (Siva's Garland) sometimes with a small drum (the damura) or a cup. One may see her in images and sculpture either alone, or with her husband, Brahma; as she represents his creative power. At times she is represented as sitting on a lotus playing a stringed instrument which is more like a banjo than a vina. In the various Sacred Books she is called by several names and invested with many attributes. The Mahabharata calls her "The mother of the Vedas." She has been connected with various sacred rites in legend and religion as in her functions as Goddess of the river, patron of science and learning and speech and particularly of music in all its branches.



Sarasvati

Sarasvati is spoken of in the *Puranas* as "Satarupa, Savitri, Gayatri, and Brahmani," but she is most popularly known as Saraswati or Sarasvati. In this name she is worshipped by the Hindus once a year and a festival is held in her honour.

" Saraswati, whose husband was the creator Brahma, possesses the powers of imagination and invention, which may justly be termed creative. She is therefore adored as the Patroness of the Five Arts, especially of music and rhetoric; as the inventress of the Sanskrit language, of the devanagry characters, and of the sciences which writing perpetuates....... The seven notes, an artful combination of which constitutes music, and variously affect the passions, are feigned to be her earliest production. And the greatest part of the hymn (Vedic) exhibits a correct delineation of the Ragmala, or Necklace of Musical Modes, which may be considered as the most pleasing invention of the Hindus, and the most beautiful union of painting with portical mythology and the genuine theory of music." —(The Asiatic Miscellany of Sir William Jones.)[1]

Although we like this Goddess best in her role of the Indian St. Cecilia, it should be of significance to modern students of Music that she is always depicted as the Goddess of both Music and Learning. Paradoxically, in ancient plates, she is sometimes shown as accompanied by a goose, which, however, may not have any significance other than the Indian fondness for associating animals, and birds and fowls with their pictures of Gods.

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[1] From the Asiatic Miscellany of Sir Wm. Jones, 1787.

Brindavan Chandra Bhattacharya, in his "Indian Images" says that "Sarasvati is the presiding deity of learning and devotion. The Goddess Sarasvati is not only the Goddess of Knowledge but equally the divine mother who is the spirit of all the fine arts. She has a rosary (Aksamala) and a *Kamandalu* which shows her relation with Brahma ; so probably they prove and imply a great truth of the world that learning cannot flourish without the combination of devotion, meditation (Aksamala being an instrument of practical meditation) and sacrifice."

Nared or Narada.

> "From the bright etherial mansions, heavenly minstrel Nared came,
> Chitra-Sena woke the music, singer of celestial fame."
>
> (*Mahabharata.*)

Nareda, the many-gifted son of Brahma, is described in one of the Puranas as great in the arts and a musician of superlative skill. The poet Magha says of him "Nared sat watching from time to time his large vina, which by the impulse of the breeze, yielded notes, that pierced successively the regions of his ear, and proceeded by musical intervals." The Pundits to this day quote Nared as the creator of the *Law Tract* and the inventor of the Mahati Vina, most classical of India's stringed instruments.

As usual his birth and attributes are clouded over by the confused mist of the varying accounts of him in different sacred books, but we will dwell on him chiefly as a musician and inventor of the Vina. It is said that Narada was the companion of Krishna and "was famed for his musical talents, but becoming presumptuous on account of them, he emulated the divine strains of Krishna, who severely punished him for his presumption by placing his vina in the paws of a bear, when it emitted sounds far sweeter than those of the minstrelsy of the mortified musician.—(Wilkin's Hindu Mythology.)[1]

"Narada is a very distinguished personage: son of Brahma and Sarasvati; a wise legislator, great in arms, arts and eloquence, and indeed of such historical celebrity that his actions are the subject of a Purana, named after him; he was an astronomer, and an exquisite musician."—(Moore.)

According to legend the three Gods Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra joined their powers together and created ten men to govern the world wisely, of whom Reason or Nareda was the first Munis. Again Brahma is said to have produced Nared from his thigh.

In connection with Narada and his very human attributes of inflated egoism I will quote from "The Music of Hindus" than by Fox-Strangeways a legend of the great musician and friend of Krishna......

"Once upon a time the great anchorite Narada thought within himself that he had mastered the whole art and science of music. To curb his pride the all-knowing Vishnu took him to visit the abode of the Gods. They entered a spacious building the inmates of which were numerous men and women who were all weeping over their broken limbs. Vishnu stopped short and enquired of them the reason of their lamentation. They answered that they were the Rags and Raginis of Music created by Mahadeva; but as some anchorite of the name of Narada, ignorant of the true knowledge of Music and unskilful in performance, had sung them recklessly, their features were distorted and their limbs broken, and that unless Mahadeva or some other discreet and skilful person would sing them properly, there was slender hope of their ever being restored to their former state of body. Narada, ashamed, kneeled down before Vishnu and asked to be forgiven."......

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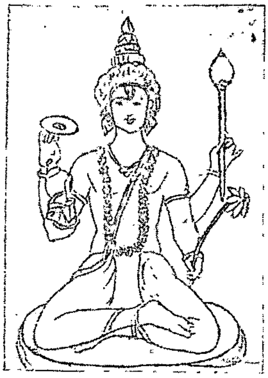
[1] Wilkin's Hindu Mythology.

Vishnu.

Vishnu the Preserver, is the second Deity of the Hindu Trinity...he is said to perpetuate "whatever is delightful in the modes of music"...In one of his attributes he typifies the Sun in its function of preserving Life.



Vishnu
(Showing the Conch-shell horn as one of his Symbols)

"Narayana is the eternal and primeval form of Vishnu whose human form is known as Vasudeva. Although in form he is human; in essence he is divine and this nature has been to some extent expressed in sculpture in his having four arms and being attended by the Gods Isa, Brahma and others. The characteristics of Vasudeva are briefly these: he has four arms; on the right side the upper arm holds a disc, the lower one a lotus; on the left side, the upper hand bears a conch, the lower one a club...he represents the unqualified intelligent being...all pervading.—The emblems held by the figure of Vasudeva are symbolic of his transcendental nature. The *discus* represents the eternal circle of time, the circular paths of the planets, the cycle of existence, anything that has a circular existence. The conch is the symbol of sound which is the attribute of Akasa the abode of Visnu... The lotus is the type of his created power. The club is symbolic of the power to destroy the enemies of the world. The conch-shell has come to be used in temple music as the holy trumpet. The conch was often used in wars and its raucous blast was heard to announce battle.

> " And arose the sound of trumpet and the surging people's cry,
> Like the voice of an angry ocean, tempest-lashed, sublime and high ! "
>
> (*The Tournament—The Mahabharata.*)

> " And the voice of drum and trumpet hailed the home-returning brave."
>
> (*The Ramayana.*)

> " Sound of trumpet and bugle, drum and horn and echoing shell."
>
> (*Ramayana.*)

> " Drum and conch and sounding trumpet waked the echoes of the day."
>
> (*Ramayana.*)

I could give an infinite number of references to the conch or horn, as it is sometimes called, drawn from the oldest known writings of India.

The offices of Vishnu are multiple. He is not only the second Puranic Deity as the Preserver or Pervader, but he is given ten avatars or incarnations, and our studies are further involved by the fact that Rama is the seventh and Krishna the eighth incarnation and yet we must take them as an entirely different entity.

Vishnu, in his many forms, is said to have more worshippers than any God of the Hindus. In his character as

Preserver and Pervader, he keeps alive all creative genius and his powers are vital to the perpetuation of music.

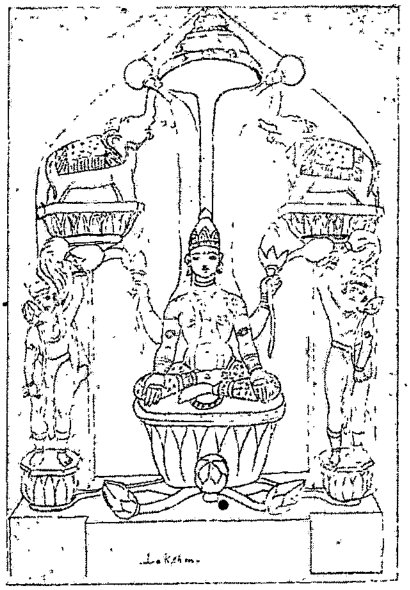
The chief distinguishing marks of the images and paintings of Vishnu is the Chank, which is a large buccinum (conch-shell) which in paintings is often decorated in gay colours. There is a trumpet called the Buccina trumpet which derived its name from the conch of Vishnu.

Lakshmi or Sri.

Lakshmi, Sri or Padma, is the consort, sakti, or active energy of Vishnu. She is called the Goddess of Beauty, Love and Prosperity.

> "Then seated on a lotus,
> Beauty's bright Goddess, peerless Sri rose
> Out of the waves"......
> (*Vishnu Purana.*)

Vishnu and Sri represent the ideal of conjugal happiness, a perfect combination of intelligence and beauty.



Lakshmi
(From a subject in marble brought from Indore, 1800 A.D.)

Besides the fair Goddess's function of being beautiful, she is also supposed to have been the first classical dancer and to have taught dancing to the lesser gods and hence to man. Another favourite name for Sri is Rhemba under which title she "the sea-born Goddess of Beauty" sprang from the ocean when it was churned by the Gods for the Amrita or Elixir of immortality. "She then assumed the character of Venus Aphrodite of the Greeks; who as Hesiod and Homer sing, arose from the sea ascended to Olympus, and captivated all the Gods."[1]

"Her symbol, the lotus, is an excellent emblem of *beaux yeux*, delights the human sight, the moral sense and the intellect. The two elephants, showering water over her from either side, is a grand sight of royalty and prosperity. Mythologically she came out of the waters and thus in sculpture, her inherent love for water, and aquatic objects, is adequately shown in her shower-bath and water lotuses and her conch."[2]

The setting of the First Dance is described as "Sarasvati plays on the Vina, Brahma holds the time marking Cymbals, Indra plays the Flute, Lakshmi sings a song, Vishnu plays on a Drum and all the Gods stand round about......to hear the music of the divine choir at the hour of twilight."[3] Again Lakshmi in her character of Rhemba is mentioned "with her celestial train of Apasaras or damsels of paradise" who sing in Indra's Court.

Rama.

One cannot pass by without a brief glimpse of Rama, the hero of the powerful Epic, the Ramayana, dating back over three thousand years. In this long but interesting volume, the vicissitudes of Rama and his faithful wife Sita, are set forth.

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[1] Moore's Pantheon.

[2] B. C. Bhattacharya.

[3] Coomerswamy's Dance of Siva.

"Coming down to the heroic ages described in the Ramayana and Mahabharata, it will be found that music was cultivated and encouraged by the princes and the people. Several instruments used in the field of battle are mentioned in the Ramayana."[1]

There are numerous references to the *Sankha* or conch-shell of Vishnu. It is used as a bugle in war-time, as a sacred trumpet in the temples and in many other connections mentioned in the Ramayana. The following are a few examples from the Ramayana showing where the early instruments were used:—

"And the Brahmans spoke to burghers that the festive day was come,
Till the mart and crowded pathways rang with noise of pipe and drum.
Through the shady palace garden where the peacock wandered free,
Lute and lyre poured forth their music, parrot flew from tree to tree.
And in hall where drum and tabor rose in joy and regal pride.
Voice of grief and lamentation sounded far and sounded wide.
Beat of drum and voice of *Sankha* and the Raksha's battle cry,
Song of triumph, chanted mantra, smote the echoing vault of sky.
Drum and *conch* and sounding trumpet waked the echoes of the day,
Pataha and loud *Mridanga* and the people's maddening cry."

Considering that the Ramayana was written at least 500 B. C. these numerous references to musical instruments are intensely interesting to the student of Music, and the remarkable part of it is the fact that these instruments are the same to-day, unchanged, even as the Indian system (Ragas) is unchanged.

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[1] Tagore's History of Music.

The story of Rama and Sita is extremely popular, in poetic imagery, dramatic and natural description, in the historic and legendary references, and rivals the ever delightful stories of them as set forth in the Mahabharata.

I can find no special connection between Sita and anything musical, except that she is the heroine of the Ramayana where we may find many references to music of every kind. I can do no better than quote from "the Recital of the Ramayana,"—

> " Rama to the hermit's minstrels lent a monarch's
> willing ear,
> Blended with the simple music dulcet was the lay
> to hear.
> And so sweet the chanted accents, Rama's inmost heart
> was stirred,
> With his royal guests and courtiers still the
> deathless lay he heard.
> Heralds versed in old Puranas, Brahmanas skilled in
> pious rite,
> Minstrels deep in lore of music, poets fired by
> heavenly might......
> Painters skilled and merry dancers who the festive
> joy prolong,
> Hushed and silent in their wonder listed to the
> wondrous song.
> And as poured the flood of music through the bright
> and live-long day,
> Eyes and ears and hearts insatiate drank the nectar
> of the lay.
> Twenty cantos of the Epic thus the youthful
> minstrels sung,
> And the voice of stringed music through the Epic
> rolled along."

(*Ramayana—Translated by R. C. Dutta.*)

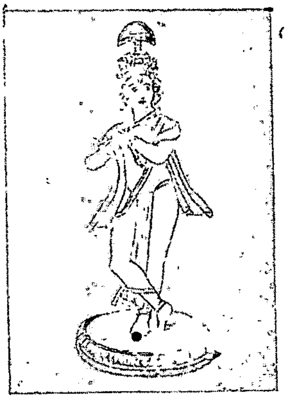
Krishna.

From out the ridiculously exaggerrated stories of Krishna's powers and the confused tangle of his life and manifestations of divinity, we will retain only those episodes that refer directly to his connection with music.

"Him who reclines under a gay Kadamba Tree, who formerly delighted me while he gracefully moved in the dance, and all his soul sparkled in his eyes." [1]

The young Krishna was raised by the good herdsman Nanda and his wife Yaso'da. In their family were a multitude of young Gopas or cow-herds, and the beautiful Gopis or milk-maids who were his playfellows during his infancy; and in his early youth, he selected nine damsels as his favourites, with whom he passed his gay hours in dancing, sporting on his flute.........For the remarkable number of his Gopis I have no authority but a whimsical picture where nine girls are grouped in the form of an elephant, on which he sits and pipes, and unfortunately, the word '*nava*' signifies both '*nine*' and '*new*' or '*young*' so that, in the following stanza, it may admit of two interpretations" :—

"I bear in my bosom continually that God who for sportive recreation with a train of nine (young) dairy-maids, dances



Krishna

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[1] Book of the Bhagavat.

gracefully, now quick, now slow, on the sands just left by the daughter of the Sun." [1]

Krishna is variously described as the Shepherd God, the Indian Orpheus, the man-God (he was supposed to have been a mortal who was afterwards deified) the Azure God, so called because the primordial fluid, water, was said to be in a mystical way a personification of the Universe.

Krishna the Blue God, is painted and decorated with garlands of sylvan flowers, dressed in yellow (a sacred colour because it is the colour of the heart of the lotus).

The many erotic episodes of his life are sung to this day in the Temples by the Deva-Dasses, or dancing girls. A legend is popularly related, accounting for the multipled appearance of Krishna in his Ras Mandals, or Circular Dance, a number of virgins having assembled to celebrate in mirth and sport the descent of Krishna, the God himself appeared among them and proposed a dance; and to remove the deficiency of partners, he divided himself into as many portions as there were damsels, which number differs in various pictures.

"On certain holidays, most towns exhibit sets of nocturnal dancers; all however males: ten, fifteen, or more, in a set, with a short stick in each hand, moving slowly in the direction of the sun; singing and keeping time with awkward movements and stamping of the feet, and as awkwardly by turning to the persons before and behind; and alternately striking each other's sticks, as represented in the plate." [2]

Krishna is said to have invented the flute (the Krishna flute is most popular here to-day) and that the magic of his music charmed gods and man alike. "To some he gave vinas with soul-stirring strings; to others sounding cymbals; and again to others drums whose sound resembled the dull roll of thunder, and so he taught them the glories and wars of Indra and Rama."

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[1] Sir Wm. Jones.

[2] Moore's Hindu Pantheon.

Krishna's life is found in the Mahabharata in which there are numerous references to his connection with music directly and indirectly. Among his other accomplishments he is said to have invented the sacred dances of the Ramayana.

In musical legends it is said that there were, in the days of Krishna, sixteen thousand Ragas, or musical modes; or rather passions or affections of the mind and each of his Raginis, or musical nymphs, selected one of these Ragas, in which to modulate her strains for affecting and securing the heart of the handsome and amorous and harmonious Deity. This may perhaps mean that Krishna, devoted to music, receives and enjoys every variety of modulation, multiplied to the number of 16,000 and fancifully personified in the form of nymphs, derived from the five-head Bhum (a five-stringed instrument). Krishna similarly multiplying himself into as many persons, or Ragas, as were requisite to espouse, or adapting himself to receive the many-noted Raginis."—(Moore.)

One of the most popular Festivals of Krishna, or Holi Phalgutsava, meaning the Festival of the Phalguna, occurs in the month of that name (Sanskrit Phalguna, Hindi, Phagun —*i.e.* March). It starts at about the full moon, or vernal equinox, and is celebrated by every sect of Hindu, from the highest or Raja caste on downward. This is a season of great gaiety, feasting, dancing, singing, and merry-making. The images of Krishna, and Radha his wife, are carried in processions, and always attended by dancing girls, musicians and the like. In some districts the images are carried in the primitive palkeys, or palanquins, or on elephants, as in Jaipur or more remote sections. It is customary at this time for the Hindu, to entertain visitors according to his station, with music and dancing and to offer them sweet-meats, betel-nut (pan) and rose water, or some mild beverage.

This Festival has developed into a Saturnalia of evil and is compared to a Roman Bacchanalian Feast.

Krishna is a beloved and popular Deity and is called the

"Darling God of the Indian Women." He is compared to Apollo surrounded by the adoring Muses or Gopis, who sing and dance around him in harmony with the Sun and planets. To follow the analogy of Apollo and Krishna, a story is related in the Puranas, of how a nymph to escape the pursuit of Krishna, was changed into the Tulasi, or Tulsi plant. This pretty shrub, the black Ocymum, is sacred to the Indian woman and worshipped with prayers and puja. In spite of, or perhaps, because of the fact that Krishna was a regular "Gay Lothario" in dalliance with many damsels to whom he sang the same amorous ditties, he is adored by women and is the most popular of all the Gods.

Kama.

In the Puranas, Kama is depicted as the Eros of the Greeks, in which he personifies physical love and desire. In fact, the word Kama literally means Desire and the name of his two wives, Priti and Rati mean pleasure and enjoyment. He is described in imagery as bearing a bow and arrow made of flowers...in this connection is a passage from the Puranas—"May Kama, having well directed the arrow, which is winged with pain, barbed with longing, and has desire for its shaft, pierce thee to the heart."

In other books of the Hindus he is worshipped on a much more spiritual plane as a God unequalled for good. He is also worshipped as Youth, Beauty and Spring.

His symbols are the bow and arrow, the conch-trumpet, and a lotus. He is pictured in a flower garden surrounded by dancing nymphs, or is described as riding in the moonlight on a parrot or dove and attended by singers and dancers. According to Sir William Jones he has about twenty-three names most of which are formed from Kam or Kama. The Atharva-Veda, a hymn to Kama, is commonly used at Hindu weddings, or read by those who seek happiness in love. "His bow is of sugarcane, or flowers, has a string formed of bees, and his five arrows, each pointed with an Indian blossom. His divine ancestry is traced to the sun, the original source of warmth and love."

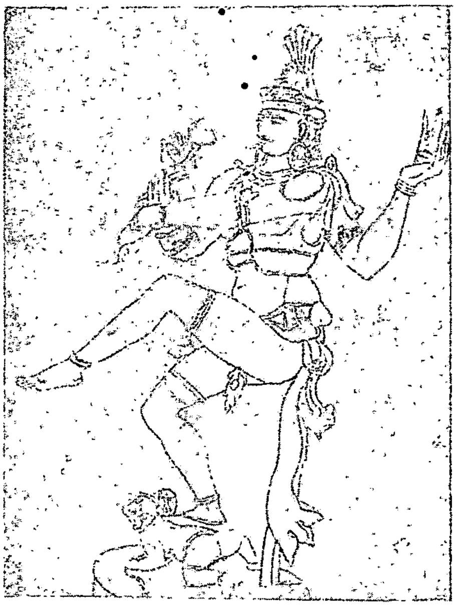
One of the most joyous festivals in India is held during the month of Chaitra, or April, the Vasant or Spring Season, at the time of the full moon. The main festival, the Basant Panchami (or Makar Sankranti) is the Spring Festival, given when the sun is in the sign of Makara. At this time Kama is worshipped, along with Rati, his chief wife, the Goddess of Love, and sometimes Lakshmi in the incarnation of his mother. There is an especial song for this occasion, called the ' Vasanta Rag " or Spring Song, the singing of which is said to give the impulses of gaiety and affection. There are nautch-dances, and the colour of the garments worn are yellow which is supposed to be the typical shade of the Spring crops. The cattle, whose services make the Spring crop possible, are honoured by having their horns painted in gay colours and are decorated, as are the humans, with wreaths of flowers. There are special ceremonial bathings in sacred rivers, and the Festival which lasts several days is a season for great feasting and pleasure.

Siva.

Siva is the third God of the Hindu Trimurti or Trinity and is called the Destroyer. The Hindu theology teaches that death is not death, but rebirth, therefore the Destroyer is also the Creator, or re-Creator, in a new form, so that Siva the Keeper of the Gates of Death is also Siva the Joyous-one, the Dancer of the Universe, who represents the cosmic energy of God. And we are particularly interested in Siva as a manifestation of primal Rhythm.

He is Lord of the Dance, and his dance is the Dance of the Spheres.

Of the many manifestations of Siva in his various roles of



Mahadeva destroying Tripurāsura

(From Bronze Statue)

Good and Evil, we prefer those sculptures and paintings of him that show him holding the conch trumpet which is symbolic of sound, and is an object of veneration in India. Its origin is confused with that of the conch music of Triton, or Neptune.

He is said to have invented the Pinaka, the first stringed instrument, and is further credited with the creation of five Ragas.

Ananda Coomarswamy, in his "The Dance of Siva," describes three main dances; the first in the Himalayan mountains where he is surrounded by all the Gods as well as the divine choristers; the second dance or Tandava, is given in the more gruesome setting of a burning ghat or burial ground, where the Lord of Death comes to dance at midnight; the third dance or the Nadanta, is supposed to have been held in the centre of the World, and to be of mystical significance. This dance of Siva is found perpetuated in Iconography as "Sri

Nataraja, the Lord of the Dance." In this particular form of the dance he holds an hour-glass drum in one of his four hands, which is one of his symbols, as the "source of creation."

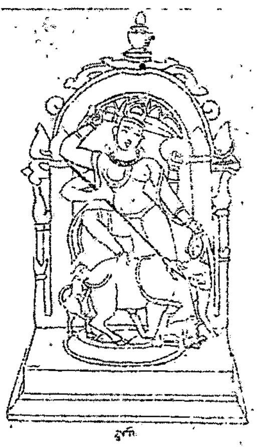
> "Everywhere is Siva's gracious dance made manifest,
> He dances with Water, Fire, Wind and Ether,
> Thus our Lord dances ever in the court."
>
> (*Tirumantram of Tirumular.*)

Life is the Eternal dance; it is the cosmic energy animating the soul, and the vibrations of the impulses move rhythmically; it is the perpetual manifestation of divine activity. And Siva, Lord of the Universal Dance, is worshipped as the symbol of Nature, as typical of all the elements, as the emanation of the subtle essence the soul, of physical and spiritual light, of freedom, of illumination, of wisdom of inward enlightenment. In short Siva, is Life, flux, fluid, plastic and eternal.

Parvati, or Kali.

Parvati, "the mountain-born Goddess" is also called Kali or Cali, Durga, Devi, Uma, Bhavani, and Parvati, the wife of Siva. Cali, the consort of Siva, has been called the Goddess of Blood and Sacrifice and she is given the most sanguine attributes imaginable; but in the broader and more metaphysical sense, she may be regarded as the female principle of Siva's powers as the Lord of the Universal Dance. It is believed that the luckless victims doomed to sacrifice on her altar, ascend into Indra's heaven where, as compensation, they are turned into the musicians of his band.

In Bengal, the female aspect of Siva, or Kali, is especially worshipped, and she is pictured as the cosmic dancer, "Thou Dark One, haunter of the Burning-Ground, Mayst dance Thy Eternal Dance."—(Hymn to Kali.)



Durga or Parvati, as Active Virtue
(From a very old brass)

"The wild music of Cali's priests at one of her Festivals brought instantly to my recollection the Scythian measures of Diana's adorers in the splendid measures of "Iphegenia in Tauris?" which Gluck exhibited at Paris with less genius, indeed than art, but with every advantage that an orchestra could supply."—(Sir William Jones.)

As each God has Devis, Sakti or consorts attached to him, the latter partakes of his attributes and carry his symbols, so Cali and Siva are supposed to wear the same kind of dress and have the same symbols, and sometimes the same vehicles. Siva has a bull as his vehicle, but Parvati or Durga has a lion; she carries a drum in one of her four hands. This is called the Damura, which together with the conch horn which she also has, is still used in the monasteries as sacred instruments to be played upon in connection with ceremonial dances and religious exercises. In one of her images, as Cali, she even carries a Vina. She is commonly depicted as dancing wildly on a dead body. As Symbolism has been carried to the *n*th degree in India in religion, literature and art, it is well to always bear in mind the inner meaning of the God-attributes.

Kali, in the most terrible of her aspects, is said to have danced so furiously with joy over killing the demon-gods, that the earth shook beneath her. Her dance typifies, not death, but triumph over death. The dances of Siva and Kali have become merged into one, so that on the various festivals to Siva, Kali is equally honoured, and in the Temples of Kali, Siva always occupies a prominent place.

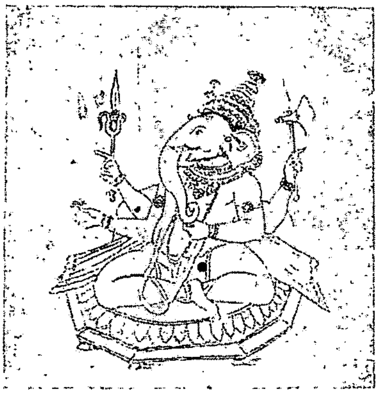
Indra's Court.

"The Court of Indra teemed with Celestial Musicians who entertained him with song and dance and dramatic exhibitions."

We cannot justly take leave of the subject of the Music of the Gods without giving a brief sketch of the Inferior Deities, Demi-Gods, Superhuman Beings who contributed so largely to the Music of the abode of the Gods.

Ganesh, the happy God of Good Luck, elephant-headed, pot-bellied, and dwarfish of body, is usually depicted as dancing or playing on a drum or vina.

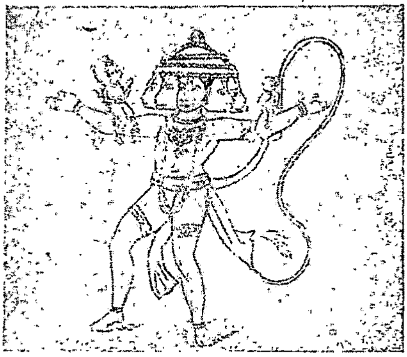
It is considered very lucky to invoke Ganesh (Sri Ganesh) at the commencement of any work. He is supposed to be the son of Siva and Parvati and partakes of their common



Ganēsa

attributes. It is also said that Ganesh wrote the Mahabharata at the dictation of the ascetic sage who was the originator of the Vedas, Puranas, and founder of the Vedantic Philosophy by name Vyasa.

Bharatvarsha (the country of) was the ancient name of India, after Bharata, the founder of the Drama, originator of the Theory of Music, author of the forty-eight Raginis which he formed from the six Ragas and six Raginis. His musical work on theory was the one chosen to be practised on earth by humans.



Hanuman

Hanuman, the monkey-General and Hindu God has been identified with Satyrs and Pan himself. It was Hanuman who saved Sita, the wife of Rama, from the arms of Ravana, the demon God. This simian Hero, of whom a multitude of interesting fables are written, was further called a musical genius who was the founder of a Hindu system of music. He was said to be the son of an Apsaras, or celestial nymph who was turned into a female monkey on earth. His father was Pavan, or the God of the Wind.

Hanuman is often pictured as wearing a little bell on his tail which he rings to frighten away evil spirits.

Ravana, the ten-headed demon God of Ceylon, in spite of his ill fame as a terrible predatory and sanguinary creature, is credited with the invention of the *Ravanastrom*, a stringed instrument called after him. This instrument is used to this day in Ceylon. It is played with a bow and said to be the first violin. They also have an instrument called the Ravani (from Ravana) which is like a timbrel without bells. It is a very popular instrument and played for hours at a time at Festivals or the like.

Valmike, the sage and author of the Ramayana, as of the Metrical composition in Sanskrit, is said to have taught the Vina.

Tambura and Huhu, disciples of Brahma, practised and taught music. There is also an instrument called the tambura in popular use here in India to-day.

And now we come to the last but not the least of the superhuman beings who contributed to the music, dancing and singing in Indra's Court.

The Apsaras and Gandharvas, were the celestial musicians of the court. The Apsaras (beautiful nymphs) were celebrated for their loveliness and beauty, and are written of to-day by India's poets.

Dr. Tagore has taken Urvasi for the type of eternal beauty in his fine lyrical poem. Urvasi, Rhemba and Tilutamma are the three chief singers mentioned especially among the Apsaras. Rhemba, who taught dancing, was also called the Indian Venus. They are pictured in an ancient engraving as singing before Siva, and playing on the tamma (tamborina) cymbals, tal, or castanets; drum, vina or lute, and a saranga which is a stringed instrument unchanged and in use in India now.

The Gandharvas are the celestial singers, they are supposed to be the sons of Brahma, and were born "imbibing-melody." These heavenly musicians "sixty millions in number" made matrimonial alliances with the beautiful Apsaras, who danced, played and sang for the entertainment of the Gods on Mt. Meru. The presiding deity of the musicians was Soma or the God of the Moon, and these celestial musicians are often pictured in the sacred books of the Hindus as accompanying the Gods on their moonlight wanderings.

It has been said that an understanding of the present is only possible from a study of the past. And this truth is our justification for having taken you into the ancient mythology of India, because the musical system and the very instruments themselves, described as practised by the Gods, are used in practically unchanged forms in India to-day.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

THE BLOOD OF SILENCE

[*Translated by the author from the original Japanese*]

The expanse of grey desert on the right,
On the left a snowy peak pointing like a drill,
The blind wind raging between:
From the fingertips of leafless trees the red blood of silence drips and drips,—
Did you ever imagine of such a place, my friend ?
I myself now stand between this awful desert and the peak of snow,—
This might be the place people who lost the world will be banished.
I strain the breath of my whole body,
Stooping down,
I stare at the blood of silence dripping from the tree,
That turns itself to the jewels of poetry,
Shining clear by the setting sun.

YONE NOGUCHI

THE CHANK INDUSTRY

The chank or shell has been regarded by the Hindus and the Buddhists as an emblem of sacredness and solemnity. The snow-white colour and the fine contour of a chank have supplied a stock of metaphors to the Indian poet. It is perhaps their traditional sacredness and their beauty which have made chank bangles and vermilion an indispensable embellishment of a Bengalee Hindu bride's toilet; and she has to give up their use if she becomes a widow. The custom amongst the married women of Tibet is exactly the same.

Antiquity of the trade in shells and the use of chank bangles.

From archæological sources, ancient writings and the accounts of travellers in India, we can trace the history of the chank industry back to the early centuries of the Christian era. James Hornell, Superintendent of the Pearl and Chank Fisheries of the Government of Madras, says, that traffic in chank shells, must have been brisk for 3,000 years or more between the fishermen on the Gulf of Manar and on the Kathiawar coast and the inland nations of the Deccan and Hindustan. In the Madras Fisheries Bulletin No. 7, and the Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III. (pp. 407-448), Mr. Hornell gives some very interesting translations from the Tamil classics testifying to the antiquity of the trade in Southern India. The chank-cutting industry reached a flourishing stage in the south during Hindu supremacy in that part of the country, and there are evidences of the existence of important shell-cutting factories in former times in the eastern section of the Madras Presidency, the tracts in the neighbourhood of Mysore and Hyderabad and the area near the Gulf of Cambay including Gujrat where shells are fished at the present time. The growth of the industry in the south may be attributed to the excellent skill of the Dravidian sculptors and the large production of fine shells from the Madras and the Bombay coasts.

The decay of the industry in the south is, perhaps, due to the decline of the Hindu power and the consequent dislocation of trade and industry. Mr. Hornell attributes the transfer of the chank industry and the export of shells to Bengal to the invasion of Malik Kafur as early as the 14th century A.D. But evidences from ancient Bengali literature clearly show that the import of shells into Bengal, and manufacture of bangles and their use were prevalent here several centuries earlier than that. The earliest reference, to my knowledge, is in the writings of Ramai Pandit in the 10th or the 11th century A.D. in his description of the decoration of "Adya" in her marriage. The next reference is in "Manasamangal" by Hari Dutt and by Narayan Dev who flourished in the 12th and the 13th centuries A.D., respectively. Chandidasa (14th century) gives a description of chank bangles resembling two fine sets of lunar slices—

"কিবা সে ডুগুলি, শঙ্খ ঝল্‌মলি
সরু সরু শশিকলা"

If the custom of wearing chank bangles in Bengal is so old, it is evident that this province has been a large importer of shells for centuries past. In an enumeration of the merchandise of Dhanapati we find, that cocoanuts from Bengal were bartered of old for chank shells from Ceylon, which is still a centre of the shell fishery. "কুরঙ্গ বদলে তুরঙ্গ পাব, নারিকেল বদলে শঙ্খ।" In "Manasamangal" by Bejoy Gupta (15th century).—

"তার পাছে বাওয়াইল নৌকা নামে ভীমাক্ষ
যেই না'এ ভরিয়া লৈল শঙ্খ চৌদ্দ লক্ষ।"

In Bengal, Dacca has been the centre of the trade from where bangles in large quantities have been exported to Tibet, Bhutan, Siam, Assam, Orissa and Behar.

The history of the trade is very interesting in as much as it runs the same course with that of many other indigenous trades which once saw the hey-day of prosperity and are now either dead or decadent. Tavernier visited Dacca and Pabna in 1666 and gave an account of the flourishing condition of the trade during Moghul supremacy. Before the advent of the Dutch in Madras, Bengal merchants could indent shells directly from the ports of Madras ; but, after the establishment of Dutch Companies, nobody could sell a single chank to anyone except to those companies which despatched all shells to the Bengal factories and sold them there at a large profit.

Next, with the rise of British supremacy, the rights of all the chank fisheries were transferred to the British Government. According to the decision of the Madras High Court in a case in which the plaintiff was the Raja of Ramnad—"No restricted territorial limit exists either in Palk Bay or the Gulf of Manar,—all chank beds belong to the Government by right of immemorial custom and of prescriptive sovereign right acquired among other prerogatives from the Nawab of Carnatic, the Rajas of Tanjore and Ramnad and the Dutch Government." So, at present the Government of Madras enjoy complete proprietary rights over the chank beds from which they derive a considerable revenue every year. Nobody can get chank shells except through the Government of Madras. It is this monopoly which has given a blow to the chank industry by bringing into the trade a class of middlemen speculators who stand in the way of the artisans' getting shells at first-hand rate. The result has been an abnormal rise in the prices of shells and the consequent decline of the industry. Thanks to the Swadeshi movement of 1906, people began to boycott the use of foreign-made glass bangles, and thanks to some advance in the artistic design of chank bangles to suit the refined taste of the people, the chank industry received an impetus. But this was only temporary.

Centres of Fishery and the Volume of Import.

There are at present five principal centres from which shells are imported into Bengal:

(1) Tinnevelly or the Tuticorin fishery. The nickname of these shells is "Titkuti" (from Tuticorin). They are of the finest quality.

(2) Ramnad fishery. These are called "Patti" shells and are of an inferior quality.

(3) Tanjore.

(4) Kathiawar. Surat was originally the sea-port of these shells and hence they are called "Surti" shells.

(5) The Northern Coast of Ceylon. These shells are ordinarily called "Jaffna."

The statistics of the total import of shells into Bengal for the last few years are as follows :—

Year.		1916-17.	1917-18.	1918-19.	1919-20.	1920-21.
Quantity	... Cwt.	16,165	18,095	16,094	13,315	5,794
Value	... Rs.	1,84,883	2,04,460	1,65,638	1,53,180	74,880

From these statistical figures, it will appear, that the volume of the trade during the four years from 1918 to 1921 has been gradually declining till it reached in 1921 about 32 per cent. of the imports of 1917-18. We shall deal with the causes of this phenomenal fall later on.

Location of the industry.

Among the small centres of this industry may be mentioned Chittagong, Sylhet, Pabna, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Moorshidabad, Jessore, Khulna, Burdwan and Bankura. At Chittagong the chank-cutting is carried on by a number of Mahammadan artisans. The most important and ancient centre of the trade is Dacca. The traders live at Sankharibazar, a rather filthy and congested portion of the town. At present their number is roughly estimated to be about 900 working hands. There are wealthy traders among the Sankharis, who do not work with their hands but employ labourers and have got large establishments. The Shankharis of Dacca have no social relationship with the chank-cutters of other places, but form a distinct guild or community by themselves (Shankha Banik) whose matrimonial connections are limited to their own group at Dacca. Higher education has just begun to make its way among the Shankharis with the result that a tendency is distinctly manifest among the new generation to give up the exceedingly arduous and rather unremunerative calling of their class.

Demand of chank bangles.

From time immemorial the custom of wearing fine chank bangles has been prevalent in India among Hindu ladies, specially at weddings. There is a steady demand for coarse chank bangles among the Santals of Chota Nagpur, the Maghs of Chittagong and the Tibetans. But the demand for chank bangles now-a-days among Bengalee women—with whom it was once a favourite—is fluctuating with every passing phase of fashion to which the skilful ingenuity of chank-workers seldom cares to respond. In 1906 an appeal to the instinct of patriotism caused a rise in the demand in the fashionable circles, but this proved to be transitory. The demand among the poorer classes or women of the rural areas for ordinary bangles is rather steady. During the last few years, high prices of shells, rise in the remuneration of workers, the hard economic condition of the users of bangles and supply in the market for a time of potato-made bangles and quite recently of lac bracelets (popularly called *reshmi chooris*) as substitutes, have all contributed to bring about a fall in the demand as well as the supply of chank products. The present is a precarious time in the history of the shell industry of Bengal, and unless people evince a taste for indigenous articles, one of their oldest industries will soon pass into oblivion beyond recall. I was shown at Dacca some fine pairs of bangles artistically bordered with gold, a fit article for use by our aristocratic sisters of Bengal. Artistic bangles of milk-white beauty cannot of course fail to command one's admiration.

Manufacture of chank bangles.

The manufacturing process of the present day is the same as it was about 2,000 years ago. The superfluous portions of the shells are first knocked off with a hammer, reducing the chanks into rough cylinders to which the crescent-like saw is applied and moved both ways cutting them into crude "working sections." The outer sides of these sections are ground smooth on a piece of stone and the inner sides by a round stick coated with sand and lac, technically called a "salai." The next process is to cut artistic curves on them and put colour paints on some. The manipulation of the saw is a very delicate and arduous process requiring a trained, steady hand and involving severe strain on the nerves. The slightest deviation of the hand would spoil the thin slices.

The remuneration of labour, though low, has risen considerably during the past few years. The services of the cutters are in great demand and they are paid at piecework rates. Their earnings vary from Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 per month; but in consequence of the extreme fatigue entailed in cutting they cannot keep up their energy for the whole of the month and hence derive a less income. Children are largely employed for grinding and on other odd jobs earning from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 per month.

The present economic position of the industry.

There is a growing aversion to this industry among the Shankharis, mainly because,—(1) it is not a very paying concern at present owing to the recent abnormal rise in the prices of shells; (2) it causes nervous breakdown among their young hopefuls and injure their body and mind owing to the conditions under which they work in the narrow cells of their factories and to the tedium of the work; (3) it is difficult to find experienced cutters who are falling off in numbers day by day and taking to other less irksome and more paying occupations.

The remedy for much of these evils lies in the invention of a chank-cutting machine manipulated by hand or worked by steam or electric power. This is a long-felt want and the invention of such a machine may ameliorate the present condition of the industry.

The next difficulty is about the supply of shells. All the chank fisheries are at present the monopoly of the Government who invite tenders from intending purchasers and are responded to by a class of middlemen speculators who offer the highest bid and get the contract.

In this way, the artisans are eliminated from the market and can only get their shells at a second monopoly rate from these speculators. I have heard at Dacca general complaints from the Shankharis against these speculators, particularly against the firm of Messrs. J. B. Dutt and Sons, who first entered into the forward contract with the Madras Government in 1911 and has ever since been the *de facto* dictator of the chank industry of Dacca.

The only means of escape out of the clutches of these speculators lay in the formation of a Co-operative Society of Shell Workers and to approach the monopoly-holding Government with a petition to deal directly with the Society. So, the Dacca Chank-Shell Workers' Co-operative Society first came into existence in 1921. In one year the Society has done excellent work and bids fair to do more in the future.

As regards the royal prerogative of chank beds, all we can say is that governments are not regular commercial concerns. The aim of a government is not a maximum of profit or the earning of big dividends for shareholders. A government exists for the promotion of the interests and well-being of the tax-payers and the industrial and economic development of the country. But commercial speculation, or what is no less an evil, the abetment of speculative profiteering by the Government which holds a monopoly of the chank fisheries is making for the early collapse of an indigenous industry of Bengal. Of course, we do not advocate sacrifice of revenue *in toto*, but we should ask the Government to change its excessive commercial policy and give up the contract system. Dr. N. C. Sengupta, Vice-Principal of the Dacca Law College, makes an excellent suggestion for the Madras Government to doubt.—"Instead of contracting with the highest bidder, the Madras Government should make a reasonable valuation of the shells and fix the rate for each year. It may then offer to sell the whole stock to the Co-operative Society of chank-makers at the price fixed. If they refuse to take at that price they may sell to others." (The Bengal Co-operative Journal, November, 1917.)

Potentiality of the Industry and some suggestions for its improvement.

As a home industry, the manufacture of chank bangles is very important. But all improvements have been arrested for want of a suitable cutting machine. The matter has, of late, received the attention of the Director of Industries, Bengal. Mr. C. W. Budd, the Industrial Engineer, has been kind enough to tell me that he has conducted several experiments with the object of discovering, if possible, a suitable up-to-date method of cutting shells into rings for bracelets. Various high-speed discs of different metals were tried without success. Low-speed sawing likewise did not give satisfactory results. Very considerable success was, however, obtained by using an elastic-composition grinding disc. The ease with which this disc cuts through the shells leaves no doubt that the solution lies in this method of cutting. It now remains to obtain a disc of the most suitable composition and shape for the work, as not only is cutting but also a considerable amount of shaping and ornamental chasing is essential. Mr. Budd has ordered home for the necessary apparatus. It will be driven by electric power giving 4,000 revolutions in a minute. If it is suitable, we are sure, the apparatus will be welcomed by the shell-workers.

Buttons made from the refuse of shells are sold at present at high prices and their supply is not equal to the demand. We can anticipate a world-wide market for chank buttons if they can be supplied at a moderate rate and are made to suit the taste of the public.

The refuse has so long been burnt into lime which is generally used with betel. I would suggest a novel enterprise, which, if successful, may be expected to command a wide market in fashionable circles all over the world. Powder manufactured from chank will be commercially a very important commodity. The medical importance of chank powder has long been recognised by the people. At some places shell-powder is taken internally in cases of acute Dyspepsia. But, as a specific for pimples and skin diseases and an eradicator of the marks of small-pox it has been largely used by people who testify to its curative properties. If this powder can once catch the market as a cosmetic, it will have a large demand.

To-day, when the Government is going to mould its fiscal policy for accelerating the industrial progress of India and the people are ready to suffer present sacrifice for future gain, it will not be too much, we hope, to expect the Government and the people to take all necessary measures to save an ancient industry of Bengal from imminent collapse.

ABINAS CHANDRA DUTT

TO A MAIDEN

O maiden of the soft gazelle eye,
Sure, thou canst not see
Life's harsh reality;
There's a light in thy glance, tender and shy,
That must turn all toil and strife
To dreams of love and life,
O maiden of the soft gazelle eye.

O maiden of the smooth raven hair,
Sure, thou canst not feel
Life's weight 'neath which we reel;
Flowing are thy locks as waves of air,—
Thy cares must melt away
Like clouds in the blue of May,
O maiden of the smooth raven hair.

O maiden of the fair rhythmic limbs,
Sure, thou canst not hear
The discord that jars our ear;
Thy movements like soft-sung vesper hymns
Must sooth life's tumultuous sea
To eternal harmony,
O maiden of the fair rhythmic limbs.

V. B.

WINDOWS

They are the eyes of architecture. Wide open they take in the outside world and in return show to it the secret darkness of the within. They bring face to face the unknown and the privacy. They do it with the discretion of age old custom. They never are taken by surprise.

The glance temples cast around them is firmer and graver than that of common-place houses. The life of the gods within is as broad as the age to which they belong and their depth stretches through generations. Their contact with the world is definitely established and many houses had to be built and many experiments made as to the suitability of the wood or stone that would be fit to make the framework of light, infinite in its benevolence or cruelty and to interfere with its impartiality. They believe in the aspect that modifies, in the angle that gains softness by breaking. The physiognomy they contract speaks of the struggle between man and matter, between the needs of the individual and the existence of nature.

Horse-shoe frame of wooden origin makes the wide arch cut into the rock, through which, screened off frequently by a wooden devise, now perished, light finds its way right to the sanctuary of the Buddhist chaitya hall. (Pl. I.)

The master builder in the south, however, makes the narrow corridor in front of his shrine, lift its heavy lid to the waves of the sea, that has come closer to-day than it was at the time when the "shore temple" had been built. The wide rectangle of its opening shows the heavy boulders of stone, fit together with that simplicity of proportion which is the quality of grandeur. (Pl. II.)

But light outside and darkness within at day time, or its altered relation when the glow of lamps rescues the presence of the temple from the annihilation of night, at times are brought into a contact, diffuse and subtle, penetrating, yet aloof so that the two form a pattern of which the negative part is equal to the positive, in a carefully measured and intricate alternation. Those drooping eyelashes of hazy vision wink along the broad expanse of window walls of the Hoysala temples of Mysore, (Pl. III) whereas Orissa is fond of knitting into their chess-board design the rhythm of dance and song and human bodies that move accordingly, or of surrounding them by the joy of life, that is none the less for having found form in playing monkeys. (Pl. IV.)

St. K.

SUPPLICATION

I am so weary of the painted faces,
The endless noise, the stirring-up of strife.
The soul-disguising masks and false grimaces
That some call life.

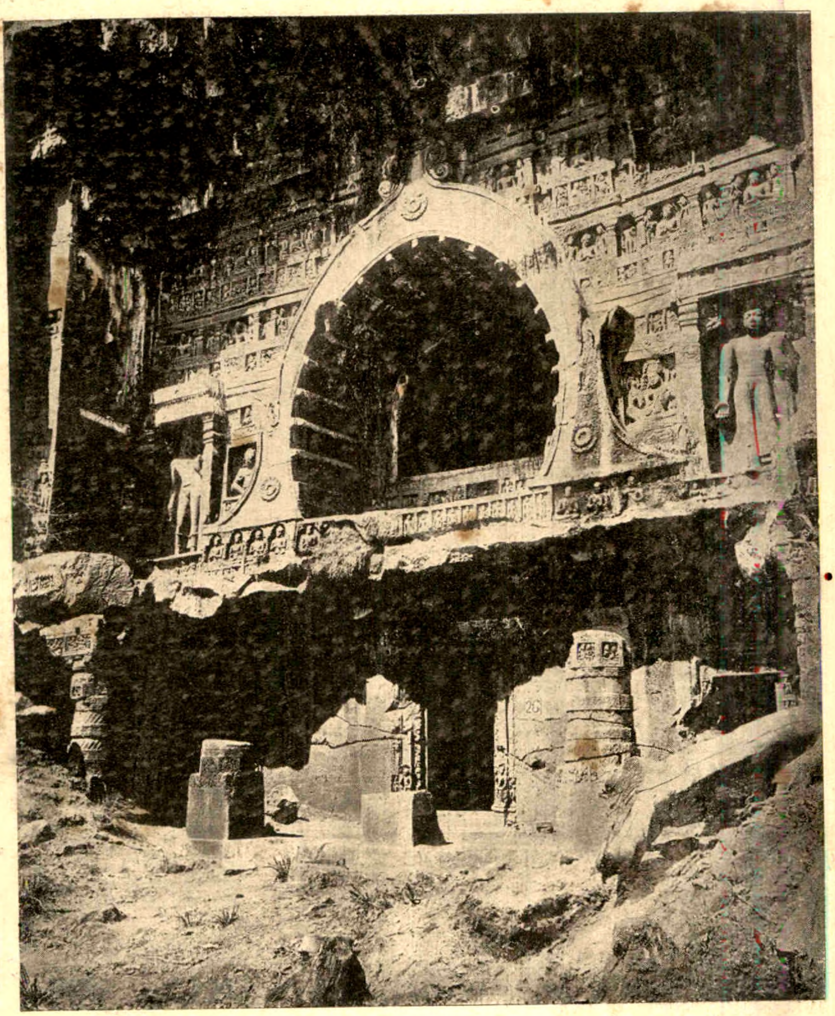
Is this then life, this ceaseless round of pleasures,
This mockery of joy and love locked out?
What of God's richest, oft-unsought-for treasures
These wordlings flout?

Give me a sun-swept space where spicy breezes
Play over burning sand and cobalt sea.
And heady passion, lute-attuned, that seizes
On fancy free.

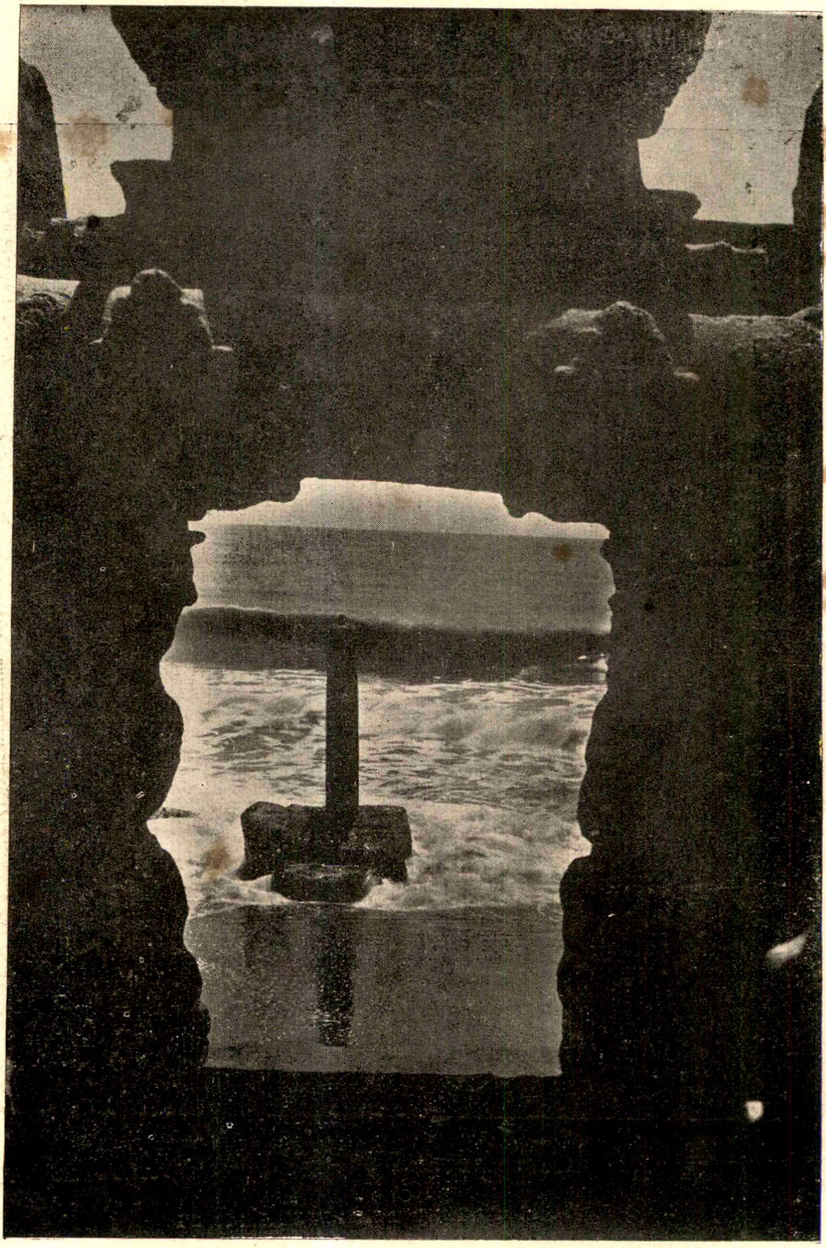
Give me an Eastern moonlit garden, scented
With flower fragrance : star-lamps high above
Give me all this and what was first invented
Oh, give me Love.

Gwendoline Goodwin

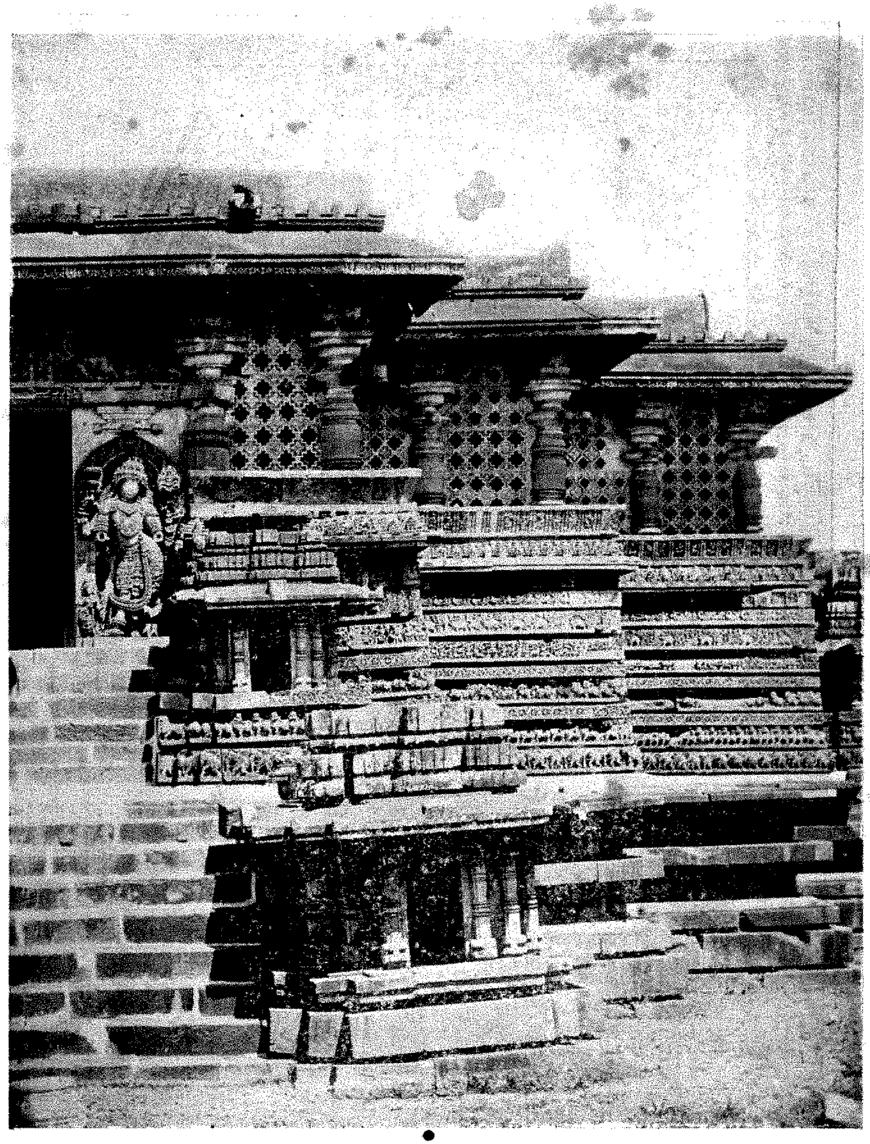
WINDOWS



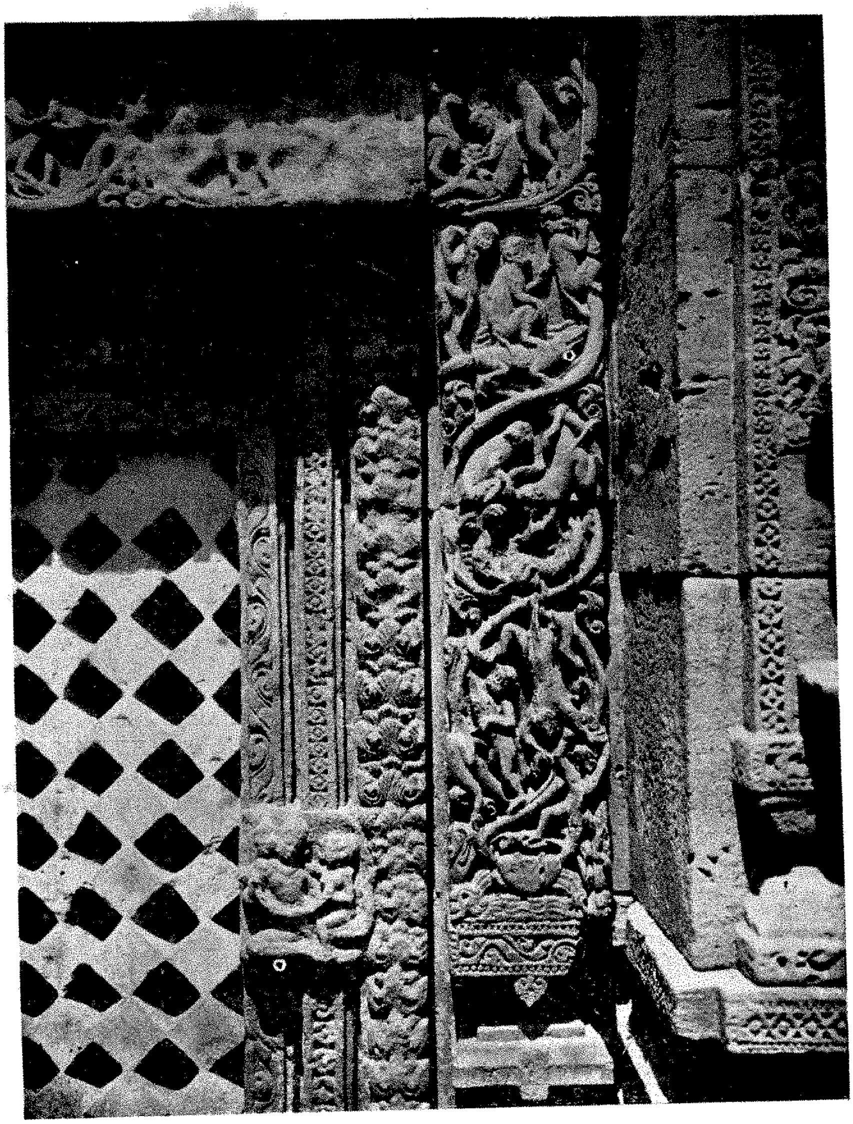
FACADE: CHAITYA HALL 26, AJANTA



FROM: SHORE TEMPLE, MAMALLAPURAM



FROM: HOYSALESVARA TEMPLE, HALEBID



FROM: MUKTESVARA TEMPLE, BHUWANESVAR

Reviews

Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo: a Dictionary of Prakrit, in Hindi and Sanskrit: by Pandit Hargovinddas T. Sheth, Lecturer in Prakrit in the University of Calcutta: Vol. I: the Vowels. Price Rs. 8.

Prakrit studies in India have an equally glorious tradition with those of Sanskrit. With the differentiation of the spoken dialects in ancient India from the earlier Old Indo-Aryan speech, into the Prakrit vernaculars, and their grouping themselves into various local groups like those of the North-west, Midland, South-west, East, and South, some of them, notably those of the East and the Midland, came to be employed for literary purposes by certain communities—the Jains, and the Buddhists. Buddha and Mahāvīra were easterners; their discourses were in the eastern (Prācya) speech as current in eastern Hindustan; this speech later developed into the two dialects of Ardha-māgadhī and Māgadhī. The study of Prakrit thus can be said to go back to the days of Buddha and Mahāvīra—to times before the 5th century B.C. The learning and the acuteness of observation which were brought to bear upon the Sanskrit language by Pāṇini, and his predecessors and successors, were applied to the Prakrit dialects. Newer forms of Prakrit came into prominence as literary languages with the passing of centuries. Thus we have Pali, which is based on the old speech of the Midland, which became a sort of Hindōstānī of the centuries immediately closing the first millennium, B.C., into which the discourses of Buddha were translated from the eastern dialect in which they were originally given, and which became the sacred language of the Thēravādi Buddhists; Ardha-māgadhī, a younger and modified form of the old eastern speech in which Mahāvīra taught; Śaurasēnī, a late form of the Midland speech, regarded, as the evidence of the ancient Indian drama shows, as the most elegant of the popular languages spoken by the best classes in northern India who did not affect Sanskrit; Mahārāṣṭrī, based on the southern Aryan dialect, most musical of speeches from the super-abundance of vowel-sounds in it, regarded as the Middle Indian dialect *par excellence* for poems and songs; Śaurasēnī and Nāgara Apabhraṅsa, other later forms of the Midland speech, current in the western Doab and in Rajasthan and Gujarat, which were the precursors of Hindī (Braj-bhākhā) and Gujarātī; and a number of others. These filled up a great deal of Indian literature from the very time of the birth of Classical Sanskrit, in the 6th or 5th century B.C., down to Moslem times, and later; and the literature in them rivals that of Sanskrit in variety and depth and in general excellence. Generations of scholars in India—grammarians and lexicographers—have laboured at Prakrit. Contemporaneous with Buddha, we have Mahā-Kaccāyana, who settled the text of many of the discourses of Buddha, and probably aided in rendering them from the provincial Māgadhī (Prācya) *patois* used by

Buddha into the pan-Indian Midland speech, and in this way laid the foundations of Pali literature. Coming down, we can name Aśvaghōṣa, 1st century A.C., great in Sanskrit, author of the oldest Sanskrit drama with Prakrit passages yet made known to us; the unknown redactors of the Jain Canon; 'Bharata' and other writers on dramaturgy; Kaccāyana, of unknown date, whose Pali grammar is the oldest that we know of; Vararuci, 4th-5th century after Christ, the author of the oldest Prakrit grammar extant; Rājaśēkhara; the great Hēma-candra; 'Piṅgala'; and coming down to modern times, grammarians like Caṇḍa and Lakṣmīdhara, Rāma Tarka-vāgīśa and Mārkaṇḍēya, and Kramadiśvara;—not to mention a number of lesser lights in grammar, and a whole host of writers of Prakrit, religious and secular.

Of the Prakrit speeches, Pali with its literature had passed out of India with the Buddhist school it is associated with, and had made its home in Ceylon and in Indo-China; but there has been a revival of Pali in Indian universities during the last twenty-five years, which has been brought about by its study in Europe. The tradition in Pali studies has thus suffered a break in India. But the other Prakrits, although younger in age (like Ardha-māgadhī, Mahārāṣṭrī, and 'Apabhraṅśa'), have always been studied in India, and there has never been any break. A certain amount of Prakrit is found in most Sanskrit dramas; students of Sanskrit literature thus have always had to know at least the elements of Prakrit. The sacred and secular literature of the Jains is largely in Prakrit. Consequently, Prakrit has greater prestige with members of this sect, and it is the Jains who have studied the Prakrits in India with greater zeal (we have scholars from among the orthodox Hindus as well, like Rāma Tarkavāgīśa) than any other community,—although here and there; and the poets and bards of the Hindu Rajput courts in mediæval times had to know Prakrit. Prakrit studies still form a living tradition among the Jains, and specially the Jains of Western India—Gujarat and Rajasthan—culturally always in the forefront among Indian provinces. From the second half of the 19th century, Jain and Prakrit studies have met with a brilliant revival in India. Old texts have been published—among which the recently published Apabhraṅśa works like the Bhavisatta-kaha (edited by Jacobi, Munich, 1920, and by Dalal and Gune from Baroda, 1922) and the Sanatkumāra-carita (Jacobi, Munich, 1922) have demonstrated the extent of Apabhraṅśa literature. Among great works aiding the students of Jain literature in Prakrit, one may mention the Abidhāna-rājêndra, the Jain Cyclopædic Dictionary published under the editorship of Vijaya-rājêndra-sūri.

Pandit Hargovinddas Trikamchand Sheth, lecturer in Prakrit in the Calcutta University, has come forward with this fresh lexicographical contribution to Prakritic studies. His plan is to furnish a dictionary of respectable size for Prakrit. He has not confined himself to the Jain canonical literature only; for that, there is the monumental Abhidhāna-rājêndra to fall back upon. He has included literary works like the Gāthā-sapta-śatī, and Gauḍa-vadha, and the Sētu-bandha. As it would be natural, he has concentrated on Mahārāṣṭrī and Ardha-māgadhī, and on literary Apabhraṅśa, in which the bulk of the Prakrit literature is composed. The variant forms, Śaurasēnī and Māgadhī, however, which figure in the dramas, he could not always give, as apparently by that the work would have become quite unwieldy; for the number of such variants is countless. For the serious student of Prakrit, this will not be a disadvantage. But he notes Śaurasēnī forms here and there. Pandit Sheth has undoubtedly availed himself of the glossaries to the various texts prepared by their respective editors, like Jacobi and Goldschimdt, Chandrakumār Ghosh and S. P. Pandit, and Sten Konow, and others; and he is perfectly within his rights to do so.

But the work is not a mere compilation of glossaries. It contains ample evidence of Pandit Sheth's wide reading in Prakrit literature and of his vast labours in the field. He gives us also words from works like the Surasundarī-caria, the Samarāicca-kaha, and Paüma-caria. The Sanskrit *chāyā* is given, and explanations in Hindī, with frequent quotations, showing the employ of the words.

The first volume of this Dictionary as published finishes the vowels. We have in this volume nearly 11,000 words and compounds (253 pages with an average of 43 words per page). The total number of words when the Sadda-mahaṇṇavō is completed will thus be quite a large one. It will be a very useful publication, and no student of Prakrit and of modern Indo-Aryan languages can afford to be without it.

Only we wish that there was a list of abbreviations given for the works quoted from, mentioning the editions used; and more detailed references would certainly have been better. But criticisms and suggestions for improvement are easy to make. The work so far accomplished by Pandit Sheth, is an extremely laborious one, requiring not only great scholarship, but also great patience; and we are happy to say that in the part of the Sadda-mahaṇṇavō that has been published we have a scholarly work which will prove invaluable. We are eagerly awaiting the completion of the work, and Pandit Sheth ought to receive entire support from all interested in Prakritic and Jain studies.

The *format* of the work is very handy, and the general get-up, typography and printing, is beautiful.

S. K. C.

The Reign of Law. By C. Jinarājadāsa. Theosophical Publishing House, Adyar, 1923. pp. viii + 144; price Annas Twelve only.

In the eight short essays making up, together with a foreword, this booklet by the Vice-President of the Theosophical Society, is to be had as readable an exposition of Buddhism as one can hope to find. Specially noteworthy, because of the most general interest, are the chapters entitled "Self-Reliance," "Gautama the Buddha" and "Back to the Lord!" which discuss the relation of Buddhism to the doctrines of altruism, self-sacrifice or the service of man; the relation of Theosophy to the great religions of the world, the real essence of Nirvana; and the nature of the social and religious reforms brought about by Gautama Buddha. The later chapters disclose the mysticism that underlies Buddhism and are a challenge to those who hold that Buddhism is barely more than "a fascinating intellectualism."

P. E. D.

Socrates by Mr. Rajanikanta Guha, M.A., Pt. I, published by the Calcutta University.

The Late Dr. J. D. Anderson gave a discourse on the Indian people to some three hundred students of the Cambridge University in February, 1918, and made the following observation in course of his address:—"The Greeks and Romans recognised one another's gods. When Cæsar went to Gaul, he recognised that the Gallic tribes worshipped gods similar to his own. When Megasthenes went to India, he thought he found Indian counterparts of his own Zeus and Dionysus. There was no barrier between East and West until the 7th century, when Muhammadan religion occupied all Western Asia and separated India (including its very early historian Christians) from Europe."

What Dr. Anderson said is in evidence everywhere in the remarkable work written by Prof. R. K. Guha on the life of Socrates. Not only in the domain of religion, but in social, domestic and even political life the Greeks and the Hindus show many common characteristics which are interesting. Mr. Guha has brought his vast erudition to bear upon these important racial matters. He has not only explored the whole field of Greek history, but exhausted all resources of the Vedic literature for a comparative study. This part of his work is but a prelude to the promised memoir. It gives a bird's eye view of the social, religious and political history of the Greeks with the object of preparing the minds of his readers for a right appreciation of the work done by the great philosopher. The comprehensive character of the projected work will be understood from the fact that the preliminaries included in this part alone occupy 556 pages Demy 8vo size.

Mr. Guha, while dealing with the various aspects of Greek history, never loses sight of India. The analogies are drawn in detail, while he does not fail to throw sidelights on many points of divergence. He introduces his discourse by drawing attention to the fact that the name 'Greek' like 'Hindu' was not indigenous but given by an alien people. It is now well-known that the Bengali race bear in their blood considerable Dravidian elements. The Greek blood, also, is by no means pure Aryan. It has a marked admixture of the African. The Greek shrines, like those of the Hindus, were not only centres of great learning but had a great political significance, in as much as all the different peoples of Greece periodically assembled there and felt the bond of a common union, acquiring an intimate knowledge of one another. The four original castes of the Hindus, or a near approach to them, correspond to the Chrematislikon, the Epikourikon, the Phylakikon and the Helots of the Greeks. Plato's injunction about these social ranks that "These classes should adhere to their respective duties and by no means deviate from them" seems to echo the divine mandate given in the Gita "श्रेयान् स्वधर्म्मो विगुणः परधर्म्मात् स्वनुष्ठितात." During the Homeric age the Greeks cremated the dead, and burial was a later innovation. Human sacrifice was made to the altar of gods in Greece and animal sacrifice was once as profuse as it is in India. Some of the European scholars have displayed a lively enthusiasm in trying to prove that the deities worshipped by the Greeks were identical with those of the Indo-Aryans. Cox, in his "Mythology of the Aryan Nations" has carried such attempts too far. According to him, Athena=Athana, the Vedic Dahana=Daphne, Saramâ=Helena, Bhrigu=Phlegys, Trita=Triton, Bharanyu=Phoroneous, Gandhara=Centaurs, Saranyu=Erinyes, Hárit=Charites and so forth. Though imagination plays a subtle part in tracing these ingenuous similarities, there is no doubt that some at least of the deities of the Hindu and Greek pantheons were originally identical. The worshippers of Dionysus showed their morbid excitement during worship by jerking and other physical displays, much on the lines of the emotional acts of the low-class Sivaites. Christendom knows the psychology of this kind of adolescence in the history of Quakers and other sects, though in a much more refined form. The Wesleyan Revival in 1880, however, showed these religious experiences in their crude primitive style. In Bengal the mystic trances of the Vaisnavas are matters of spiritual plane, reaching a high watermark of felicitous emotions. Mr. Guha has often shown these common features of the Hindus and the Greeks in minute and interesting details. The ceremony observed by the Hindus on the 6th day of child-birth, called the 'Shasthi' had its parallel amongst these Greeks in that of Amphidromia, and the Dekate of the Greeks, observed on the tenth day in the 'Dasá' or 'Daśáha,' mentioned in the Mainamati Songs of Bengal. The duties of the husband to his wife referred to in a discourse by Iskhomakhos to Socrates, embody all the points of the relative obligations of nuptial life, detailed in the Mahábhárata, Manusamhitá, Vyása-Samhitá; and Mr. Guha has proved this by elaborate extracts. The Greeks constructed their houses, keeping open space in the south and this is in conformity with the maxim of 'Dák' contained in these lines "উত্তর বেড়ে, দক্ষিণ ছেড়ে, ঘর.করগে ভেড়ের ভেড়ে" followed by the Bengalees to this day. Though many common features are observed in the spiritual sides of the two peoples, the standard of Greek culture evidently inclined towards the political as that of the Hindus towards the spiritual. This is the most fundamental point of difference which strikingly manifested itself in the cultural stand-points of the Eastern and Western civilisations of later times.

It will thus be seen that Mr. Guha's invaluable work, based on comparative study, is a mine of information. As a book of reference, it will rank as one of the best works of this class in our Bengali literature. The style is racy and we have read the book with sustained interest from the beginning to the end. It is a monument of learning and scholarly insight and does the highest credit to the erudite author for whom we have nothing but admiration. We long to see the great work in its entirety and are confident that, when complete, it will be one of the most important contributions to our literature.

D. C. SEN

Independent Labour Party: Report of the Annual Conference, held at London, April, 1923.

The volume under notice contains the Report of the Thirty-first Annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party together with the Report of its National Administrative Council.

The Independent Labour Party is the youngest of the political parties in England. It is a Socialist organisation and has for its object establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth; and it aims at attaining this object by the use of the political and industrial power of an awakened Democracy. The Party is affiliated to the Parliamentary Labour Party, and along with it has been gaining in strength and influence ever since its formation in 1892, when the late Mr. Keir Hardie was sent as its first representative to Parliament. In 1906, the number of Independent Labour Party members to Parliament rose to 12; and in 1922, the Party returned 33 out of the 54 candidates who contested the elections. In the recent elections the Party has obtained still more victories, and with the Labour Party has returned nearly 200 Members of the Parliament. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, the erstwhile Leader of the Opposition and the present Head of His Majesty's Government is a member of this Party.

The Reports are full of interesting and valuable discussions on recent British and European politics. The considered opinion of the Party on such vital questions as the Versailles Treaty, the League of Nations, the Ruhr, Imperialism, Capitalism, Unemployment, Socialism, etc., is clearly set forth in these Reports, and as such they would prove highly useful to students of current world politics.

"The New Leader," a 'fighting weekly,' and the "Socialist Review," a monthly, edited by Mr. MacDonald, are two of the important organs of the Party. The work of propaganda, on which the success of the Party so much depends, is further supplemented by the publication of literature; and on this is spent a considerable portion of the Party's total annual revenues.

B. K. S.

The Cotton-Growing Countries: Production and Trade, compiled by the International Institute of Agriculture, Rome, 1922.

This is a most useful statistical compilation in regard to the acreage, the yield, and other matters pertaining to the cotton trade. In collecting their data, the Institute approached the Governments of 79 countries, 41 of which furnished them with 'the fullest information available.' Information was also gathered from other trustworthy and authoritative sources. The work can thus claim to be a reliable account of cotton statistics, and it must be said that the difficult task of arranging and presenting this detailed mass of information in a compact and suitable form has been most admirably executed. Businessmen who take an intelligent interest in the cotton trade will find this new monograph extremely valuable for purposes of reference.

A few interesting facts regarding cotton are here stated. The total annual production of the world during recent years, excepting China and

Asiatic Russia, the only two important countries for which no adequate statistics are available, is a little over 8,000 million lbs. Of this, the United States produces about 5,300 million lbs., or about 65%, India, about 1,900 million lbs., or about, 23%, Egypt, about 500 million lbs., or about 6%, Brazil, about 230 million lbs., or about 2·8%, and Peru, about 76 million lbs., or about 1%. Though nothing very definite and reliable is known about the Chinese production, it is estimated from several sources that the Chinese yield averages about 2,000 million lbs. The average annual production of Russia during the five years 1910-14 was about 320 million lbs. The following are the averages of the area under cultivation and the yield per acre during 1919-22, China and Russia excluded.

United States	33·6	million	acres	57·5	%	156	lbs.	per acre.
India ...	21·0	,,	,,	36·0	,,	88	,,	,,
Egypt ...	1·6	,,	,,	2·8	,,	299	,,	,,
Brazil ...	·9	,,	,,	1·6	,,	247	,,	,,
Peru ...	·1	,,	,,	·3	,,	473	,,	,,

From the above, it is clear that the United States still holds a predominant position in the cotton markets of the world. And, in fact, American cotton has, as yet, no rival in the world market. In the opinion of experts, however, Africa and Brazil have a great future for cotton growing. According to Mr. A. S. Pearse, who recently made a tour of Brazil on behalf of the International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners, "the area available for cotton cultivation might possibly be found to exceed that planted in the United States."

R. K. S.

A French Translation from Rabindranath. Last month has been published in Paris a book which is of unique significance in European and Indian literature. Its title runs thus: *Cygne*: *Rabindranath Tagore*: *Traduction du Bengali par Kâlidâs Nâg et Pierre Jean Jouve*: *Portrait gravé par Frans Masereel*: '*Poesie du Temps*': *MCMXXIII*: *Librairie Stock, Delamain Boutelleaux & Cie., Paris.* (Swan: by R. T., Translated from the Bengali by K. N. & P. J. J.; with a portrait engraved by F. M., etc.,). This is the first faithful translation of an entire work by Rabindranath direct from Bengali into French. French still holds its place as *the* language of European culture, which most educated people in Europe, at least on the Continent, know; and in the present translation, the cultured people of Europe will have an opportunity of coming in touch with Rabindranath almost direct, and not through translations of English adaptations.

It is over ten years ago that Rabindranath's English *Gitanjali* took Europe by storm, and his position as one of the greatest masters in the world's literature was immediately recognised. We in Bengal who have read him and loved and revered him and have obtained inspiration from him were glad to find that the outside world agreed with us in what we have always felt. Rabindranath is the greatest writer of Bengal. He has drawn out the hidden powers of the language, and has made his mother-tongue truly work wonders. The beauty and thought of his poetry Rabindranath could transmit into English of rare grace and strength which has been the wonder and admiration of English speakers. This has made it unnecessary for him to be at the mercy of translators in addressing the English-speaking world. To suit the new setting in which he put his creations, with the disdainful hand of the master he altered them here and there, and he culled into bouquets the flowers from the garden of his muse. The perfume of the flowers is undying, the bouquet is charming. But the flowers in their own home in nature are the original Bengali poems. We who know the originals can feel their beauty, but we love the English adaptations as well, as they too show the master's hand. But where will one get the rhythm of songs like 'māṭira pradīpa-khāni āchē māṭira gharēra kōlē,' or 'jana-gaṇa-mana-adhināyaka jaya hē Bhārata-bhāgya-vidhātā,' or of poems like the 'Ūrvaśī' and the 'Tāj-Mahal,' which, whether they breathe the fragrance of flowers or of incense, or carry us away with a voice of thunder, or dazzle us like a steady flash of lightning, or soothe us like the rain-cloud, are always the expression of a supreme art?

Each language has its special *cachet*, and it is impossible to give all the nuances of sense and sound of one language into another: specially in lyric poetry. The employment of verse in translating poetry from one language into another by using the conventional metres of the latter, metres which have possibly nothing in common with that of the original language, is on principle wrong, except, of course, when the idea is the main thing. Nothing makes more true the Italian aphorism about translators. It is often necessary to create a metre after the original, and this plan sometimes brings in a certain amount of success. A successful example of a translation along this line is the late Roby Datta's rendering of Rabindranath's 'Ūrvaśī': here the translator's handling of the English speech and the English metre was almost as perfect as his knowledge of his mother tongue from which he translated.

To translate poetry as poetry, and not as something of mere philological interest, one must be a poet himself. And of course he must know the language from which he translates as well as his own. But such a combination is rare in the same individual; and where the question is of translating from a Modern Indian language into one of Europe, it is almost unattainable. But the combination can be arrived at by collaboration. Sometimes the results of such a collaboration is a very happy one.

In producing the present translation of Rabindranath's *Balākā*, the collaboration of Messrs. Kalidas Nag and Pierre Jean Jouve has been particularly fortunate. Dr. Nag is endowed with a rare poetic sense; a poet and a talented musician himself, he has been associated with Rabindranath for a number of years. He is by training a historian, who has had a great deal to do with old Sanskrit texts. He also possesses a close acquaintance with the literatures of his own land as well as of Europe. Moreover, he is a Bengali who has spent three years in France, and has obtained a doctorate from the University of Paris. During his stay in France, he has had unique advantages of coming in close touch with some of the greatest spirits of contemporary France—with men like Romain Rolland, for instance.

M. Jouve is a poet who is a prominent figure in Modern French literature, and he has been deeply attracted by Rabindranath's poetry. Dr. Nag passed the fidelity of the translation to the original, and he saw that the rhythm of the original infused itself into the French in the hands of M. Jouve. The beautiful French with all its music and its vigour we owe to M. Jouve. We have thus in *Cygne* as much of the rhythm of the original as is possible to retain in a foreign language; a rare achievement, on which the translators can very well be congratulated. They have made one of the greatest apostles of internationalism, who is also one of the greatest artists of the world, speak direct through the international language of Europe.

The volume *Balākā* contains some great poems by Rabindranath. I shall not attempt an appreciation of these, for though they move me and fill my spirit, like all great literature, I am not competent to speak as a literary critic about their excellence. Nor shall I quote from *Cygne* lines from the French versions of the poems I like best in this collection. In their Note, the translators have stated that they made the translation in a poetic form, which alone has a right to exist: they have avoided a merely literal version with a philological value only, but have consciously attempted to find the lyric equivalents of the Bengali lines in French. For this purpose they have employed a technique which in its new methods is parallel to that employed by the Indian poet himself. In this, we may add, they have succeeded marvellously. The cadence of the French marches hand in hand with that of the original Bengali. The greater part of the 45 poems in this collection is in *vers libre*, which is one of Rabindranath's gifts to his mother tongue; and *vers libre*, depending on rhythm alone, and freed from the ordinary trammels of metric composition, seems to present a common platform for the new poetry in all languages.

About the agreement of the translation with the original,—I would gladly recommend it for the more utilitarian and pedestrian purpose of language study, for the Bengali who has some French (and happily the number of such Bengalis is on the increase), and for readers of French who may feel attracted to Bengali.

In certain points, we Indians, and specially, perhaps, the Bengalis, feel a peculiar affinity with the Latin peoples of Europe; and perhaps also with the Slavs; at any rate, that would seem to be the experience of many Bengalis, including myself. It is particularly fitting that this translation, which seeks to reveal the real Rabindranath to the outside world, should be in French. In the clear French of the translation, it is 'Tagore inconnu,' unknown to Europe behind the two-fold screen of English and the language into which his English form is rendered, that shines.

The wood-cut portrait of Rabindranath by Frans Masereel, a distinguished Belgian artist, is a powerful study of the noble figure of the poet. Masereel is well-known for his work in the vein of caricature. Here he has given us the poet sage. The value of the edition, a beautiful specimen of typography, is rendered greater, as an artistic production, by the inclusion of the portrait study by Masereel.

S. K. C.

Ourselves

UNIVERSITY CO-ORDINATION.

The following resolution of the Government of Bengal, dated the 5th January, 1924, was published in the *Calcutta Gazette* on the 9th January, 1924:

> "His Excellency the Governor of Bengal in the course of the address delivered at the Convocation of the Dacca University on the 22nd February, 1923, announced the intention of the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) to set up a Committee to act as a permanent advisory body to Government in their higher educational policy.
>
> 2. The Universities of Calcutta and Dacca are both hampered by the lack of adequate financial resources. At the same time the Government of Bengal on whom the sole care of both Universities has devolved since the introduction of the reformed constitution has been assigned a revenue insufficient to meet the most pressing demands of the province. The amount of money which the Government of Bengal can afford to spend on higher education is, therefore, strictly limited; and it is of supreme importance to ensure that such money as may be allotted to the Universities should be spent in the most profitable manner. Consequently it is essential that the work of the two Universities should be co-ordinated and that all unnecessary duplication should be avoided.
>
> 3. Dacca is a residential teaching University situated in Eastern Bengal; Calcutta is an affiliating and teaching University with its headquarters in the metropolis. The curricula followed in the two Universities must necessarily include similar courses of study. But it is natural and desirable that there should be special lines of development at either centre—Dacca University, for example, is likely to devote special attention to higher Islamic studies. It is obviously essential in the interests, not only of economy, but also of efficiency, that there should not be any avoidable overlapping in the provision of specialised courses of study, particularly in science. It will be disastrous alike to the institutions themselves and to the present and future generations of Bengal students if the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca become rivals rather than collaborators, and if the energies of either are wasted in mutual antagonisms or in controversies with Government and the Legislative Council. It is to assist Government and the two Universities to work together and to make the most of their resources and opportunities that the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education) have decided to appoint a permanent advisory Committee for higher education.
>
> 4. The Committee will be composed of :—
>
> 1. The Hon'ble Minister in charge of Education.
> 2. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta,

3. The Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dacca.
4. Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I., M.A., D.L.
5. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.
6. Mr. A. F. Rahman, B.A., M.L.C.
7. The Hon'ble Sir William Ewart Greaves, Kt.
8. Dr. Sir Nilratan Sarkar, Kt., M.D.
9. Dr. Sir Prafullachandra Ray, Kt., C.I.E., D.Sc.
10. Dr. Prasannakumar Ray, D.Sc.
11. Dr. Hassan Suhrawardy, M.D., F.R.C.S., L.M., M.L.C.
12. Mr. P. C. Mitter, C.I.E., M.L.C.
13. Dr. N. Annandale, C.I.E.
14. Sir Willougby Langer Carey, Kt.
15. The Director of Public Instruction, Bengal.
16. Mr. H. E. Stapleton, M.A., B.Sc.
17. Rai Lalitmohan Chatterji, Bahadur, M.A.

The meetings of the Committee will be presided over by His Excellency the Governor or, in his absence, by the Minister in charge of Education. If the Minister is also absent, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University will preside. The Director of Public Instruction will act as Secretary to the Committee. The function of the Committee will be to advise on all matters connected with higher education which may be referred to it by the Government of Bengal (Ministry of Education)."

This, as made manifest by internal evidence, is a precious legacy of the now defunct Ministry of Education, and we reserve our comments for obvious reasons; besides, it would not be fair to prejudge the work of the Committee or the action of the authorities based thereupon. We cannot but recall, however, that the embarrassment which the Government has now to face was anticipated long ago by many persons interested in the welfare of University education in this province, among others by Lord Carmichael himself. He foresaw that funds would not be available in abundance so as to enable the Government to finance two Universities at the same time. He accordingly stood out against the creation of a second University in Bengal till funds could be guaranteed for the maintenance not merely of the new but also of the old institution. Since then, the situation has been irrevocably altered, and we already hear of the necessity for avoidance of unnecessary duplication. But this leads up to the question, who has duplicated and what has been duplicated? There is only one answer possible, and it must be plain even to the stone-blind that any attempt to paralyse Calcutta for the sake of Dacca will not succeed and may indeed give rise to infinite trouble.

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ELECTION OF FELLOWS BY REGISTERED GRADUATES.

Mr. Mahendranath Ray, C.I.E., M.A., B.L., and Mr. Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L., have been re-elected Ordinary Fellows of the University by the Registered Graduates. Mr. Ray, it will be recalled, was first elected a Fellow by the Graduates in 1891 when the franchise was conferred on them by Lord Lansdowne. Mr. Banerjee was first elected a Fellow in 1919. In view of their high academic attainments it is not a matter for surprise that their return was not contested.

* * *

ELECTION OF FELLOWS BY THE FACULTY OF ARTS.

The Faculty of Arts have elected Mr. Herambachandra Maitra, M.A., and Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., as Ordinary Fellows. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Asanullah and Mr. Ramaprasad Mookerjee who nominated Mr. Maitra for re-election as Ordinary Fellow tersely described his qualifications in the following terms:

> "Principal, City College, Calcutta. A prominent Fellow and Syndic of the Calcutta University for many years past."

Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee, Mr. J. C. Coyajee and the Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Aminul Islam who nominated Mr. Mookerjee described his qualifications in the following terms:

> "M.A. in Indian Vernaculars (Bengali, Sinhalese, Pali and Persian) standing first in first class; Recipient of the University Gold Medal and Prize, Annapurna Medal, Brahmamoyee Medal, Durgamoni Medal, Sir

Asutosh Mookerjee Medal, Kshetramoni Prize, Ramaichandra Mitra Prize; Author of "Thesis on The Social Plays of Girischandra Ghosh."

B.A. with Honours in English standing first in first class; Recipient of Jubilee Post-Graduate Scholarship, Maneckji Rustomjee Medal, Bankimchandra Medal, Tawney Memorial Prize.

I.A. Examination, first in order of merit; Recipient of Duff Scholarship in Language, Duff Scholarship in Mathematics, Government Senior Scholarship, Gwalior Medal, Stephen Finney Medal, Bankimchandra Medal, Pachete Sanskrit Prize, Saradaprasad Prizes in English, Sanskrit and Mathematics, Dwijendralal Roy Scholarship and Prize."

Dr. Harendracoomar Mookerjee, it will be observed, decided not to offer himself for re-election but to propose his favourite pupil.

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ELECTION OF FELLOW BY THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

The Faculty of Medicine has elected Major W. L. Harnett, M.B., F.R.C.S., as an Ordinary Fellow in place of Lt.-Col. A. Leventon, F.R.C.S.I., D.P.H., resigned. The contest lay between Major Harnett who is now Superintendent of the Campbell Medical School and Dr. M. N. Bose, M.B., C.M., who is now on the staff of the Carmichael Medical College. The Faculty was on the first ballot found to be equally divided in opinion and as the tie was not dissolved on a second ballot, Lt.-Col. Barnardo, who occupied the chair as Dean, gave his casting vote in favour of Major Harnett. The contest was keen as was evidenced by the active interest taken by Major General Deare. One, at least, of the Members of the Faculty made himself conspicuous by his absence.

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DR. HENRY STEPHEN.

On Saturday, the 26th January, 1924, the Senate unanimously extended by three years the term of appointment of Dr. Henry Stephen as University Professor of English. Sir

Asutosh Mookerjee, who brought forward the motion, observed that it would be inappropriate for him to dwell upon the profound scholarship of Dr. Stephen but he felt bound to refer to his extraordinary vitality which was an object of wonder to the youngest member round the table. We congratulate ourselves that Dr. Stephen has been persuaded to continue his great work for the benefit of the rising generation of Bengal.

MR. NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE.

Our warmest congratulations to Mr. Nalinimohan Chatterjee, University Lecturer in the Department of English. Mr. Chatterjee, as is well-known, took his M/A. Degree in English, Group A, in 1911, in English, Group B, in 1913, in Latin in 1917, in Greek in 1918, and in Arabic in 1920. He is of a retiring disposition and has uniformly kept himself in the background notwithstanding his exceptional talent. He has written beautiful prose and verse in Bengali as also in English, and though he is a stranger to the art of self-advertisement, we find that Mons. Jacqueline Andre has published an attractive French version of his work on 'Krishna.'[1] The volume commences with an appreciative notice of the author which we have translated into English for the benefit of such of our readers as may not be able to read with ease the original French:

"Nalinimohan Chatterjee was born abut 35 years ago in a small town near Murshidabad, a famous city where reigned, at the time of the Moghuls, the powerful Nawabs of Bengal. Berhampore, his place of birth, is a centre of education, possessing schools and a College where some knowledge can be acquired of the civilisation of England and Europe—as also of the tradition and reminiscences of several literary masters of

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[1] Nalini Mohan Chatterjee, De L'Universite de Calcutta, Krishna, Legende Hindoue, Traduite de L'edition Anglaise Par Jacqueline Andre, Paris, Librairie Fischbacher, 33, Rue De Seine, 33, 1924.

Bengal. Despite its dense population, it is rather a big village than a town. The river Bhagirathi, one of the arms of the Ganges, traverses Berhampore, and the natural beauties of its landscape diversified with woods and meadows and surmounted with a sky of profound blue, which is almost constant, made on the author, yet a child, the most penetrating impression: they awakened in him the need of an intimate communion with nature.

The father of Nalinimohan Chatterjee, Rajani Kanto Chatterjee, held an important post in the Cossimbazar Raj. He made the most of this opportunity to give his son an European education. Nalini passed his preliminary examination in the Berhampore College and then joined the University of Calcutta. He had just been in Calcutta for University education when in 1904 his father died all on a sudden. The unforeseen event plunged him in great distress, both moral and mental. It seemed as if all his hope of a future were at an end. Deprived of an extremely tender affection which exerted the deepest influence on his life and flung without a rudder in the midst of a selfish and unknown world where all the avenues of glory seemed to him guarded by personal ambitions and unrelenting self-interests, Nalini Chatterji fell in a profound grief and was on the point of being sunk in despair.

In 1907 he came in contact with the poet, Rabindranath Tagore; this he considered the most important event of his life. Now the poetic instinct which our author had always felt in him, but which he did his utmost to restrain so long as he was not sufficiently equipped awoke with a new force under the spell of the great wizard. He wrote rapidly and in almost uninterrupted succession three volumes of verse: first, the *Pilgrim* explaining the desolation of the human soul put for the first time in the presence of death; second, the *Adorer* exhibiting the same soul in its relations with the Divine; third, the *Host* representing it in its contact with nature, At the same time he wrote in prose some essays which were received favourably by the public; but again perceiving in him the return of the ardent intellectual curiosity which had characterised his youth, he put off writing in order to prosecute his studies in different branches of human knowledge and to learn Greek, Latin, French, Italian and Arabic.

In 1914 Nalini Chatterji met another great man, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Calcutta, whose puissant personality and incessant efforts, after having evoked an intellectual consciousness of Bengal, have greatly helped its savants and poets enter into the intellectual life of our civilization. Since then, and under this dual influence, the life of our author was stabilised and broadened. He was appointed in 1918 a Professor of English in the University of Calcutta. He has since been able, while maintaining a patriarchal family, still a social feature in India, the death of his mother having left him the sole guardian of a younger brother and five sisters, to publish in course of future years, three other short collections of poems, inspired by the *Gitanjali*, some philosophical essays (*Philosophy of Youth*, the *Future of Love*) and these poems on the legend of Krishna, which he liked the most. It is through them he has desired to be introduced to the European public. The legend of Krishna we now publish is the exordium furnishing the necessary explanation of the other poem in prose, the *Flute of Krishna*, which the author regards, as he has himself, said as 'an essay on the essential harmony of life.'"

This may be an eye-opener to friends who are anxious to 'retrench' the activities of the Post-Graduate Department. Mr. Chatterjee has been in receipt of a salary of the magnificent sum of Rs. 250 a month, subject to the inevitable deduction of 'income-tax' and to the equally inevitable risks of 'abeyance' and 'arrears'!

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SYNDICATE FOR THE YEAR 1924-25.

The Syndicate for the year 1924-25 has been constituted as follows.

Elected by the Faculty of Arts.

Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, Kt., C.S.I.
Mr. Jnanranjan Banerjea, M.A., B.L.
" Manmathanath Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.
" Pramathanath Banerjee, M.A., B.L.

Elected by the Faculty of Science.

Mr. Subodhchandra Mahalanobis, B.Sc., F.R.S.E.
Prof. P. Brühl, D.Sc., I.S.O., F.C.S., F.G.S.

Elected by the Faculty of Law.

Mr. Birajmohan Majumdar, M.A., B.L.
" Ramaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L.

Elected by the Faculty of Medicine.

Major Hassan Suhrawardy, F.R.C.S.I., L.M., M.D., M.L.C.
Lt.-Col. F. A. F. Barnardo, C.I.E., C.B.E., M.D., F.R.C.S.E., I.M.S.

Elected by the Faculty of Engineering.

Mr. A. Macdonald, M.A., B.Sc.

Elected by the Senate.

Sir Nilratan Sircar, Kt., M.A., M.D., LL.D., D.C.L.
Mr. Herambachandra Maitra, M.A.
Rev. Dr. W. S. Urquhart, M.A., D.Litt.
Prof. Pramathanath Banerjea, M.A., D.Sc., M.L.C.

The Vice-Chancellor is *ex-officio* Chairman of the Syndicate and the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, is an *ex-officio* Member.

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VERNACULARS IN UNIVERSITY CURRICULUM.

We had occasion to inform our readers that a change of far-reaching consequence has been adopted by the Senate in respect of the syllabus for Vernacular for the Matriculation, Intermediate and B.A. Examinations (Vol. IX, p. 518). The object of the change is to render the study of selected texts in his own Vernacular compulsory on all candidates. The amendment of the Regulations has received the sanction of the Government and will come into operation at the Examinations to be held in 1926.

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MR. W. W. HORNELL.

On the 12th January, 1924, the Syndicate unanimously adopted the following resolution on the motion of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee:

> "The Syndicate place on record their high appreciation of the eminent services rendered by Mr. W. W. Hornell, C.I.E., M.A., to the University and to the cause of education generally in this Presidency."

The Registrar was authorised at the same time to arrange, under the direction of the Vice-Chancellor, an "At Home" in honour of Mr. Hornell who will leave Calcutta shortly to take up his duties as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Honkong. There was a brilliant gathering at the Senate House on the 19th January, 1924, to meet Mr. Hornell and to bid him good bye.

* * *

BENGAL POLITICS.

Our readers will be interested to read the following letter from Mr. W. A. J. Archbold to the Editor of the *Times* (London):

> SIR,—It has already been pointed out that the crisis in Bengal resembles that in this country. There is in each instance no party of overwhelming strength. But there the resemblance ends.

The Bengalis are by disposition followers of men rather than of parties; they are by nature hero-worshippers. If, therefore, a strong man appears, whatever may be the colour of his skin or of his coat, they will go where he leads. It is strange how we forget this. We think of the Bengalis as theatrical, as melodramatic, forgetting, of course, that they have to do their heroics, very good heroics, too, sometimes, in a foreign tongue, forgetting also what it all means, for if 60,000,000 of people are fond of being addressed as Marlowe would have addressed them, it implies that their ideals and hopes correspond, to some extent, to the burning words that are provided for them.

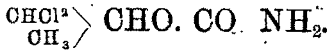
The only question which arises to my mind is this: Has the man appeared who can take the lead? Without doubt he has, and your statement that Sir Asutosh Mookerjee has resigned his High Court Judgeship is by far the most important piece of news we have yet received. That he may become Minister of Education is possible, but whatever position he holds he will be the controlling force in the Government. As for his bout with Lord Lytton, there was a good deal to be said on both sides of that controversy. Those who know anything of the rough and tumble of Indian politics will not think much about that; Sir Asutosh, if he could forget anything, has probably long forgotten that he ever wrote the famous letter of March 26.

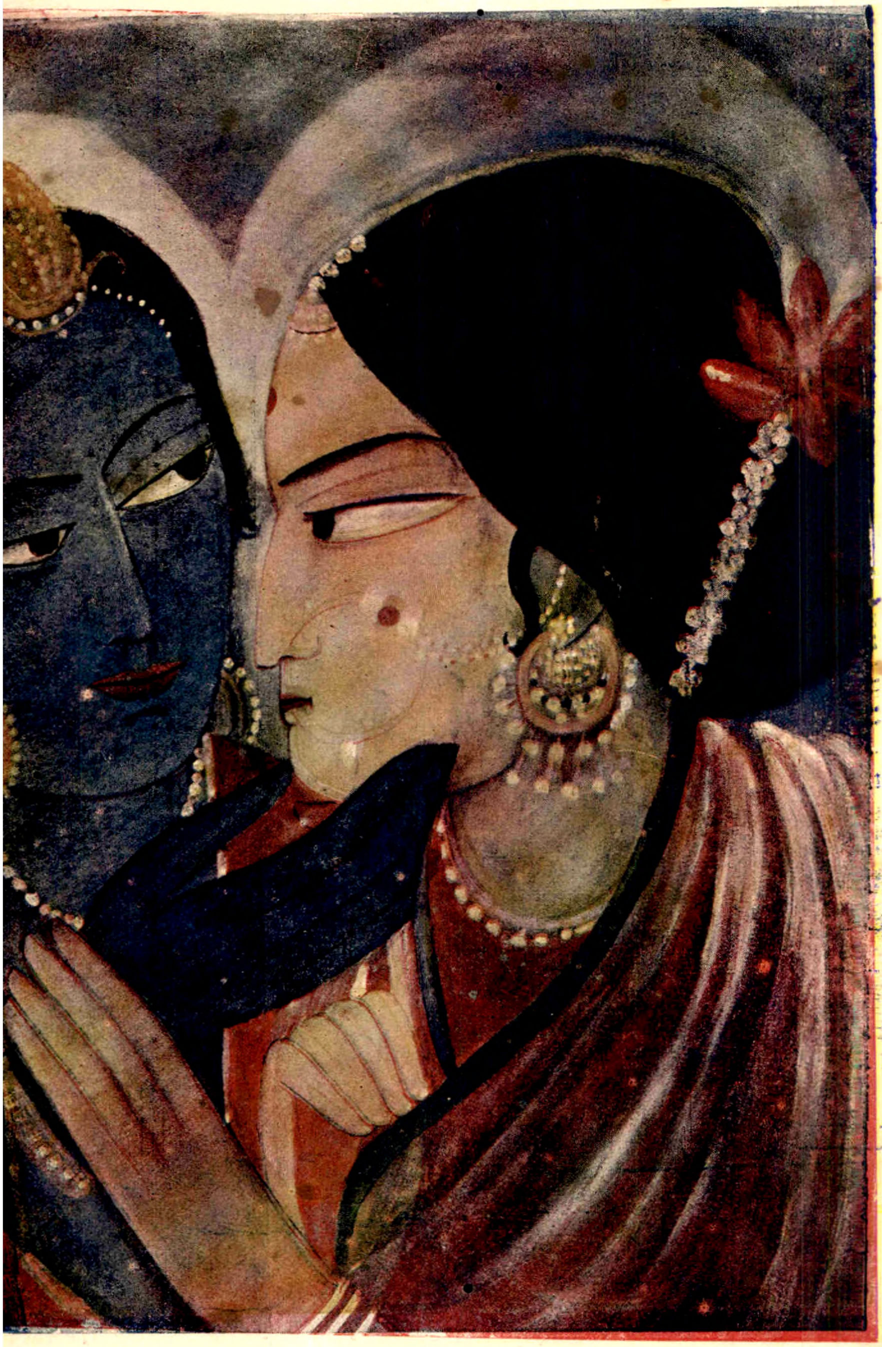
To talk of a Mahomedan Government in Bengal is to make a serious mistake. There are, it is true, more Mahomedans in Bengal than there are Hindus, but all the force of the country, all the brains, and nearly all the wealth are the possession of the Hindus. I do not belittle the recent efforts of the Mahomedans to make up leeway, but they are still in a very backward condition. Their leaders—delightful old gentlemen in many cases—seem to belong to the Middle Ages. The late Nawab of Dacca, the cleverest politician among them, seems to have left no successor. Hence, if there were a Government of Mahomedans, it would be but a temporary affair at best. Heads do not count for quite so much in India as they do in England, and it is a very good thing that they do not.

I am, etc.,
W. A. J. Archbold,
12A, Old Court Mansions, Kensington,
W. 8.

* * *

Dr. H. K. Sen.

Prof. Dr. H. K. Sen who has been working so long on Fermentation Problems in the Kaiser-Wilhelm Institut für Biochemie, Berlin, has lately diverted his attention to the preparation of a synthetic hypnotic compound for producing sleep. We are glad to announce that by using a phytochemical reaction, he has been able to prepare a fine crystalline compound belonging to the urethane group of soporifics. The compound prepared is Dichlorisopropyl carbinol-urethane and it has the following structural formula  $\left.\begin{matrix}CHCl_2\\CH_3\end{matrix}\right\rangle CHO.\ CO\ NH_2$. It is optically active and soluble in water. The chemical constitution and the physical properties lead one to expect a satisfactory pharmacological action. Preliminary animal experiments have aroused a great deal of interest in this compound and we hope it will be a great success.



RADHA AND KRISHNA

Artist—Sunayani Devi

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF BEAUTY[1]

A STUDY TOWARDS SYNTHESIS.

I

For twenty-five centuries many of the finest minds of the West have busied themselves with the problem of the nature of beauty and its relationships with the natural world and the world of art. The end of the quest, if we are to accept the conclusion of Signor Benedetto Croce, the Italian philosopher, as stated in his book "Æsthetic as Science of Expression and General Linguistic," is failure on the part of the Philosophy of Beauty, or, as he entitles it, the Science of Art, to reveal the true nature of Art. This failure he attributes to the separation which has existed between Art and the 'general spiritual life."

Definition, in the photographic sense, is here necessary if we are to receive conviction with Signor Croce's conclusion. Art we can grasp, but "the general spiritual life" must be lured down from its amorphism to the familiarity of plain understanding. Signor Croce does not himself bend to our helping. So fundamental a matter as the disclosure of the full adjectival significance of the word "spiritual" is not given even the humble distinction of a place in the index; and when, after a full reading of the book, one turns specifically to the relating of one's own sphere of thought to that of the author, and asks, say, what is the relationship, according to Croce, between the particular life called by him the spiritual, and that phase of life to which the term spiritual is so often applied, the religious, the result, in a single reference in a volume of five hundred pages, is this:

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[1] The substance of two lectures delivered in Calcutta University in January 1924 under the auspices of the Council of Post-Graduate Studies.

> "...religion is nothing but knowledge...for it is in turn either the expression of practical aspirations and ideals (religious ideals), or historical narrative (legend), or conceptual science (dogma). It can therefore be maintained with equal truth either that religion is destroyed by the progress of human knowledge, or that it is always present there. Their religion was the whole intellectual patrimony of primitive peoples: our intellectual patrimony is our religion. The content has been changed, bettered, refined......but its form is always the same. We do not know what use could be made of religion by those who wish to preserve it side by side with the theoretic activity of man, with his art, with his criticism, and with his philosophy. It is impossible to preserve an imperfect and inferior kind of knowledge, such as religion, side by side with what has surpassed and disproved it."

We do not quote this passage to discuss it. That would be to bid good-bye to our main quest, for there is a challenge to experience and commonsense in every sentence in it, from the question-begging introduction to all that hangs perilously on to the unproven "therefore." Its use is in the gift of "our intellectual patrimony" as the equivalent of "the general spiritual life." It also gives us a glimpse of mental frontiers beyond which the raiders of the imagination and reason may not go; and where such frontiers are, the world built up within them will be smaller than the world of reality. To Signor Croce religion is an "inferior kind of knowledge." This tells us the kind of knowledge that Signor Croce has of religion. His frontiers have held him from experience of that realm. To talk of the nature of anything, without the religious sense, is for a colour-blind man to discuss the art of painting. It cannot be omitted from the psychology of humanity and human history, whether its articulation be true or false; and the æsthetic built on so vital an omission does not seem likely to achieve an any more complete association of Art and the general spiritual life than the inadequate æsthetic which it seeks to displace.

This omission, however, has no more mysterious an origin than the plain human assumption, to which philosophers and the unphilosophical are alike addicted, that that which they cannot explain is essentially and eternally inexplicable. There is a certain ease in the assumption. Its finger is always on the trigger of the guillotine which it erects along its frontiers at all points of possible invasion from the unknown. Thus Croce treats the offending head and front of a possible definition of Art that shows signs of going beyond his own ability to define:

> "Certain men have a greater aptitude, a more frequent inclination fully to express certain complex states of the soul. These men are known in ordinary language as artists. Some very complicated and difficult expressions are not often achieved, and these are called works of art. The limits of the expression-intuitions that are called art, as opposed to those that are vulgarly called non-art, are empirical and impossible to define."

Down flashes the guillotine blade. But we suspect that that head is of the King Charles order, and will turn up again.

It is very awkward for a philosopher not to know what he does not know, and not to understand what he does not understand, for it puts him in possession of a two-edged and back-striking blade of misinterpretation. His deprivation is all the more dangerous to his future reputation because the materials to which he applies his measure of darkness are themselves under deprivation. There is a tacit assumption that the field of æsthetics lies in the western hemisphere, and that its complexion is white. A volume on experimental psychology with regard to the question of Beauty records observations on European children only. But the author had no difficulty in arriving at world-conclusions from half-world premises, for his preface shows him to be capable of regarding the experiments of a number of women as "the work of men." A trifle, but indicative. Sir J. C. Bose, with Asian breadth of vision, wanting terribly to know how all the various parts of the human frame, eastern and western, react to electrical stimuli finds that the Indian and the Irish tongue are much more sensitive than the Anglo-Saxon tongue,—a fact that may or may not have bearings on national volubility, but has decided bearings on the matter of widening the field of observation in order that the instrument of observation may also be widened. There is something curiously disturbing in the double remembrance of the immense, ancient and exquisite art of Asia and of the fact that in Signor Croce's "Æsthetic" there is but one passing reference to the Asiatic style in art; only that in a book that lays down universal laws on Art. Had he known the art of India he would have known "what use could be made of religion by those who wish to preserve it side by side with...art," and he might not have hung an "impossible" on to his ignorance, or talked of the disproving of religion by art in front of their perfect union. The West here has need of the East: so has the East of the West; for while western æsthetics has analysed itself to shreds, Indian æsthetics has not taken the trouble to get born. It floats above the region of callopers and retorts, of therefores based on unproven assumptions, and impossibles erected by ignorance, and has declined to descend from the high peaks of synthetic intuition into the shelves and drawers of mental departmentalism. The mind of India is content with universals. It sees all life as One Life. It sees philosophy as one philosophy, and has not elaborated a Philosophy of the Beautiful. For her own peace this may not be necessary; for the future peace of *western* æsthetics it *is* necessary. Western æsthetics is incomplete without the æsthetical point of view of India—which has no point of view.

The purpose of this study is to make a broad survey of the main teaching of western æsthetics, and to consider certain of these teachings in the light of æsthetical principles which may be inferred from eastern thought in general as well as from certain utterances on the matter of beauty and art which, though specific, are not systematic or developed.

And first as to western speculation on the nature of Beauty and its expression in Art and Nature.

II

The reaction of humanity to its environment takes two forms: pleasure and displeasure. The first seeks a more intimate association with the cause of the pleasure; the second seeks to put distance as widely and rapidly as possible between itself and the provocative cause. At a low level of evolution these reactions endeavour to fulfil themselves in corresponding low forms of expression, especially on the side of displeasure, such as the lowering of a cow's horns or the sudden and energetic raising of a man's foot. There comes a stage, however, in the elevation of the consciousness of humanity at which these responses assume a different character from those on the lower stages. All consciousness involves feeling, but a comparison between the feeling evoked by toothache and by the sight of a flock of silver-white birds flying across the luminous indigo of an Indian twilight indicates that the feeling-point of the consciousness may move from the physical level to a super-physical level. This super-physical level is called the æsthetical, a term which in etymology means feeling, but in tradition means the response made by human beings of intelligence and culture to natural or artificial objects which are endowed with a quality recognised as beauty—or ugliness. If we recall the purpose of an-æsthetics we shall grasp the general significance of the term æsthetics. This association of feeling at the æsthetical level with beauty in nature and art led the German philosopher, Baumgarten (A.D. 1714-1762), to use the term *æsthetic* to distinguish the Philosophy of Beauty from other areas of philosophical enquiry. The Philosophy of Beauty falls into three divisions:—(1) the problem of the nature of beauty as such, (2) the relationship between the quality recognised as beauty and a particular object which is said to possess the quality of beauty, and (3) the relationship between the consciousness that attributes beauty to an object and both the object and its attributed quality of beauty. This is the general scope of the enquiry, but modern experimental psychology has reduced it from its former abstraction, and added attractive complexities to its study, by demonstrating the varieties of æsthetical response to beauty that may arise from varying degrees of fatigue, health, digestion, sensitiveness, information, intelligence and imagination.

III

The enquiry into the nature of Beauty and Art began before Socrates (478-399 B. C.), but with him we have its earliest recorded expression. A sculptor and the son of a sculptor, he was wholly practical in his attitude to æsthetical questionings. Beauty, Goodness, and Usefulness were to him practically interchangeable terms. He, therefore, denied the validity of æsthetical pleasure for its own sake. "Art for Art's sake" would have been to him the cry of foolishness, He would have cheerfully exchanged a Michel-Angelo for an efficient pot-stick. Philosophically, he denied the existence of Beauty as such. The human mind was its source ; rather, its manufactory, for the river of Beauty not only arose in the mind but began there. Which was very clever of the human mind.

Plato (B. C. 429-347), like a good pupil, went beyond and above his master in his conception of Beauty. Conceiving the Soul and Beauty as mutual exiles from a super-mundane home, he saw the recognition of Beauty by the Soul as an unveiling of pre-natal memory out of old life among the archetypes from which descended the subsequent generations of the tangible universe. But, apart from this ancestral relationship, Beauty to Plato is a self-existent entity which has its own self-enjoyment, and could get on quite well without either the eye, ear, nose or fingers of humanity. It is in them, and expressed through and perceived by them, but it is not of them. The famous passage in the "Symposium" lifts the mind by stages from the contemplation of beauty of body, of social organisation, of knowledge, to that of "a wondrous Beauty, even that for the sake of which all his former toils were undertaken."

> "This Beauty, in the first place, is ever-existent, uncreated and imperishable, knowing neither increase nor decay. In the second place, it is not beautiful in one way and ugly in another, nor beautiful at one time and ugly at another, or in one relation beautiful and in another ugly, or beautiful here and ugly there, as if beautiful in some men's eyes and ugly in the eyes of others. Nor will he imagine that the Ideal Beauty is like unto a face or hands or any other portion of the body, or any discourse or science, or that it dwells somewhere in something other than itself..., but rather that it is separate and self-existent, simple and everlasting,

> while all other beautiful objects participate therein, yet in such a manner that, although beautiful particulars are generated and perish, the Ideal Beauty neither waxes nor wanes, and changes not in any way."

The nature of Beauty thus propounded by Socrates and Plato may be termed *Æsthetical Monism,* with the sub-title of *subjective* as expressed by Socrates, and *transcendental* as expressed by Plato. They spoke in the terms of their age, for the eye of Greece was then single, and sought for singleness in exposition as well as in art. In the subsequent history of thought as to Beauty they have no whole-hearted followers, though here and there a casual notion leaves the pen of modern philosophers and floats back to its origin.

IV

For eight hundred years speculation was almost silent on the subject of æsthetics. Artists went on creating "images of virtue" despite Plato. It did not seem necessary to understand electricity as a preliminary to enjoying electric light—to anticipate a figure of speech. Then came another voice of enquiry; but of it later, as our survey of the history of æsthetical thought is not chronological but qualitative. Fourteen centuries more passed by in which speculation was silent before the loud and absolute assertions of religious dogma, and the light of the intuition hidden behind the thick clouds of mediævalism. But the seventeenth century brought a change. Science had been born, and its methods of enquiry began to be applied to the problems of æsthetics. But the enquiry was limited in its scope to the empirical aspect. Questions as to ultimates were left to the philosophers. The factors in the problem which were amenable to scientific examination were the perceiver of beauty and the object in which beauty was perceived. This phase of the enquiry we may call *Æsthetical*

Dualism. Its exponents were the English writers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Under the limitations imposed by the scientific method the enquiry from Francis Hutcheson ("An Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue," 1725) onward was mainly into the various qualities and phases of Beauty. It was classificatory rather than explanatory. Hutcheson catalogued it as Absolute Beauty (as in laws of nature like gravitation, and mathematics) and as Relative Beauty (as in symbols, allegories and imitation). Joseph Spence, in a Socratic "Dialogue on Beauty" (1752) saw Beauty in colour, form, expression and grace. Hogarth in "The Analysis of Beauty" (1753), with the advantage of the working artist over the mere philosopher, saw Beauty in the mutual correction of variety and uniformity, simplicity and intricacy. Burke and Spencer are wholly inadequate in their dealings with the matter. When the writers of the dualistic school glance occasionally towards the question of origins, they, after the manner of Hume ("Of the Standard of Taste," 1757) postulate certain qualities in the original structure of the mind of man, and certain qualities in objects, which mutually please or displease; thus solemnly informing us that a thing is because it is, even as Croce informs us that there are men who do certain things, whom we call artists, and certain things that men do, which we call art,—and that ends the matter. Here and there amongst these writers are scattered indications of deeper vision (as in Shaftesbury and Reid), though the most that can be said is that they carry us no further forward toward understanding than Socrates and Plato.

V

About the same time, the enquiry as to the nature of Beauty was taken up by a succession of philosophers in Germany who, while they accepted Plato's self-existent transcendental Beauty as the basis of beautiful manifestation (since nothing could be beautiful if it were not for the Beauty in it), saw that such manifestation was obviously under the limitations of the *modus operandi* of the tangible universe, of matter and of consciousness. Beauty, matter, consciousness: here we have three factors in the problem. This is *Æsthetical Trinitarianism*, a mode of approach to the question that links the trinitarian school (as we perceive them to be) back to that other voice of enquiry that we have mentioned eight hundred years after the monists and fourteen hundred before the dualists, Plotinus (A. D. 204-274) the Neo-Platonist, who travelled in Persia and studied Indian philosophy, and imparted to his fundamental Platonism an oriental "taint" that reduced it somewhat from the rank of philosophical respectability. Plotinus regarded Beauty as the condition that arose in the tangible universe under the organisation of a Supreme Intelligence. This Beauty showed itself as pure on the abstract side of the human consciousness and as impure, or imperfect, on the physical side. It showed itself also in the world of Nature. Thus it was at once, as we perceive now in the light of our qualitative classification, a threefold manifestation from the primal Consciousness and Substance of the Universe; at once abstract, subjective and objective, an æsthetical trinity-in-unity. Hegel (1770-1831) agreed with Plotinus that Beauty was the signature of the Cosmic Being on the script of the material Universe, that signature giving the touch of unity amid diversity.

Schelling (1775-1854) recognised the Absolute Beauty as the foundation of identity between the perceiver of Beauty and the beautiful objects by means of which he perceives it. Schopenhauer (1788-1860) saw Beauty in the rapprochement of the will and work of humanity to the Will of the Universe. Such a rapprochement was indicated in objects that were complete in their own kind and purpose. Through such objects man intuitionally discerned the absolute Beauty....In these nutshell epitomes of the teaching of certain of the German philosophers as to the nature of Beauty we see the trinitarian attitude ; but we see also the illuminating fact that in their recognition of the three complete aspects of the æsthetical process, they not only impart a sense of assurance to their point of view, but appear as the true monists, seeing the One not as an exclusive mathematical digit, but as an inclusive totality, not as a unit but as a unity. And the psychological differentiation set up by this fundamental difference of conception of the nature of Beauty subtly and profoundly affects the conception of the philosopher as to the function and value of Art.

VI

The attitude of Socrates to Art we have already alluded to, and that attitude was squarely footed on his humanistic view of the nature of Beauty. What people regarded as Beauty was an invention of the human mind. If the articles to which Beauty was attributed were good for human use, very well ; if they were not useful he had no use for them. On the theoretical side of æsthetics Socrates was a subjective monist ; on the expressional side he was an artistic utilitarian. Plato's attitude to art is neatly summed up by Professor William Knight in Volume One of "The Philosophy of the Beautiful" thus : "Plato's banishment of the poets from his ideal republic is easily explained. Nothing else was possible. He made the chasm between the ideal and the real so wide that it could not admit any actual products such as poetry and art into the former realm." To the transcendental monist Art was useless, more or less. Plato was an artistic futilitarian.

Meanwhile, with extraordinary obtuseness, artists went on making objects of art, for reasons that will duly emerge. It mattered nothing to them that they were not understood by the philosophers, or even by themselves as would appear from the utterances of some of them in the era of the æsthetical dualists. Art to Reynolds (eighth "Discourse on Art") was the outcome of a constructive power in the artist's mind—which is as illuminating as would be the statement that digestion is the outcome of an assimilative process in an artist's body. The aim of Art, according to William Morris, was to increase the happiness of men by giving them Beauty to amuse their leisure, and to prevent their wearying even of rest, and giving them hope and pleasure in work. Which tells us that because a thing is so, it was in order to be so that it became so. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, best of thinkers save on this point, regarded Art as the application of science to the attainment of pleasure. Others among the philosophers of England took also the hedonic view of Art, such as Bain, Seely and Sully, the latter limiting the source of the pleasure of Art to its derivation from Nature. Amongst these cognisers of the purely expressional side of Art Hazlitt stands alone in his recognition of its deeper significances. Art to him was the interpreter of the soul. He had an eye for what Mr. H. J. Massingham ("People and Things") calls "the symbolic biography of God." He is not far from the trinitarians who, with their three-eyed vision, like Shiva the Chief of Seers, had a prism at their disposal for the performance of the miracle of seeing seven in one and one in seven.

VII

We shall the better understand the trinitarian attitude to art as expressed by Plotinus and his German successors, if we pause on a brief consideration of what is involved in æsthetical trinitarianism. For the full apprehension of Beauty through beautiful things it asks for (1) a centre or centres within the human consciousness (operating through external instruments such as eye and ear) capable of responding to the element which is identified as Beauty ; (2) objects external to the responsive centres, such as objects of nature, art, thought or imagination ; and (since all experience, whether translated into the consciousness of Beauty, or Truth or Goodness, after the manner that we shall hereafter understand, comes from a process in time and space, and therefore has a logical and chronological continuity) (3) an originating impulse external both to the fixed object which is regarded as beautiful, and to the mind which by observation in time and space attributes Beauty to it. But, as Plotinus perceived, this threefold process can only function by virtue of the power of interaction inherent in each and all of the constituent modes of the process. Said he ("Enneades), "The mind could never have perceived the beautiful had it not first been itself beautiful." This is fundamental. It needs no philosopher to come from the grave or elsewhere to convince commonsense that there could be no possible response between anything in the universe unless there was some measure of affinity between them. No enquiry, therefore, into the nature of Beauty and Art can approach conviction or completeness if it dissociates any of the persons of the æsthetic trinity from one another. Socrates denied Beauty as such, and in his wisdom achieved the folly of mere utility. Plato dissociated the self-existent Beauty from its manifestations, and airily contemned the very channels whereby both he and humanity derive their knowledge as to its existence. Shaftesbury labelled matter "inherently ugly" but reducible to Beauty through the organisation of motion and life,—in doing which he performed the operation of "making a silk purse out of a sow's ear" by making "inherently ugly" matter capable of manifesting beautiful qualities without any inherent power of doing so. The trinitarians were wiser in their generation. Schelling did not stop at positing a simple affinity as the necessary condition of response between the various parties to the experience of Beauty. Rather he saw in the interactions of subject and object in the æsthetical process an inner identity expressing itself outwardly as the observer and the thing observed, these being contained in a higher entity, as a coin as an entity holds together its two faces. The discovery, therefore, of the nature of Beauty cannot rest alone with the quality or qualities called beautiful, or with the object that embodies them, or with the mind that perceives them; it belongs to all or none. And when we have thrilled at the touch of Beauty in Nature or in Art, we have thrilled to the Beauty in ourselves and simultaneously to Beauty itself. The Spirit of Beauty beareth witness to our spirit that we are the children of Beauty. Did not Emerson (Essay on "Art") say that the reference of all production to an aboriginal Power explained the common traits in all great works of art, works that restored the simple states of mind, and were religious (We hope Croce is listening)? Did he not also say that we are immersed in Beauty, thus setting the stamp of the aboriginal Power on every atom of the universe? Did he not say moreover that though we travel the world over to find the beautiful, we must carry it with us, or we find it not? And have we not here the theological unitarian with the intuition and vision of the æsthetical trinitarian setting out once more the æsthetical three-in-one, the abstract, objective and subjective aspects of the one Beauty?

We may now understand why the trinitarian Plotinus looked upon Art as the means whereby humanity might approach the Universal Beauty; why Hegel considered the Fine Arts as means of polarisation (similar to *Yogic* contemplation in India) through which we touch and realise the Universal Life; why Schelling saw Art as the co-ordinator of the self and the external world, and the opener of doors to Nature's secrets; why Schopenhauer saw Art as a means of escape from personality, and escape from personality as the way to the expression of the Universal through Art. In all these expressions of the mediatorial and interpretative function of Art there is the recognition of the Universal Unity and the Universal Variety held together by the Universal Affinity and Interdependence. The notion of separateness here sounds strangely foreign and opaque. We miss the sense of cerebral functioning (whose habitat is higher up the slopes of wisdom than scholarly philosophising) in the statement of Croce ("Æsthetic") that "art is independent both of science and of the useful and the moral," a statement which may not be wholly attributable to Croce, but may be only an uncritical echo of the peevish cry of an order of artists who think to escape the duty and labour of being intelligent by making the unintelligent claim to an independence unknown in the lucid areas of the Cosmos. Yet it may also be a flake of Croce's own original darkness, for when we come to ask the question as to how the philosopher regards the relationship of Nature and Art and the Beauty that is perceived in each, we find ourselves switched back two thousand five hundred years with the feeling that though the words are Croce's words, the voice is the voice of Socrates: "The beauty of nature is the discovery of the human imagination." Which being interpreted means that the human imagination is able to discover what is not there. Which is very clever of the human imagination, if not of Signor Croce.

VIII

Touching this question of Art and Nature, the monists and dualists are naturally reticent. The abstraction of the one and the scientific empiricism of the other keep indoors beyond the reach of the disturbing realities of the open air. The trinitarians, with more inclusive vision, look towards Nature; but their lookings are momentary and not deep. The whole question has yet to be dealt with fully; and it would appear reasonable to suppose that such dealing with it should be looked for in the direction of the philosophical dwellers in lands where life is lived in perpetual association with Nature; where the philosopher's windows are open day and night "towards Jerusalem," not where a sash is lowered a grudging inch in concession to tyrannical hygiene; not where an alarm clock shocks the carbonic-acid-gassed individual to renewed cerebration in studio stuffiness, but where the sweetness of sleep under the stars is transmuted to happy wakefulness by the wizard wand of the sunrise. There is, in the statements of the philosophers as to Nature and Art an air of human superiority that does not fit comfortably into their trinitarian unification ; a declaration that the particular localisation of the Cosmic Mind known as the human mind enjoys some integral superiority over that other localisation of the Cosmic Mind known as Nature. Plotinus claims that the creations of Art are superior to Nature because they are filled by the Logos of the Universe. But this may only mean that, in respect of the unheard speech of Nature, man's ears are not long enough, or, rather, are too long. Hegel put Art higher than Nature because mind, which is the seat of Art, is higher than Nature. But the inferred mindlessness of Nature is not so certain that it can be assumed as an unalterable premiss. An Indian scientist, J. C. Bose, has provided minerals and plants with means to demonstrate their feelings, and believes that he will yet do the same for their thoughts. Schelling regarded Art as the bridge over the chasm between Man and Nature. Wisely he gives Art a footing in each realm ; but the chasm (which is perhaps as much " the discovery of the human imagination " as Croce says the beauty of nature is) may yet fill up, and the bridge of Art become a plain highway of intercommunication. An ancient Welsh epigram of Druidical intuition anticipates such a possibility when it sets out the " three dignities of poetry " as "The true and the wonderful united; the beautiful and the wise united; and the union of Art and Nature."

IX

There remains another consideration besides those of the source and nature of beauty, the function and value of art, and the relationship of Art and Nature ; that is, the question, what are the signs by means of which we identify the quality that we call Beauty? Let us put them together in the hope of greater wisdom than singleness offers. The signs of Beauty are—Unity, symmetry, balance in details (Plato), organisation (Plotinus), idea shining through a form that is a unity of diversities (Hegel), the perception of relationship (Diderot). Now these signs of beauty may be summed up in the word *integration* (wholeness) as expressing the state of any beautiful object, material or immaterial, at any moment; in motion they are translatable as *orderly evolution.* "When the world speaks of Beauty as being beautiful, ugliness is at once defined," said Lao Tze. Conversely, therefore, ugliness consists in lack of idea, disorganisation, false and imperfect relationships, asymmetry, disunity, which may be summed up in the word *disintegration.* Order is Heaven's first law; it is also the law of Beauty.

> Order the Beauty even of Beauty is,
> It is the rule of bliss,
> The very life and form and cause of pleasure,

sang the seventeenth century English poet, Traherne, making, like a good trinitarian, order a characteristic of affinity between Beauty, the forms of Beauty, and the perceiver of Beauty. As an outcome of this we perceive that where integration and order exist, there exists a synthesis which is perfect in its degree, location and time. If, therefore, we set the standard of a high degree, in our search for Beauty, to the achievements of a lower degree (of a cathedral to a cottage or an epical canvas to a personal miniature), or measure the art principles of the Ajanta frescoes by those of South Kensington or the Cubists, we fail to see that that which is true to itself in its own time, place and degree, is true to the law of integration and order, and we accordingly impoverish ourselves in understanding, and veil our vision of Beauty.

X

In all the foregoing considerations one element is lacking, that of life. We have listened to the philosophers thinking hard on the subject of æsthetics (whose roots are in feeling), yet feeling nothing about feeling; or feeling a sense of fear lest they be found guilty of feeling about feeling and so be accounted incapable of thinking about feeling. The presence of personality has been ignored. We have had much talk of the play called Hamlet, but there has been an ominous silence as to the Prince. Here and there the glimmer of a firefly of intuition gives a hint of "the light that is behind all darkness," but such hints are fugitive and indeterminate. Edmund Spenser in "An Hymn in Honour of Beauty" attributes beauty to an "infusion of celestial power" by the Goddess Venus. Could we but convince ourselves that the gentle poet who counselled the extermination of a race was more than assuming the pagan virtue of peopling the worlds with living embodiments of Life, we might find through him a suggestion that the philosophy of Beauty might not always be a matter of intellectual chemistry and physics, but might one day, without shame, even as it seeks the clue to the human riddle in human personality, seek the clue to the cosmic riddle in a Cosmic Personality. "In the celestial all things are persons," the ancients of the Orphic tradition taught. That is also the Indian idea. But before we ask the Aryan Mother for light, let us glance at the matter of æsthetics in the Far East.

[*To be concluded*]

JAMES H. COUSINS

SOME POPULAR INDIAN INSTRUMENTS

Music forms a very vital part of India's life; not only her religious and ceremonial life, but the everyday life of the people.

There are six seasons in India's calendar, and each season has its own Raga and musical mode, and an infinite number of songs adapted to each particular season and its attributes. For instance, the "Vasanta Rag" is the Raga used at the Vasanta, or Spring Season, the time of festivals, of flowers, of joy and of love. The famous Indian "Swing song" dates back to the time of Krishna, when the beloved god played on his flute and sported with the Gopis, or heavenly milk-maids among the flower-twined swings in the forest.

Maharajah S. M. Tagore says in his history of Music, that "The Musical Measures of a nation are mostly founded on the time which they generally adopt in the ordinary pursuits of life." This is specially true of Indian Music and its relation to daily life and occupations. There is a song for the farmer, the shepherd, the carter, the herdsman, the oarsman, the coolie, the juggler, the mendicant, the nautch girl, the fakir, and so on *ad infinitum*; and each melody has its own peculiar individuality and is suitably adapted to the work and personality of the singer.

Rhythm is a fundamental Law of Nature, the primitive types naturally objectify their conceptions in a more strongly marked, emotional, unrestrained, if more crudely executed manner than a more modern or civilized people.

The folk song of every nation is the fountain-head and original source of its true musical ideas and ideals. It grew into being from man's first effort to express his feelings and yearnings in audible sound; and his first simple attempts were uninfluenced by the cultural development and "artistic restraint" of later civilization.

The people in the humblest and most uncomplex walks of life sing the most sincere songs, and their music is a reflection of their life's history and the great underlying element which may only be comprehended under a title of "Soul," or that intangible quality which gives the soul to the matter.

Indians, and especially the peasant-type of Indian, who may be taken to represent the folk-element require but little accompaniment to their songs; a drum, a flute, a sitar or a pair of cymbals, a bell, or some instrument of percussion, marks time, accents the rhythm, follows the melodic line and furnishes the musical background for a dance or song.

There is no attempt at harmony in a characteristic Indian orchestra, unless one may take the reiterated fourth or fifth in the musical drums, as harmony;—it at least corresponds to the tonic and dominant or sub-dominant of the occidental use of the timpani, and the effect of harmony is sometimes given. The rhythmic reiteration of the drone in the tonic, or key-note, is definitely used, as the embroidery of a tune frequently requires an adherence to the keynote or scale-mode of the song.

All Hindus consider Music of divine origin; and not in the vague, impersonal way in which we Westerners would say that "God is the source of all music"; but in a more personally conceived, definitely stated and definitely believed manner, easily understood in the Indian mind.

The Indian, and I am referring to the class which may be designated as the "folk-element," has for thousands of years inherited a legacy of pictorial and personal Gods, who are visualized as superhuman beings of divine and extraordinary attributes. The God-conception in its vague unrelated form, soon evolved into a more concrete image through iconography; and the god forms were later given personal qualities within the comprehension of their human creators.

So, it has come to pass, that when one thinks of music in connection with the Gods, one immediately recalls that Brahma made the first drum; Krishna invented the flute; Vishnu, the conch-horn; Narad, the Mahati-Vina; Shiva, the pinaka, or "father of stringed instruments," and Sarasvati, the Indian St. Cecilia, patronised music and the arts, even as did Ganesh, Hanuman, and other inhabitants of Mt. Meru.

The Gandharvas, Apsaras and other celestial musicians played and sung at the court of Indra, where music was encouraged and taught.

Going back to the earliest historical mention of Indian music and instruments, we find in the Vedas, the Ramayana, the Mahabharata, Puranas and Gita Govinda, frequent references to the drums, the flute, the lute, the harp, conch-horn, trumpet, and cymbals.

In the eleventh century the invasion of India by the Moghul and Mohamedan, introduced new music and enlarged the musical scope and vocabulary of the Indian. Akbar the Great, who reigned from 1556-1605 was an ardent patron of music and encouraged its study in his court.

He constantly kept employed bands of musicians, bards, minstrels, and dancers, who entertained him in his leisure-moments.

Another new element came into India from Persia, whose invading peoples brought a variety of instruments and songs from whose original source sprung new combinations of both songs and instruments.

From Rajputana came wandering bands of minstrels and bards, who brought new music into village and town and in time this music was merged into the music of the Indian people and became as their own.

In the old days "bards, attached to the Courts of the feudatory Princes, sung chivalrous events of ancient and mediæval times, relating the glories of the Rajput race." They also gave historical dances and pageants and their favourite instruments were the horn, the flute, vina, bag-pipe and drum.

The British occupation did much to develop out-door music, through military and other channels, and military bands, durbar, and processions became very popular. The "Nowbat," or *al fresco* band, has grown to be an adjunct of every military organization, and Indian bands are frequently hired for weddings, and entertainments, when the sound of clarionettes, bagpipes, horns and drums, lend the note of gaiety to the occasions.

In the Central Provinces of India there are annual festivals, called the "*Huttari*," or Harvest Festival, when the people set aside eleven days for a festival to the goddess of grain, similar in type to the old Greek festivals to Ceres.

On these occasions the people gather and sing and dance to the accompaniment of the flute, sarangi (Indian fiddle), pipe, cymbals, drums and wooden sticks which are beaten together to mark time.

The Carnatic, or music of the South of India, as distinguished from the Hindustani, or music of the North, is characterized by a strict adherence to the old classical modes. They have not, to any great extent, been influenced by the music of invading people as have the northern Indians and consequently their music remains more faithful to the old standards. The most popular instruments in the South of India are the Kinnari, the Vina, the bag-pipes, flutes, and, of course, the inevitable drums.

The Tibetans are immensely fond of wind instruments, brass, and instruments of percussion, and they have introduced a number of unique pieces. Great trumpets of brass and copper are used at ceremonial functions and in the temples; and there are many varieties of the smaller horn, in the thigh-bone trumpet, the conch, the snake-shaped horn and the buffalo horn. They are also fond of the flageolet, the clarionette, and any loud instrument of percussion, from bells, gongs, cymbals, to all manner of drums.

The people of Bhutan, Nepal, Darjeeling, and the north of

India, rank quantity of sound above quality of tone; and one who has heard the music of their Lama and Devil dances can never forget the raucous blare of the brass, reverberating through the hills and producing wild and weird echoes.

Down from the North-West Frontier, through Khyber pass, has come much strange music into India. The Kabulis and Afghans celebrate their various Mohamedan Festivals by dances and songs of their own wild country. They have fantastic sword dances where they whirl, leap and jump, to the accompaniment of clapping hands, the beat of drums and shrill tune of the flutes.

Through Assam, and the hills leading over into Burma have come few instruments of strange origin. The boat-shaped xylophone and the "jew's-harp" are peculiar instruments indigenous to this district.

So it is evident, that through the many gateways of her frontiers, India has been invaded by new music as well as new people, all lending fresh branches to the original old family tree. As a certain professor put it aptly "India is not a Nation but a museum of racial antiquities," and in this great "museum" one may find many rare specimens of ancient musical instruments, which enrich her musical background and render it unique.

In the periodical festivals of the Hindus, the nautch girl sings of the amatory episodes in the lives of Krishna and Kama; the Mohamedans sing the glory of Mohamed. The Buddhists, the Lama and Devil Dancers, sing of the great Lord Buddha; and the Persians, sing of the ancient days of fire-worship, of Zoroaster, of Hafiz, and Jamid.

India is a land of many Gods, and many devotees and contrary to the opinion of the layman, there is an almost inexhaustible fund of research for the student who is really interested and who has the leisure and opportunity to hear all the various types of music in all the parts of this great land of wide spaces.

The indifferent passer-by, the swift-moving tourist, the transient visitor, who may hear the tuneless song of a beggar; the shrill calls of the bullock-driver; the brief and oft-reiterated song of the coolies; the rattle of the ubiquitous monkey drum and nasal whine of the snake-charmer's *poonji* may not be taken for authoritative evidence when they say that as far as Indian Music is concerned, "there isn't any," or that "it is terrible," or that "there is no music as far as I can see."

One must spend years, not days, in developing a sense of appreciation of Indian music and must actually hear, time after time, the various types of music, to be able to understand, the soul and essence, as well as the spiritual background, of the music of this country. In India, music is not just a pleasing song, or dance, or a catchy tune to capture the popular fancy; it is not just an expression of good spirits, or emotion, but it is a symbol, inter-twined with the deeply rooted religious instinct of the people; a symbol which represents life, in man and nature; and the various elements that go to make up the endless circle of created existence.

Having given this brief outline of music and its various functions, relative to the secular and religious life of the Indian, I should like to enumerate some of the most popular instruments in use to-day in India, which in most cases are of antique origin and have remained unchanged for thousands of years.

Drums.

In perhaps no other country of the world have the uses of percussion instruments and of vibrating surfaces, achieved such an exalted position in a nation's family of musical instruments, as in India.

It would require a separate story to tell all the offices and functions of the drum alone, for the drum is the outstanding favourite, and might be called the musical heart-beat of India.

If the Ragas and Raginis are the bases for melody here,

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the drums are certainly the substitute for harmony; and the musical drums are capable of producing not only fourths and fifths, but a number of overtones. A clever player can produce two distinct tones from the same drum-head by alternately striking the drum-head centre and the drum-rim.

One might go much deeper and say that the drums here in the East have become something infinitely more difficult of tabulation than merely an important instrument of rhythmic expression; their real significance goes beyond scientific explanation and vanishes into the border-land of the "Unknowable."

The origin of the drum dates back to the gods themselves, and to those first days when sound became audible to man, introduced into his consciousness, perhaps, by some natural means; as for instance, a bird or animal producing a series of rhythmic taps on some hollow or vibrating surface. Man himself, answering some inexplicable urge from within, strove to express himself rhythmically by attempting a reiteration of a not unmusical sound;—and pleased by the initial effort, gradually evolved the idea of a drum.

In Indian mythology, Brahma is accredited with the invention of the first drum, and it was said to have been made from the blood-soaked earth where he had slain his enemy, the demon-god Tripura.

The first drum-heads were supposed to have been made from Tripura's skin; the drum itself was called the mrydanga or "clay-bodied" and is frequently mentioned in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

The drum is the most commonly known instrument among Oriental peoples; as it offers the easiest and most effective method of rhythmic expression, and satisfies man's most primitive impulse as expressed in inarticulate sound. The Indian drum is the inevitable accompaniment, from birth to death, of every man, and is the invariable complement of all the divisions of his life's cycle.

There are 257 varieties of drums known in India, but out of that number a few have come to the fore as especially popular and in common everyday use. The ordinary drum is played with the palm and the fingers of the hand; sticks are considered inartistic and are only used on public and ceremonial occasions when noise rather than tone is desired. The Indian drum-player acquires remarkable digital dexterity, and produces a great variety of difficult drum-rhythms in common, triple and quadruple time.

The Mrydanga.

The Mrydanga, as we have mentioned, is a drum of great antiquity and comes under the general head of Concert of musical drums. It is tuned to pitch, producing two distinct tones, and a number of overtones, the actual existence and value of which have been the subject of much argument and discussion.

The Mrydanga is large in the middle and small at each end, is played with the hands and is tuned by tightening or loosening small blocks of wood under the drum strings. It requires great skill and practice to play the Mrydanga effectively and the instrument is capable of producing deep, sonorous, and stirring tones.

The Tabla-Pair.

The Tabla-Pair, or two drums used together, are also concert instruments and very popular here in Bengal for nautches, concerts, theatres or any festive occasion.

The Tabla, or right-hand drum, and Bahya, left-hand, are tuned to the desired pitch and when played simultaneously produce an effect of harmony. The Tabla-pair are made from a solid block of wood and from copper.

The Damaru, or "Hour-glass drum."

This is a very antique type of the hour-glass drum, commonly called the "monkey-drum" because it is so much in favour with the "Bundar-Wallas," and is also used by mendicants, snake-charmers, jugglers and other low-caste Indians. In spite of its small size the *damaru* makes a sharp rattle which penetrates the air and attracts attention.

This drum is played by a small piece of lead, which attached to a string about the drum's middle, strikes the alternating drum-heads when the instrument is shaken. The larger forms of the same-shape hour-glass drum are called the Udakkai.

The Dhol.

The *Dhol* is a large drum with straight walls, and is in very common use in Bengal, especially at weddings, feasts, festivals or fairs.

It may be played either by the hands or with sticks, the latter being employed for outdoor occasions. Other names for this drum are the Dhak and the Dhooluk.

In this brief description of a few popular drums I have made no attempt to do the subject thorough justice. The complete catalogue of Indian drums has been compiled by the Calcutta Museum and will be of great interest to any who care to pursue the subject further. There is an excellent collection of musical instruments on view which is worth while for the student to examine.

Aside from the ordinary drums used here on the Plains, there are many strange varieties to be found in the Himalayas, especially in Buddhist Temples. The skull-drum, frog-drum, and others of gruesome or bizarre quality are favoured by the Lamas in their Devil dances on such occasions as the Buddhist New Year (February).

Stringed Instruments.

A great and colourful variety of stringed instruments are in use in India, not only those which are indigenous, but many which were brought into India through her various gateways.

These instruments of Tartar, Tibetan, Persian or Mohamedan origin have, through many centuries of use become merged into the common family of Indian Strings. They are strummed, picked, or bowed, according to the character of the instrument.

The Mahati Vina.

First in the order of their importance, comes the Vina and the Mahati Vina in particular. This very ancient instrument is called the most classical and aristocratic of India's stringed instruments.

Its creation is accredited to "Narad, the Celestial Minstrel" and companion of Krishna, who, legend says, was inspired to write and perpetuate the first musical scale by hearing the sound of the breeze playing on the strings of his great Vina and "proceeding by musical intervals."

The Vina has seven strings which are stretched over hollow bodies, cocoanuts or gourds, which act as sounding boards, and serve to heighten the tone effect.

The Vina is considered a very difficult instrument to master and belongs, not so much to the "common-folk" as to the skilled musician and is a concert instrument of great charm and antiquity.

As there are nineteen to twenty-two semitonic intervals in the scale of the Vina, it is capable of producing an extensive repertory of wide range of tone.

Even when the Vina is not played it is often used as an object of decoration. The unusual appearance of really good specimens lend an old world atmosphere to any historical play or pageant; and we recall two very fine Vinas used decoratively at the Rain Festival of Sir Rabindranath Tagore in the Madan Theatre.

The Vina is the emblem also of Sarasvati, the Goddess of Music, Arts, and Learning and is closely associated with the early history of Indian music and mentioned in most of the Sacred Books.

The Kinnari.

This more primitive and crudely fashioned, but extremely attractive instrument is fashioned of bamboo stretched over three gourds. It has three strings and is weak in tone and of limited scale capacity. The Kinnari is originally from the south of India and extremely popular there, but we occasionally see wandering minstrels carrying about specimens of this somewhat fantastic instrument on the streets of Calcutta.

The Tambura.

The Tambura may be called the Aryan cousin of the Western guitar, as it is built on somewhat the same principles.

There are four open strings and no frets, there is a movable bridge which may be used to change the pitch. This instrument is held upright between the knees of the player. The body of the Tambura is often very highly decorated with paint, inlay, semi-precious stones, mica, or any shiny material and embossed in gold and silver. It makes a strikingly oriental appearance and is of a highly decorative character, perhaps more intrinsically valuable than the tone it produces.

The Sitar.

The Sitar, also called the Sundari, is one of the commonest known stringed instruments in India, particularly in favour in the north and among the Hindustani school. It is said to have originally hailed from Persia, and is popular among the ladies as the tone is plaintive, especially when heard at a little distance.

The Sitar is played by means of a wire plectrum placed on the forefinger, and is not an instrument of extreme difficulty.

The Dulcimer.

The Dulcimer is an unusual and difficult instrument of twenty-one strings and played with two plectra. It is tuned to scale-mode and has been compared to the clavier or harpsichord because of its harp-like quality, and sweetness of tone. Wire, brass, gut and silk strings are used on the different instruments of this type.

The Sarangi or "Indian Fiddle."

The Sarangi is very popular for dances, theatres, or ensemble work; it is considered difficult to learn and its tones have been compared to the Viola.

There are three or four upper or main strings, and sometimes as many as fifteen sympathetic lower strings which are tuned chromatically. In spite of the difficulty of mastering the instrument, the high-caste (orthodox) Hindu does not favour its use because the hides of animals are used in its construction. By the same token, all stringed instruments, except those with wire or silk strings, were relegated to the low-caste player.

The Sarangi is an attractive instrument, of pleasing tone; its body is sometimes ornamented with ivory and turquoise inlay, its neck curved to represent the neck of a swan and its body rounded.

The Sarinda.

The Sarinda is a most unusual-looking instrument; it also belongs to the "Fiddle," class and has three gut strings played with a bow. The upper half of the body is left open, and the lower part, or belly, is made of parchment. This is not a high class instrument but is much in favour in Bengal in the lower classes.

The Esrar.

The Esrar or peacock-fiddle is a most picturesque instrument, in appearance having the body fashioned to resemble a peacock. It is a form of the Sitar and has movable frets. The tuned intervals are usually the tonic, third, fourth and fifth, and there are sympathetic strings attached. The instrument is tuned to the Raga intervals desired. This instrument is very much in use in the north of India and is called also the *Taus* or *Mohur*.

Brass and Wind Instruments.

The more noisy specimens of the wind and brass instruments are at their best out of doors, and for this reason the horn and trumpet are most popular at processions or military parades. In the old days these instruments were always associated with warfare, challenge to combat, orders to charge; the favoured instrument of heralds, in announcing tournaments; the chosen mouthpiece of Victory and the appooach of the Victor.

The horn is also used extensively in religious and temple ceremonies; to call the worshippers; to waken the drowsy gods; to announce the approaching devotee; the visit of a high priest; to mark the hour of ceremony and sacrifice and to punctuate the incidental episodes of the daily temple programme. The blare of the brazen trumpet has always been associated with the functions of Religion, and not only Religion confined to India.

Both Hindu and Mohamedan use the horn as an instrument for signalling, for the watchman, for the "town-crier," or for any festive occasion. It is even sometimes used at the funerals of the lower caste Hindu as well as at weddings.

The Buffalo-Horn.

The buffalo horn has been called the father of all the wind instruments, as it is considered to be one of the oldest known in India. It is used by fakirs, or religious beggars, who call attention to themselves on their itinerant ramblings by emitting intermittent blasts on the curved horn. The combination of this raucous noise together with his ash-smeared, matted-haired nakedness, achieves the desired effect on the credulous peasant, namely pice and offerings.

The snake-shaped horn, the cow-horn and other winding horns are frequently mentioned in the Ramayana and the Wars of the Bharatas.

The Conch Horn or Sankha.

The conch horn is said to contain the origin of sound, and is an attribute of Vishnu. The sound of the Sea and symbolical of the sound of the Universe is strangely held captive in the tiny conch. The conch horn is not commonly called a secular instrument, but is particularly in use in the temples, both Buddhistic and Hindu. The modulation of tone is caused by the lips, and the horn can produce clear and mellow tones, although not capable of producing a sufficient scale for a melody.

The Thigh-Bone Trumpet.

This most gruesome of trumpets is in use in the Himalayan mountains, among the hill monasteries of the Tibetan Buddhists. It is also a favourite instrument of the Devil Dancers of that same district.

The Thigh-bone trumpet is the close associate of witchcraft, magic and sorcery, and its creation dates back to pre-Buddhistic times when Pagan rites, born of animistic and devil-worshipping days, held sway. In the present use of the instrument we find a perverted hang-over which has entered into some of the Tibetan forms of religion, not purely Buddhistic.

An instrument of such repulsive character is bound to impress a credulous and superstitious mind more than an ordinary brass horn would do. The priesthood have always known the value of the Unique and the Unusual, and the skull-drum and thigh-bone trumpet have their uses.

The Indian Clarionet, or Nagasara.

The Nagasara is a reed instrument, usually having twelve holes instead of the seven or eight of the flute. A thin reed is inserted into the mouth of the instrument which changes its quality from the flute type of open, mellow tones to the whiney, reedy, nasal tones usually associated with the oboe and bassoon. This instrument resembles the Scotch bagpipe in tone as it has the drone principle. It is in very common use all through India and one may hear it any day in processions, or among wandering players.

The Mosuq or Indian Bag-pipe.

The Mosuq is a drone instrument made from the skin of a kid. The drone of cane, in a cane stock, contains the reed drone. The Mosuq is inflated in the usual bag-pipe manner from the mouth through the smaller of the pipes.

One who has heard the hill Gurkhas, who have bands entirely composed of bag-pipes and drums, coming over some near-by ridge in the early morning, can never forget the wild skirling strains nor the pulse-stirring answer to the strange and fascinating music. The bag-pipe is an instrument that seems peculiarly suited to the hills, although they are heard on many occasions, for marches, parades, weddings; in fact, for many things, as their tones may be either joyous or plaintive as the player desires.

The Flute.

The *Shanai* is the common, pastoral, or shepherd's flute so popular everywhere in India. Its origin goes back to the days of the Pastoral God Krishna, who is said to have invented it and himself played such bewitching music that his seductive strains worked havoc among some sixteen thousand Gopis, or heavenly milk-maids, who threw themselves at his feet as a direct consequence !

There are any number of bamboo flutes usually of seven or eight tones and they are called the *Pillagovi,* the *Murali* and the *Bansuli.* Some of these little reed instruments are low and sweet and exceedingly charming when played softly.

The Poonji.

The poonji, or snake-charmer's flute is a gourd flute much in favour with the Nats, and the thin nasal tones which are supposed to charm the snakes, are certainly not without a charm of their own. Into the gourd body of the Poonji is inserted two pipes, one pierced with finger holes, the other acting as a drone in unison with the keynote.

This simple instrument is used extensively by jugglers, snake-charmers and the like, and the effect of the weird melodies with the monotonous drone is indescribable.

Instruments of Percussion.

Instruments of percussion are the usual accompaniment of the brass as they augment the insistent sound of the louder instruments as well as punctuate and accent the rhythm of the softer ones.

Tamburines, tabors, tom-toms, wooden and brass cymbals, sticks, castanets, bells, gongs and metal cylinders of all kinds are in popular use in India.

Cymbals.

......The chief use of cymbals is to mark time, and they are used for the purposes of secular music as well as religious. The larger cymbal, called the *Jhanj*, is used in connection with the *Tâla*, or gong, in the temple music. The *Jâlra* is a thick, large cymbal which produces a tingling vibrating sound, and the two metal bodies are tied on a chord through the middle.

The cymbal-player, like the player of the Western "Traps," achieves remarkable dexterity in the use of these instruments, accompanying solo, dance, or ensemble to the total enrichment of the music.

The Kurtar, or Indian "Bones."

"The Kurtar, or Chittika, are two pieces of hard wood about six inches in length, flat on one side and rounded upon the other.

They are held in the one hand and the flat surfaces beaten together by alternately closing and opening the fingers.

A ring is usually inserted at the back of each for the fingers to pass through, and at the ends are placed little clusters of bells, or small pieces of metal which jangle when the Kurtar is shaken" (From Captain Day's description of Indian Instruments). Under this head we might place the wooden castanets called the Chacra, or Khattala, as they are played in the same manner as the bones or regular castanets and are frequently used by the nautch-dancers to emphasize their individual rhythm.

Temple Bells.

The justly famous temple bells of India sound from end to end of the country, and vary in size from the very small circular brass bell played with a bit of horn, to the large metal bells struck with a great padded stick. Borne on the breeze from every shrine and temple, whether Hindu or Buddhist, comes "the tintinabilation of the bells," harsh or soft, calling the "drowsy worshipper," in the name of the many Gods, or one God; or to the Buddhist, to recall the Lord Buddha.

The hand bells in such popular use in the temples, or used in the Puja rites of some Brahmin Priests, have the handles carved in the shape of the Gods, or of Buddha.

We cannot think of India without the temple-bells and they seem to be as much a part of the picturesque atmosphere as the palms, the blue skies, the drum-beat, the bright colours, the acrid cooking fires of evening, the bullocks, the crows, the hazy heat and the smell of incense.

> "For the temple-bells are callin', an' it's there that
> I would be—
> By the old Mulmein Pagoda, looking lazy at the sea."

Ankle Bells.

From the temple-bells to the ankle bells is but a step; as the nautch-girl and temple-dancer used them to accent the rhythm of her dance before the Gods, and the Priests.

The ankle bell of the Nautch girl is the symbol of her calling, who, once donning them, is for ever bound, even as a nun taking the final veil is irrevocably tied to the Church, or the Convent. Once a maiden has become a Deva-Dasi, or bride of the Gods, her career, as a prospective respectable Hindu wife and mother is ended.

When the Temple dancer's brief day of service in the Temples is over, and she has fulfilled her usefulness, as far as youth, beauty, charm and freshness is concerned, she is superseded by other dancers, while she herself becomes a sort of domestic servant to the priests and the Temple, and is maintained on their charity. Both Gods and men are fickle masters here in the Tropics, where the youth of things is evanescent, and the shadow of old age comes down as quickly as the Tropic Night.

One cannot leave the subject of Indian Instruments without a brief mention of the Jaltaranga, or water waves, although one scarcely knows where to place them in the musical catalogue.

They are rather a "freak" instrument and although not difficult to play upon, require a certain amount of trouble in arranging.

The Jaltaranga consists of eleven cups or glasses of water, containing liquid in varying degrees, placed in a row and played with two sticks. We have not seen them in common use, but they are common to India and are frequently played at private concerts or entertainments.

The Indian "Jew's Harp."

The Indian Jew's-harp is indigenous to Assam where they were very popular in pre-missionary days; but according to authority, "their use has been forbidden by the missionary, who considers their strain too seductive. They are of very high antiquity and for this reason alone should be regarded with a certain amount of reverence. The people of the Assam hills, who are in most respects what one might call in "the bamboo age" make a "jew's harp" of a thin slice of Bamboo, skilfully cutting out a narrow elastic tongue, put the harp between the thumb and forefinger of the left hand, insert the whole into the mouth, and pull the string with the right hand. The cavity of the mouth is used as a "resonater." (From the Calcutta Museum Guide to Music).

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

SCOTTISH CHAUCERIAN POETS

II. The Dominie Poet of Dunfermline

In the records of admission to the then recently founded Glasgow University it is written that on September 10th, 1462, " the venerable Master Robert Henryson was incorporated as Licentiate in Arts and Bachelor in Degrees." This is almost the only fact that is known about the life of the most charming and readable, if not the greatest, of those Mediæval Scottish poets, who at a time of literary decadence in English literature, picked up the torch of inspiration that had fallen from the hands of the dying Chaucer in 1400. Therefore, Henryson's biography has to be built up on probabilities. As 'Master' is prefixed to his name he had probably taken a degree at some university, probably at Louvain or Paris, and may have been a priest, for in the *Testament of Cresseid* he speaks of "my oratory." When his fables were printed in 1570, he is described on the title page as "Schoolmaster of Dunfermline," the truth of which designation there is no reason to doubt. It is uncertain how long he had been dead before 1508, when Dumbar, lamenting the ravages of Death among the poets, says that

> " In Dunfermline he hes done roun
> Gud Maister Robert Henrisoun,"

in which lament it is noticeable that no other poet has 'maister' prefixed to his name. Of his death a sad and humorous story is told by Sir Francis Kynaston who in the reign of Charles I translated into Latin verse Chaucer's and Henryson's poems on Troilus and Cressida. According to this account "being very old, he died of a flux." When he was on his deathbed, a witch promised him immediate recovery, if he would walk round a whikey (rowan) tree at the end of the orchard, thrice repeating the following rhyme,

> " Whikey tree, whikey tree
> Take away this flux from me. "

He told her he could not do so, for beside that he was " extreme faint and weak, it was extreme frost and snow." Would it not be just as efficacious, he humorously suggested, to address the oaken table in the middle of the room? For this purpose he composed in place of the witch's rhyme a witty parody, which is, however, too coarse to be quoted here. So " the woman, seeing herself derided and scorned, ran out of the house in a great passion and the sick poet within a quarter of an hour departed this life." Is there any other instance recorded of a poet within a few minutes of his death making comic rhymes?

All Henryson's poems are characterised by natural simplicity and good sense so that they are pleasant and easy reading. The best of them are distinctly *Robene and Makyne*, the *Complaint of Cresseid* and the *Moral Fables of Æsop* and it is on these that his fame to distinction as a poet must rest.

Robene and Makyne, being a dialogue between a shepherd and shepherdess, is an anticipation of the pastoral dramatic form of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* and Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*. It is also akin to such songs and ballads in dialogue as *Lord Randal* and *Huntingtower* (" When ye gang awa Jamie "). In its subject matter it closely resembles Burns's *Duncan Gray* with a difference. Both in *Duncan Gray* and *Robene and Makyne* we have two lovers, one of whom woos hotly and, being repulsed, grows cold, upon which the other in turn suddenly feels the pangs of unrequited love. But in Burns's song it is Duncan Gray who was cured of his passion by want of response, while " Meg grew sick as he grew well." In Henryson's poem on the contrary the girl woos and the shepherd boy, to whom she makes love, is cold and afterwards repents of his coldness too late. For, when Robene at last falls violently in love, Makyne will have nothing to do with him. "Mourn on," she says, "I think to mend." The moral of the story is expressed in the lines

> "The man that will not when he may
> Shall have not when he would."

The dialogue is bright and lively and free from the prolixity characteristic of most mediæval poetry.

The *Complaint of Cresseid* is a very different kind of poem in which Henryson shows his power of treating a high tragic theme and rivalling his master Chaucer. Just as Thackeray wrote a continuation to *Ivanhoe* because he thought it unfair that the insipid Rowena should be preferred by Wilfred to the noble Rebecca, so Henryson was dissatisfied with Chaucer for killing Troilus and not awarding punishment for her sins to Cressida, whom he treats throughout with sympathetic indulgence. Henryson, therefore, as a moralist relates how the frail heroine is condemned by the gods to become a leper, and her horrible plight is described with realistic details derived from the poet's experience of that fell disease in mediæval Scotland. There is still a Spittal Street in Dunfermline which no doubt once led to the asylum outside the town where the lepers with bell and clapper solicited alms and warned passers-by to give them a wide berth. It is to such a pest-house that Henryson, not without compunction, consigns Chaucer's frail but charming heroine. And there he devises a situation which for ghastly pathos can scarcely be rivalled in the whole range of literature. For thither returning a glorious victor from a triumphant expedition against the Greeks "right royally" rode Troilus. He could not quite recognise Cressida under the horrible disguise of leprosy. Yet somehow her look brought to his mind the sweet face and amorous glances of her who was sometime his own darling.

Mysteriously a spark of love sprang to his heart, so that trembling with hot fever he was ready to die and his panting breast could hardly bear his shield. Moved by the unconscious reminiscence he dropped into the lap of Cressida a girdle, a purse of gold, and many gay jewels, "then rode away and not one word he spoke." To this melancholy story of beauty turning to loathsomeness an appropriate setting is given by a prologue in which the poet reads Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida* in his oratory on a bitterly cold winter night. He describes himself as "a man of age" mending the fire and taking a drink to comfort his spirits, probably a French wine, as whisky did not become the national drink of Scotland until a much later date. He tells us that his oratory was brightly illuminated by Venus, who

> "Uprose, and set unto the west full right
> Her golden face in opposition
> Of God Phœbus direct descending down."

It is astronomically impossible that Venus as an evening star should rise or that she should ever be in opposition to the sun. Campbell, however, in one of his lyrics to Caroline makes the same mistake and calls upon Venus to rise at sunset. Perhaps Henryson mistook Jupiter for Venus. But it is strange to find a schoolmaster committing such a blunder.

Henryson's natural simplicity and easy flow of narrative is best seen in his renderings in Scottish verse of the fables of Æsop. He resembles Chaucer in the conversational tone of his style, which is entirely free from poetical diction. In his stories of animals he combines sympathy with human and bestial nature. The finest of his stories is the fable of the town and country mouse. At one moment they are true mice creeping through grass, corn, and bush, and crying "peip" to each other; at another they are a lifelike contrast between the country wife and the city madam. The hospitable country mouse invites her proud sister to stay all the year and enjoy her country fare, but her guest has "too proud a stomach."

> "My fair sister," said she, "have me excused,
> This rude diet and I cannot accord;
> To tender meat my stomach is aye used,
> For whiles I fare as well as any Lord.
> Those withered peas and nuts ere they be bored
> Will break my teeth."

So they went together to town and enjoyed a fine feast in a house overflowing with cheese, butter, meal, malt, beef, mutton, thraf cakes made of wheat and every dainty that could please the palate of mouse or man, and, for their special delectation as mice.

> "A white candle out of a coffer stall,
> Instead of spice to gust their mouth withal."

So they held high revelry and in their jollity shouted aloud "Hail, Yule, hail." But after their extravagant joy came the fear of death in the shape of the butler and "Gib-Hunter our jolie cat," who got hold of the country mouse and played a game of hide and seek with her until by good hap she found refuge between a board and the wall. After that, a sadder and a wiser mouse, she returned to her country home

> "As warm as wool, suppose it was not great,
> Full benely stuffed, both but and ben
> With beans, and nuts, peas, rice and wheat.
> Whenever she list she had enough to eat
> In quiet and ease without any dread
> *But to her sister's feast no more she yede.*"

MICHAEL MACMILLAN

PERSIAN RAMAYANAS

One of the greatest modern Orientalists has said that it is impossible to understand Moslem civilisation and appreciate Islamic culture without an acquaintance with and sympathetic understanding of their great scripture, the Koran, and something of the many-sided literature that has grown out of and around it and has conditioned Moslem life and Moslem idealism for thirteen and a half centuries. Perhaps to the same extent it could be said of the ancient Hindu civilisation that the idealism and life of this exclusively philosophical culture has been born out of and coloured unlimited by their great Vedic, epic and commentorial literature. Naturally therefore, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata dominate the ideas and ideals, if not the actual work-a-day life, of a fifth of the human race which claims to have retained the essentials of Aryan blood and culture to a greater degree than perhaps any other in the world. The interweaving of Vedic and epic literature into the very warp and woof of ancient Indian life was so remarkable that nearly four centuries ago, the great Babar noted it, almost the first thing after his conquest of India. On a great historic occasion, so run the chronicles, when he was holding a march past of his victorious army, he observed that a crowd of simple Indian rustics seated under a peepal tree was so completely immersed in listening to a *Kathakata* out of some Hindu scripture, being recited by one of the wandering Sanyasis, that they did not care even to look at the splendour of the great Moghul army which was marching in all its triumphant glory.

If such is the hold of the Vedic literature on Hindu mind it goes without saying that a proper study and appreciation of it opens the door to a complete understanding of and rapprochement with the Hindu community. It has been well said that sympathy must precede understanding and a sympathetic understanding is the only harbinger of real and lasting fraternisation. The intermingling and mutual interaction between these two sister literatures of great purity, namely Sanskrit and Persian, has all along been the outstanding feature of Hindu-Moslem relations almost from the very inception of Pathan rule and most remarkably so during the later three and a quarter centuries. It was the large-hearted Emperor Akbar who introduced his quickening ideas of toleration into the realm of literature and of general culture and refinement.

Adaptations, extracts and translations, free or faithful, between Hindu and Islamic literatures had been fairly general and numerous in the departments of didactic, philosophical, mathematical and medicinal learning; but by far the most ambitious and significant, if not the first and the original, attempt at acquiring and absorbing the masterpieces of Sanskrit literature was made at the instance of Emperor Akbar. This great and catholic emperor, like the famous Al-Mamun (813-833 A.D.) of Abbaside Baghdad, established a special department for undertaking this work. In this 'Academy' of his there was a galaxy of able and earnest scholars who were engaged in "carrying out the commandments" of their "open-minded" monarch, and were translating the various works of the Hindus. Among these pioneers of religious cosmopolitanism Faizi, Abul Fazl, Haji Muhammad Sultan, Mulla Shah, Naqib Khan and Abdul Qadir were the most talented Sanskritists, and it is to them that we owe much of what we call the Hindu-Moslem literature of the period. It is to be noted, however, that of all the works translated during the time of Akbar the Ramayana excited the greatest interest and came to be universally appreciated. It attained a great measure of popularity among the Musalmans not only in the time of Akbar but during subsequent periods also. The secret of this general and generous appreciation of what had hitherto been the exclusive epic literature of an exclusive religion, lies in the very theme of the poem. It is an undeniable fact that the artistic beauty of the poem, its pathos, simplicity and harmony has few parallels in the literatures of other languages. Persian Literature, rich and full in every respect, has always been unique in its ready absorption of all the available gems of the other literatures of the world and it could hardly be that with the opportunities afforded in India it should long remain devoid of the rich beauty and variegated mosaic of this great epic. Akbar realising this deficiency ordered the translation of Sanskrit Ramayana into Persian prose.[1] Abdul Qadir Badauni, "the orthodox Muslim" who called Abul Fazl and others *Kafirs*, was given the work, or as he says, had the misfortune of translating the Ramayana. Indeed it was an irony of fate that a man of his orthodoxy should have been called upon to undertake the work of translating the "book of the infidels"; and, as such, he naturally deplores his lot in his Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh[2]:—

> "But such is my fate to be employed on such works."

Afterwards he says :—

> "Nevertheless I console myself with the reflection, that what is predestined must come to pass."

These remarks clearly show that Badauni was quite unwilling to translate the Ramayana but Akbar's "Commandment" was an imperative evil which he could not evade[3] and finally he had to complete the work, after a patient labour of four years, in 999 A.H. He mentions these facts in his history and says[4] :—

> "In the month of Jamada-al-awwal A. H. 999, I completed the translation of the Ramayana having occupied four years in the work. When I presented the book it was greatly praised."

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[1] Ain-i-Akbari (Blochman), Vol. 1, p. 105.

[2] Elliot, Vol. V, p. 537.

[3] See Badauni (Transl. by Lowe), Vol. II, pp 346, 347.

[4] Elliot, Vol. V, p. 537. In Badauni (Lowe), Vol. II, p. 478, the year of the composition of the Ramayana is 997 A. H. and not 999 A.H., as given in Elliot.

This first translation of the Ramayana[1] was a landmark in the history of Hindu-Moslem literature, as it paved the way for future poets and scholars to build up on the materials supplied to them in Persian prose. And yet another factor which was of an even greater importance in popularising the story of Ram and Sita was the Ramayana of Tulsi Das written during the second half of the sixteenth century A.D. The appearance of this Hindi Ramayana was of unique importance as it greatly enhanced the reputation and popularity of the Ramayana and it is perhaps for these reasons that when we come to the reign of Jahangir (1605-1627) we find at least two Persian translations or abridgements of the Ramayana. The first of these is a poetical version of the Ramayana by Mulla Saadullah *Masih* of Panipat[2] and the second also is a poetical version by a Hindu called Girdhar Das. Mulla Masih was a servant of Muqarrab Khan,[3] an Amir of Emperor Jahangir, and passed most of his time in his service. His Ramayana has been praised by all the contemporary and succeeding biographers and they have invariably quoted the verse which he wrote in praise of Sita:—

> "The very garments that enshrouded her had never seen the body within, as, albeit the human body encages the soul it can never actually see it."

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[1] A beautiful, ornamented copy of this Ramayana, said to have cost £[illegible]0,000 sterling, is in Colonel Hanna's collection at Washington, U. S. A. (*Vide* Smith's History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon, p. 456.)

[2] It is strange that Dr. Rieu (British Museum Catalogue, Vol. II, p. 68[illegible]) and Maulvi Abdul Muqtadir (Khuda Bukhsh Khan Library Catalogue, Vol. III, p. 10[illegible]) and certain others have ascribed the authorship of this Ramayana to Hakim Rukruddin Masud, poetically surnamed *Masih*, who flourished like Mulla Másih, during the reign of Jahangir; but the statement of these Cataloguers is evidently wrong as Rukna Masih was not the author of any Ramayana; moreover, almost all the biographers who have written the life of Mulla Masih have ascribed the authorship of this Ramayana to him. For verification of this statement see Maasir-ul-umara, Vol. III, p. 382; Hamisha Bahar (Sprenger, p. 129); Kalimat-ush-Shuara (MS.), fol. 69b; Tadhkira-i-Husaini, p. 325; Maqalat-i-Shibli, pp. 1-3.

[3] Maasir-ul-umara, Vol. III, pp. 379-382.

Mulla Masih was accused by critics and fanatics of writing the story of "the infidels" but he has ably defended himself in the introduction and has endeavoured to absolve himself of the charges. His style is beautiful and touching and quite on a par with the great theme of the poem. An outstanding feature, however, is that the scenery painted by him is not Indian but Persian; the resultant effect being that of a lively and glorious Indian plot being transplanted into the rich and picturesque *Wadis* and rose gardens of Persia. Naturally enough also the simple great character like that of Sita has been metamorphosed into the composite paragon of an Indian heroine possessing the beauty of Shirin, the charm of Laila and the fidelity of Azra—all idols of Persian Romanticism. Here, for instance, are a few specimen lines which contain a description of Sita as given by Surpánakhá to her brother Ravan; and one will not fail to see in them the characteristic description of a Persian beauty[1]:—

1. "Her face with its smile of beatitude is like the dawning morn, nay it is even like the sun of hope to the world of yearning."
2. "Intoxicated like the narcissus in her joy of life, the consciousness of her own beauty is emanent like a mirror."
3. "Her flaming beauty obeys not the oblivion of a hundred veils even like the indomitable glory of the sun and unlike the mellowed brightness of the moon only."
4. "It almost seemed that the very sun itself was prepared to sweep her path with the eye-lashes of his brilliant rays."
5. "Her beauty in a full bloom of its youthful splendour shines just like the reflection of soul in the fountain of life" etc., etc.

Masih has devoted a special chapter to the praise of Hindustan and says:[2]

"Love is the very soil of the country of Ind for there religion and heterodoxy are one in their obsession with love."

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[1] Folio 73a of my MS. copy of the Ramayana.

[2] Folio 14b " " "

Next he expresses his deep and genuine admiration for the "true love" of the Indians and pays a glowing tribute to Indian women who give their lives on the bier of their deceased husbands. Finally he concludes that "Love" is universal and wherever there is true love he would worship the dust of that land and that he would idolise the hero who appears to him as the perfect symbol of love—real and eternal—be he Majnun the lover of Laila, Farhad the lover of Shirin or Ram the lover of Sita. He says[1] :—

1. "Tarry a moment, oh heart, in thy madness of desire and worship the Almighty according to the religion of love."
2. "The secret of final unity must be an eternal mystery to all but the devotees at the altar of love; for the shrine of love is no other than the temple of the Infinite."
3. "The fortunate one who has lost his ego in the ocean of love, you cannot call him either a heathen (Kafir) or a believer for do not his whole faith and religion consist alone of love," etc., etc.

This much by way of an appreciation of Mulla Masih's epoch-making Ramayana. Let us now turn to the other contemporaneous version of the same great piece of world-literature, which owes its origin to the poetical talents of Girdhar Das, a Kayath Hindu of Delhi.[2] The poet flourished during the reign of Jahangir to whom he has dedicated his work and on whom he has showered a due meed of praise for his generous and broad-minded patronage of learning and of learned men. This work was completed in A.H. 1036 (=1627-28 A.D.), as the poet states towards the end of his work and according to his statement it consists of 5,900 distichs or *ash'ar*. There is, however, nothing original in this book either in the novelty of style or in the treatment of the subject-matter; and in spite of the natural admiration for the success with which a Hindu scholar has battled against his limitations in a foreign literature, one is constrained to admit that his rendering of the Ramayana falls slightly below the reducible minimum of perfection which would be consistent with the epic grandeur of the theme.

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[1] Fol. 16b of my MS. copy of the Ramayana.

[2] Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. I, p. 56b.

We now turn to Chandarman *Bidil*, son of Sri Ram, to whom belongs the credit of turning out two separate versions of the Ramayana of which one is in prose and the other in poetry. His prose rendering is not literal but is a free translation bold and full in its style with a consequent freshness and vivacity of expression. In his style, however, he has unfortunately sought to imitate the florid and verbose ideal which had been the universally accepted standard of literary perfection for over two centuries of Persian literature. The deplorable effect of this style we can see in his Ramayana as in most prose Persian works of that period, in that the labourings after a highly artificial literary perfection takes away from the great rendering of the theme a faithful and effective depiction of the historical events. But it is strange, however, that the opening seven or eight verses of the book are truly beautiful and give unmistakable evidence of his talents as a poet. Naturally, then, his poetical version is a far better production. This latter version, which he calls " Nargisistan " or "the Garden of Narcissus," was composed at the instance of his bosom friend Kahtaldas in A.H. 1105 (1639 A.D.), when he was in the sixtieth year of his life.[1] *Bidil* has a long encomium of the reigning sovereign, Alamgir, and designates him as "the just, angel-natured ruler." He says in part[2] :—

> " So long as the Emperor Alamgir exercises sway over the world, India is immune from the visitation of calamities and catastrophes," etc., etc.

Towards the end of the book *Bidil* has enumerated a list of his books and poetical productions, which number six in all, over and above the two books under review ; and concludes by saying :—[1]

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[1] These details have mostly been taken from the introductory pages of Nargisistan, (Lucknow, 1292 A.H.=1875 A.D.).

[2] P. 4 of Nargisistan.

> "Lost in the love of Ram is my whole 'self'; such being my self-effacement what shall I say unto you excepting the final word of adieu !"

Here I should like to take an opportunity of correcting a popular fallacy regarding the authorship of this Ramayana. It is generally believed that this version of the Ramayana was composed by Mirza Abdul Qadir *Bidil*, the last great Persian poet of India and this mistake has been repeated in the Lucknow edition of the above Ramayana, but this is evidently untenable for the said Mirza never wrote any Ramayana ; moreover internal evidences of an unmistakable nature prove conclusively that it is the poetical composition of Chandarman *Bidil* and not of his great Moslem contemporary. Quotation upon quotation could be piled to explode this popular fiction which is a mere vulgar confusion arising out of the common pen-name adopted by the two poets.

Next comes a large and voluminous poetical version of the Ramayana comprising about 1,000 pages of 42 lines each, or 40,000 verses in all, produced by Amanat Ray,[2] an inhabitant of Lalpur (U. P.), a village founded by his grandfather Gopal. Subhant, the father of the poet, gave him a very liberal education and trained him in the art of versification. It so happened that his native village was washed away by flood and he was compelled to leave for Delhi where he entered the service of Ali Amjad, "the patron of literature," as he calls him. After his death, the poet enjoyed the patronage of Amjads' sister, Rahim-un-Nisa, and it was during the period of this service that he wrote his monumental Ramayana.

To Amanat certainly belongs the credit of writing not only one of the best but also the most voluminous Ramayana in Persian and to him also must be given the credit of introducing a *Ghazal* at the end of every important chapter, comprising more than 200 in all. The practice of introducing *Ghazals* at the end of every important chapter is undoubtedly a very ingenious one and serves to some extent the same purpose which chorus did in early drama. But it is strange that except Amir Khusru, Amanat, and a few others no one has employed this method in his *Masnawi* poems. It is noteworthy that the *Ghazals* of Amanat are full of charm and beauty and are indeed an embellishment to his Masnawi Ramayana, which he has written in imitation of Firdawi's immortal Shahnama.

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[1] P. 114 of Nargisistan.

[2] The details regarding Amanat's Ramayana have exclusively been taken from a MS. copy of his Ramayana (fol. 3 a-6b).

It must have taken long years for Amanat to compose this Persian Ramayana but no hint on this point is to be found in the body of the book. External evidences, however, show that he completed this version after a patient and laborious effort of twenty-five years. The date of the composition of the work as given towards its concluding portion is 16th Shawwal, 1168 A.H.—5th Savan, 1812 Samvat. The following translation of the *Ghazal* which the poet has put in the mouth of Hunwant who is anxiously searching for Sita, is full of charm and pathos and will not fail, in its original Persian, to enlist the sympathy of readers:—[1]

1. " Full many a night have I been wandering in vain in the dark wilderness of distractions but the brilliant moon of the beloved's beauty has not yet peeped forth from the terrace of the dark oblivion."
2. " Even like one enchanted and distraught have I been roving about in the limitless wild but so far not even the dust of her caravan has yet appeared to brighten my eyes."
3. " Round and round the tulips and the roses have I roamed like the sweet Zephyr of the morning, but of that flower of beauty could I discover no trace in all this splendid garden."
4. " Poor me what an infliction of lectures have I suffered from these puritan philosophers of the Finite but not a hint has

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[1] Fol. 216b of Amanat's MS. Ramayana.

anybody vouchsafed to me of the secret of eternal beauty of the Infinite."

5. "Brahmin-like have I prostrated myself at the feet of every idol of beauty in the great metropolis of the world; but, fool that I am, what hope was there of obtaining the prize of my longings from these stone-hearted beauties."
6. "The beatific glory of absolute faith has not yet unveiled to me the secret of the all-pervading truth, and poor Amanat has been whelmed in the limitless depth of doubts and fancies."

Of the other poetical versions of the Ramayana there is one of unknown authorship in the India Office Library, London.[1] It is a voluminous translation comprising about 500 folios in all. The two opening verses which have been quoted by Ethe in his catalogue of Persian Manuscripts of the above Library go to show that the metre of the poem is far from congenial and that its reading will be as tedious as that of Sanai's Hadiqat-ul-Haqiqat which is perhaps the dullest book in Persian poetry.[2] Moreover, the opening verses evince no literary polish. Another poetical version of the Ramayana of unknown authorship was in the collection of Sir William Ouseley (No. 74 of his catalogue) but beyond this other details of the work are not forthcoming. However, we must be content with this little information only.

Finally, let us discuss the remaining "prose" translations or versions of the Ramayana of which several copies are extant; but before describing the remaining prose Ramayana, I may mention here a difficulty about these works, namely, that it is extremely difficult to differentiate between them as they resemble each other so closely in their style and form that one can only see in them verbal differences of a very insignificant nature—a fact that irresistibly leads one to the conclusion that they are merely unfaithful copies of a common origin. There are, however, certain translations regarding which no such difficulty arises in their identification. Of these there is one in the Munich Library (J. Aumer, p. 140, No. 349). There is another by Devi Das Kayath in the British Museum (Rieu, p. 55), translated from the Ramayana of Tulsi Das, together with additional two chapters on the life-story of Ram. The copy in the British Museum appears to be a bulky one and the text is comparatively correct. Another copy of the prose translation by an unknown author is in the India Office Library (Ethe, No. 1963). The last is a comparatively modern translation of the Ramayana, or Valmiki's Ramayna as called in the text, and has been written by Anandkhan who adopted the *nom de plume* of *Khush.* The translator enjoys considerable celebrity as the author of several books, the principal among them being (*i*) Barh-an-Najat or Kasi Khanda, a history of the city of Benares, (*ii*) Gaya Mahtmya, (*iii*) Masnawi Kajkulah and (*iv*) a Diwan, called Diwan-i-Khush after his pen name. His Ramayana, however, was left incomplete, the last "Kanda" remaining untranslated.

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[1] Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, p. 1099.

[2] Browne's Literary History of Persia, Vol. II, p. 319.

In the foregoing pages I have given as briefly as possible an account of *ten* Persian Ramaynas, *six* of which are in poetry and the remaining *four* in prose. Here, I would not like to discuss the relative merits of each but I may conclude by saying that they are all charming productions, and a correct and critical edition of the more important ones will, I am sure, be a pleasant study to the lovers of Persian Literature.

M. MAHFUZUL HUQ

THE FLOWER OF RAJASTHAN

ACT II; SCENE 2

[*Scene.*—A room in the palace of Oodipur.]

(*An Attendant ushers in Rajah Maun and Sindhia.*)

Attendant—

His Majesty salutes Your Highnesses,
And will anon be with you.
(*Retires.*)

Maun—

We may scarce
Hope to be welcome here in Amber's stead.
E'en monarchs shrink at sight of those they wronged;
And Bheem hath all but placed himself outside
The pale of my forgiveness. So he thought
Marwar would take it meekly, and allow
His claim thus coolly to be set aside
And 'neath his very eyes behold the prize
Pass to another.

Sindhia—

Thou hadst not preferred
Thy suit for Krishna's hand. How canst thou then
Complain he wronged thee in bestowing it
Upon another?

Maun—

'Tis a grievous wrong.
Was not she promised my illustrious sire,
Sealed his by royal word that changeth not,
To be the Queen of Marwar?

Sindhia—

He will say
That promise made to thy illustrious sire
His death has cancelled.

Maun—

That were stain indeed
Upon the shield of Mewar, and the shame
Of broken pledge and violated word
Should soil her fame for ever, and her fields
With blood of expiation;

Sindhia—

Yet restrain
Thine anger, prince, if thou wouldst win thy Queen.
Peace, there are footsteps.

(*Enter Rana Bheem, Rampyari and Krishna following.*)

Sindhia and Maun (*together*)—

King of Mewar, hail!

Bheem—

Hail, Lord of Marwar! Had we been advised
Of this unlooked-for honour we had made
Your welcome less unceremonious.

Maun—

We asked but privilege of audience,
And Majesty is gracious.

Bheem—

We would know
Who is the second guest that honours us.

(*Sindhia advances.*)

What, Sindhia the Mahratta! Now my cup
Of bitterness hath overflowed the brim.
What wouldst thou with me further? Hast thou not
Impoverished our kingdom, seized our lands
And sucked our very life-blood? Hast thou not
Outraged our treaty and belied thy word?
Left scarce a jewel to our women-folk
Or anna in our coffers? Wouldst thou take
The very grain from out our children's mouths
And make of Mewar but a beggar state,
A commonwealth of paupers?

Sindhia—

Noble King,
I come in good will, not in enmity.

Bheem—

Thy word I trust not. Marwar shame on thee,
To bring upon us this Mahratta bane!

Maun—

Most dread of potentates, I touch thy feet,
I bring the Sindhia— not to threaten thee
(That ill became thy servant) but to plead,
Plead for thy favour on thy servant's suit,
Plead for the hand of Krishna!

Bheem—

Peace, enow!
I do refuse thee and deny thee it;
'Tis mine to give no longer, if I would,
Since she is promised unto Amber's lord
Whose coming here to claim her we await.

Maun—

O base betrayal of the truth of Kings!
A breach of faith so monstrous with my sire,
A wrong so cruel unto me his heir,
The gods frustrate already. He is fled.

Bheem—

Fled—how and whither?

Maun—

Back to Jeypur's gate,
Because I bade him.

Bheem—

What—without a blow?

Maun—

Like birds affrighted at a tomtom's beat
The Jeypur host took wing and flew away.

Krishna—

O shame, O bitter, bitter shame on me!

Rampyari—

Nay, nay, my daughter, take it not to heart.
Thy bridegroom will not fail thee. He will come.

Maun—

Princess, he stands before thee; do thou choose
The worthier of the claimants. Is it he
Who fights for thee or he who runs away?

Bheem—

Hold, Lord of Marwar, for thy suit is vain.
Quit thou our presence, nor re-enter it.

Maun (*fiercely*)—

Friends thus ill used may turn to enemies,
And friendship's hand rejected wield the sword!
(*In softer tones*) Nay, nay, I must be patient. Bear with me.
My love of Krishna carries me away
Nor stops at aught to win her. Only thou
Favour my suit, divine one, and we swear
By all the Gods to shield thee from thy foes.
Sindhia no longer shall be Mewar's bane,
But her protector, and will render back
The half of his exaction and depart.

Sindhia—

But, if thou give thy child to Amber's prince,
Sindhia will swear himself thine enemy.
E'en now his brave Mahrattas in the vale
Have forced the pass and bide, eight thousand strong,
Yonder in cannon-range of Oodipur.

Bheem—

Ishwar preserve us! Now the truth is out.
O softly spoken foes, I ken you well,
Who come not here to threaten but to plead!
Ay, with the mouths of cannon gaping death!
Such is your pleading. Were my life the stake,
My life alone and not the life of these,
Not Mewar's but her ruler's—not the State
But the poor hand that guides awhile her helm,
Then should I fling defiance in your teeth.
But now, ye gods, what else is left me now
But to pull down the flag and take the terms,
And in dishonour's cloud to end my days!
My daughter and her father's curse are yours.

Krishna—

Father, O father! I would rather die
Than yield me to this braggart. Pity me.

Bheem—

Then wouldst thou see the fall of Oodipur,
And be the cause of twenty thousand deaths?
Much as I love thee, child, I yet am king
And love of land outweighs my love of thee.

Rampyari—

Ah—we poor women aye are sacrificed
To ease a situation.

Bheem—

Wife beloved,
What shall I say then?

Rampyari—

As thou saidst before
The king hath spoken. Let his word abide
Though earth should split asunder.

Bheem—

Thou art right.
Ho, Sindhia, Maun of Marwar, get you gone
We flout you and defy you, tide what may.

(*Enters a messenger hurriedly and falls at Maun's feet.*)

Messenger—

Ill tidings, Highness. Be not overwroth.

Maun—

We fear not tidings, fellow. Out with it!

Messenger—

In Jeypur City war hath been declared
Against your royal person.

Maun—

We rejoice.

Messenger—

O be my lord not angered with his slave!
The chieftain of Pokurna, Sowae Singh,
Hath sent his messengers to every town
Proclaiming one alleged to be the child
Of thine illustrious predecessor Bheem,
The lawful prince of Marwar's royal state,
And thee, my lord, usurper.

Maun—

Dared he this?
False underling and traitor that he is!
His life shall pay the forfeit.

Messenger—

Bear with me
Till my ill tale be told. Thy nobles flock
Around the standard of the puppet prince,
And first and foremost in the apostasy
The Lord of Bikaneer hath styled himself
Prince Regent till the child shall be of age.

Maun—

Hast done, hast done.

Messenger—

Nay, Highness, Jagat Singh
The Prince of Amber hath acknowledged him
And joined his force to Marwar.

Maun—

But thou saidst
In Amber war on Marwar was declared.

Messenger—

Not war on Marwar, Highness, but on thee.

Maun—

Then I no more am Marwar-king no more—
No more the champion of her liberties,
Not ev'n a citizen of Marwar's state.
What am I then? A branded reprobate,
An outlaw with a price upon his head,
A homeless outcast! Ram, I am undone!
And so my friend betrays me, and my peers
Discard their sworn allegiance in an hour,
And in my absence work my overthrow.
Full wise were they to wait till I was gone.
Wretch, hast thou told thy story?

Messenger—

O my Lord,
Count me at least thy servant! I have done.

Maun—

And I must make beginning. Sindhia,
In thy good services I place my trust.
To-night we must be marching.

Sindhia—

Whither bound?

Maun—

To Marwar's capital to right the wrong
Without an hour's delay—to overthrow
This child pretender to my forbears' throne
To reckon with my faithful ministers,
To slay my foes—to strangle Sowae Singh.

Sindhia—

Wilt thou not first on Mewar force thy will?
My brave Mahrattas only wait the word.

Maun—

Nay, 't would not serve my purpose. Let them march
To-night with me on Jodhpur. I will join
With thine my forces at thy camp anon.
(*Exit.*)

Sindhia (*following slowly*)—

So Sindhia is made use of. Not so fast,
My poor dethroned princeling! In my mind
The question is 'What use art thou to me'?
Which purse weighs heavier, Jagat Singh's or thine?
May be I'll play spectator, and (who knows?)
Both slain, the prize will fall to Sindhia,
And his shall be the Flower of Rajasthan.
(*Exit.*)

Rampyari—

Praise all the goddesses—we are preserved.

Krishna—

O faithful Jagat, Lion of the World,
I knew thou never couldst be false to me!

ACT II; SCENE 3

[*Scene.*—Behind the battle lines, Geengoli.]

(*Discovered Jagat Singh and soldiers*; *Enter Amir Khan.*)

Amir Khan—

Hail, Lion of the World! on Jeypur's flag
Already falls the gleam of Victory's wing,
And the foe routed flies before thy spears.

Jagat Singh—

Where is Pokurna's chieftain ?

Amir Khan—

On the right
He cuts off the retreat, and at his side
The chiefs of Marwar ride—the Champawats,
The Jaitawats and e'en the Mairtean clan,
The boasted guardians of their Rajah's throne,
Left Maun deserted ere the battle brake,
And for the child-king drew their scimitars.

Jagat Singh—

Who stayed with the usurper ?

Amir Khan—

Koochaman
Namaj, Ahore were faithful, and Jhalore—
Now flying helter skelter. Sindhia
Stood neutral by, and when the tide of war
Turned against Maun threw in his lot with us.

Jagat Singh—

Then is our victory final. What of Maun ?
Hath he been taken ?

Amir Khan—

Not that I have heard,
Yet he can scarce escape thee, mighty Prince.
Come and behold the finish of the fight
And thy victorious legions.

Jagat Singh—

Is it safe ?

Amir Khan—

Some little risk may linger, but so slight
It should not daunt the Lion of the World.

Jagat Singh—

Nay, nay, we reck it not; yet best beware
The wounded as we pass them, lest they rise
With their last breath to smite us, like a beast
The unwary huntsman takes for dead, and finds
Next moment at his throat. Tread warily.

Amir Khan—

Follow, divine one, I will lead the way.

Jagat Singh (*to his soldiers*)—

Then form a guard about me—all about.
(*Exeunt.*)

(*Enter Rajah Maun and Seonath of Koochaman.*)

Maun (*looking after Jagat Singh*)—

Degenerate Coward! Curse the faithless gods
Who give to such the victory over men.

Seonath—

Yet have those gods preserved thee in the fray
Still for thy foes' confusion.

Maun—

Seonath,
This doom is past retrieval. All is lost.
To-day out-numbered by tremendous odds
In a last, hopeless struggle I have staked
My all on one mad blow for Marwar's crown,
And it has passed for ever from my reach,
As far as my false friends have placed themselves
Beyond forgiveness. More than this is lost,
Since more than this I struck for, yea far more
For what are thrones and kingdoms, what are friends

To feed the passion of a human heart
Which only beats in time to one desire,
Throbs to one longing, softens to one dream
Of maddening grace and haunting loveliness,
Which vanishes at Fate's awakening touch,
And leaves me in a desert of despair!

Seonath—

Despair—the word sits ill upon the lips
Of Maun, the pride of Marwar's chivalry;
It ill becomes the hero of Jhalore
Who with unflinching eyes a hundred times
Looked Death i' the face, so that he slunk away
Abashed by such defiance of his might,
Till scowling Fortune changed her front and smiled
On such unswerving valour, leading forth
The proud, high spirit that surrendered not
Beneath the blows of hard adversity
To Kingship which alone befitted it.

Maun—

Nor shrink I now from Death, good Seonath,
But run to his embrace with eager arms.
Would that I, sword in hand, an hour ago
In a last rush had perished on the spears
From which thou didst restrain me, friend unkind,
Yea, far unkinder than mine enemies!
For which supreme unkindness to atone
Do my last bidding, and with steady hand
Hold my sword upward while I fall on it
And let me die a Rajput—sweeter still
A sacrifice to love of my princess,
Krishna Kumari, Flower of Rajasthan.

Seonath—

Nay, live to conquer, live to reign, to love—
For this the Fates reserve thee. Was it not
Foretold by the unerring at thy birth
Thy star should climb, thy fortune should ascend
Out of the deeps to such exalted heights
All tribes should make obeisance?

Maun—

It was so;
Yet can I not survive this shameful day?

Seonath—

Shame in dishonour lies, not in defeat.
Survive defeat that thou mayst worst thy foes
A Rajput live ere thou a Rajput die.

Maun—

Then must I be the first Rahtore to shame
His race by flying from a Cuchwaha?

Seonath—

This once for Marwar's sake—a little while.
Yon steed, Heaven's gift to thee, goes riderless.
Mount, prince, and homeward to thy capital!
Gather a force about thee on thy way,
Then rally at Jodhpur and make the stand
That yet will save thy kingdom, and regain
More than to-day thou losest.

Maun—

I will do it,
And laugh a siege to scorn in Joda's hall.
Save thyself, Seonath!

(*Exit.*)

Seonath—

The gods be praised!

(*The sound of music and singing is heard, during which Seonath remains pondering a while, then slowly retires. Re-enter Jagat Sing and Amir Khan, also enter Raj Yogi and a band of ascetic warriors who sing the following* :—

War Yogis—

Give honour to Hari the war-god, to Siva the Lord,
To the temple of Devi bring back the victorious sword—
The great, double-edged avenger, the deadly, the bright,
At whose flash the pale foes of the Lion fall back in affright.
Full deep hath he drunken to-day of his enemy's gore;
At his altar, ye hosts of the mighty, fall down and adore.

(*Enter a chorus of maidens.*)

Maidens—

Give honour to Jagat the Lion, the warrior King,
With the garlands of victory wreathe him, his gallantry sing.
On the red field of battle resounded his terrible roar,
And our foes as a mist were all scattered and now are no more.

Yogis—

To the praise of the Sword let a ram and a heifer be slain.

Maidens—

To Jagat bring garlands of roses and sweet sugar-cane.

Jagat Singh—

We breathe again in safety. Ne'er shall I
Forget that gruesome walk across the plain,
The noise of battle rolling towards the west,
The groans of dying men, the sight of blood—

The sudden heart-throbs when anigh there drew
This band of Yogis, chanting a wild dirge
That might have been a war-cry, with ourselves
Out-numbered and cut off from aid of arms.
'Twas a bad moment till I saw this troop
Of maidens, dancing to a roundelay,
Who sing my praise so sweetly. But my sword
The maid who leads them is as beautiful
As is the Flower of Rajasthan herself.
We would have converse with her. Good Amir,
Hast ever found in thy experience
How sore a thing it is to be in love ?

[*Curtain*]

(*To be continued*)

FRANCIS A. JUDD

THE ART OF WOOD ENGRAVING

In relation to Indian Printing

One of the surprises met with in the study of Indian art is the fact that there is no notable development in India of the art of engraving and printing from wood blocks on paper. It is even more a matter for comment, in view of the excellence of printed work on textiles, mostly cotton, which is a living art of unknown origin. Something must, of course, be allowed for the absence of a regular supply of a reasonably good and suitable paper, but there would appear to be grounds for believing that this technical development would have been a comparatively easy matter, had the desire to print woodcuts been strong enough.

Countries to which Indian learning had flowed were themselves in possession of this method of duplicating of writing or diagrams by means of impressions from the inked wood block. The Chinese and Japanese nations in particular were apparently under the educational necessity of evolving some such technique, in order to cope with the inherent difficulties arising from their ideographic mode of brush writing. The relative fixity of these forms, in comparison with the fluidity of the Persian script, will doubtless account to some extent for the lack of development in utilising the woodcut in Indian vernacular printing. This is further strengthened by observation of the acceptance of the lithographic stone for the printing of the flowing forms of pen script, in which technical process and traditional script meet in a happy blending. But in the more defined forms arising from Sanskrit, with its geometrical graphic forms symbolising its phonetics in an originally scientific sequence, we should naturally expect to find that the art of the wood engraver had been pressed into service, if education had not been maintained as the privilege of the few. There is an artistic relation between these forms and the forms of the

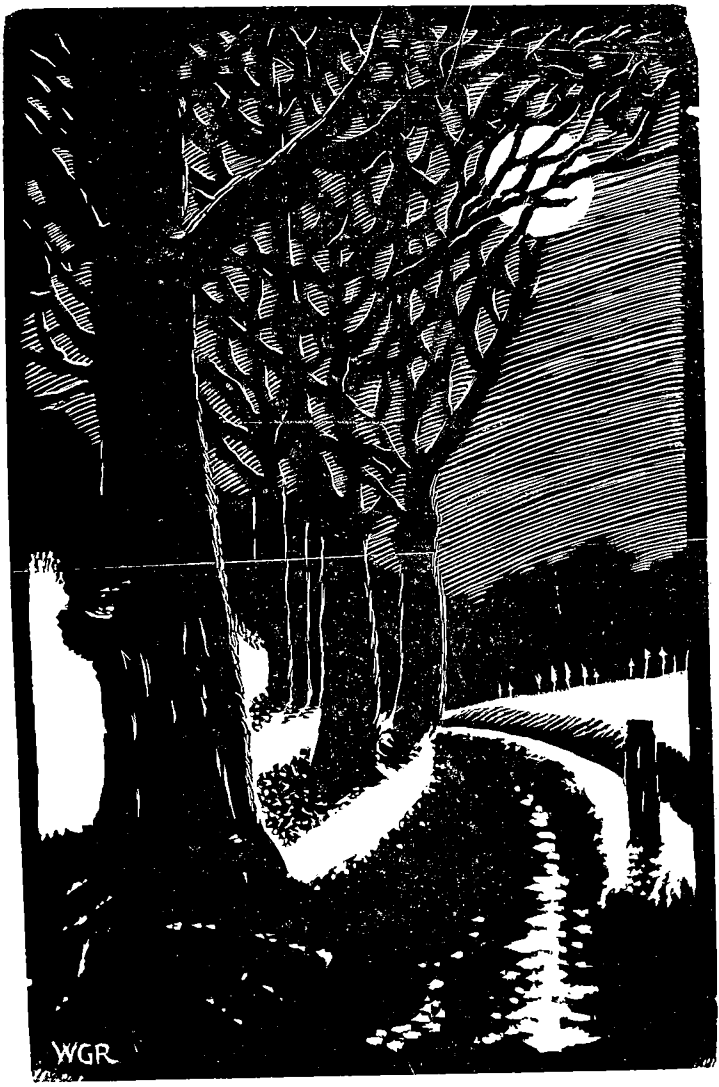
"Roman" and the "Arabic" letters now commonly used throughout Europe, and which by their accepted standardisation have thus allowed the development of both creative and educational literature. Their graphic structures are based on the square and the circle with the straight line as unit.

The immense but much neglected social value of the woodcut as an aid in vernacular printing is a fact that becomes more and more impressed upon any student of the typographical and technical productions of the general vernacular press. The peculiar conditions which have arisen during the last century in India, consequent upon the introduction of numerous machines of all kinds at an advanced stage of their development, into a country which did not itself witness that gradual development, has produced an industrial position of great difficulty in many diverse directions. The one with which we are immediately concerned is the art of printing, where we find that a people, with little or no traditional experience in any form of mechanical printing crafts, are suddenly confronted with the intricacies of the modern lithographic or rotary press, with all its complements of process work in both black-and-white and the three- or four-colour process. It is to be expected that in such a situation abnormal difficulties will arise, and therefore, it may incidentally be noted, that despite of the very low general level, there is much indeed to the credit of those who in the face of this lack of knowledge of industrial technique, have nevertheless succeeded in producing results of high technical value.

It must, however, be admitted that a tactical error has been condoned, in the omission of facilities for training in the processes of printing which are entirely accomplished by hand. The printer craftsmen of Europe are the descendants of craftsmen, and the inheritors of artistic traditions, of the development of hand printing of mediæval Europe. The woodcut block was from the first an essential and integral part of that tradition, and its omission from the craft training of the Indian printer has led to some grave defects which maintain the generally low level of vernacular work. We find bad setting and inaccurate composition, bad presswork, a lack of design of the printed page, and an entire absence of a knowledge of what the woodcut can do, even with a handpress and on poor paper, with the cheapest ink. It is a significant fact that the foremost printers of both Europe and America are going back, for inspiration and the impulse to freshness, to the older printers, who had at best two or three grades of papers to select from, two or three founts of type, and a few wood blocks which they cut for themselves or which they themselves designed. Even among the foremost printers of to-day, there are few indeed who could cut a block and a still smaller number who could satisfactorily design one.

It is common knowledge that the craft of wood-engraving was practically ruined in Britain, by the introduction of the mechanical photographic processes. But it had already committed what amounted to an artistic suicide, by the method then in vogue, in which the artist made a wash drawing on the block itself, in black and white watercolour, which the engraver, who was then merely a craftsman, translated as best he could into terms of line and space. This division, and the realistic notions then descending on British art in general, led the way to the rapid acceptance of the "realism" of the photograph, which from then has been regularly reproduced by the photo-process blocks.

But there is another and a vaster side of art, of life, and of education, than can be confined into the multifarious and bewildering details of photographic realism. To this side it is the duty and privilege of the artist to minister and then play his proper post in the advancement of learning among the masses of the Indian people. To find his way to the vast multitudes, most of whom are almost or quite illiterate, is indeed difficult, yet there are few roads more accessible at this present time than the way of the printing



" WINTER MOON "

(*Original Wood Engraving by W. G. Raffé*) press. We cannot, of course, accept the artless confusion of "illiteracy" as being synonymous with "uneducated," for oft-time facility in reading stultifies the power of thought, while true observation is best trained in the man who must perforce do his own thinking. But facts and ideas can be presented to him in the form of decorative pictures, and there is no better way than the woodcut. In Japan a whole art thus arose from a definite social necessity and its normal artistic fulfilment, which later paradoxically gained a European recognition out of all proportion to what it originally had in its own land. It was the sincerity of this social art which first built its own success and then captured the world of western art. Curiously, the only parallel now current is the typical political cartoon of the European press. The strong lines of the woodcut are peculiarly suitable for use in such cartoons.

The art of printing in colours from woodblocks arose, in Japan, from the early simple work on a small scale, usually in black or red only, later in several colours. The people quickly showed their appreciation of pictures made and sold in this way, most of them depicting a charming and artistic rendering of ordinary incidents in the everyday life of the people. If we may paraphrase Lincoln's oft-quoted dictum, these expressions of genuine art were made "by the people, for the people and *about* the people!" As the knowledge of paper-making increased, the only item lacking was supplied, and on the cheap material made from the mulberry and the "Rice paper" in which the remains of the rice plant were turned to use, the beautiful but cheap colour print became well known and widely appreciated in Japan. It was for long essentially an art appreciated by the common people; without their support it would have had no success and only a short life.

There are many conditions in India very similar to those in Japan, and thus there is no substantial reason why the woodcut print should not attain as great a popularity in India both as a means of artistic expression, and, far greater, as a means of educating the vast population to whom books are otherwise useless. But compare the ordinary Japanese print with the lithograph print sold at the Indian places of pilgrimage ! What a difference in design and colour !

The process is extremely simple. The tools and materials are few and within reach of even the poorest, while the operations of the work demand little more than some skill in drawing and knowledge of design suitable to this process. For all ordinary printing, a block of close-grained wood, cut to show the end grain on its broad surface, is cut to seven-eighths of an inch in thickness, and polished absolutely flat on one side. On this is drawn the design in reverse. The places which are to show white, or non-coloured, in the result, are then removed with "gravers" of suitable shape. Printing ink is then rolled or dabbed on to the cut block, and a thin paper placed on it, which is then gently rubbed, thus transferring the ink to the paper, and producing a print. It is thus a "cameo" process.

There are a number of timbers native to India, on which excellent results can be produced. The rougher blocks with which cotton is printed are usually cut from *shisham* wood, that will serve quite well for broad designs, but not for fine work. The present writer has found a timber called *hemicyclea elata* to be of a very suitable nature for fine work in wood engraving, when cut across the end grain. Most artists who are engravers in Europe make use of box wood, but it is difficult to obtain pieces large enough for a fair size composition, without taking several pieces and bolting them together. Broadly, it may be said that any timber which is free from knots and cracks and which has a firm smooth and fine grain, will serve for engraving upon, if it is not cut plank-wise but across the grain.

For coloured work, there are various methods in vogue, all of them practical and of use to the Indian printer of small means and limited apparatus. The Japanese method is to cut several blocks, and to use one block, or one side of a block sometimes, for each colour. Then they are printed in the best order, to suit the printer. Often the black coloured one is made the "key block" and sometimes it may be printed first, but not always. It usually serves, however, for the purpose of defining the design, while the colour blocks are generally limited to filling in the colour, more or less flat, of the various costumes, etc. Shading is avoided as much as possible.

The method used by the old European printers, and used also by the present writer, is to print the black block only, and fill in a very few flat colours with a fine brush by hand. Sometimes the old printers did put their work through the press a second time and printed a second colour, which was invariably red. But in these prints they seldom troubled to add any further colour by hand. When the system of hand-colouring is adopted, it is of course almost impossible to get two prints finished exactly alike. The more colours that are used, the less repetition is possible. Such prints therefore may take rank as individual works of art, when they are worked throughout by the one artist, who makes the design, transfers it to the wood, cuts the block, prints the paper by hand or in a handpress, and finally colours each one with water colour pigments. The labour involved is so great that very few artists will venture to make more than fifty prints.

Such an artistic method of adding the colour is not practical for printing in the pages of a newspaper or a magazine. There remains for printers the straightforward method, used by modern process workers, as in the "line-zinco" process. Only, instead of making a photograph of the design, it is actually drawn on the block and cut by hand in the usual way, and then a few proofs are made, and one is pasted on another block, for each additional colour required. This is then tinted from the original design, showing where the colour is to be printed from, and the remainder of the surface is cut away. These blocks are then printed successively, with the black last, in the printing press. Duplicates of woodcuts can be successfully made by electrotyping, and even by the stereotyping process, by experts, that print quite well in newspapers, and save the wear and tear which otherwise the original block would suffer. A really good woodblock will stand a thousand impressions in skilled hands, before showing any appreciable wear, but an electrotype will stand ten thousand in the same conditions. The stereotype block is not so durable or so good.

As an aid to the printer, the woodcut is invaluable. All manner of designs can be made, by a clever artist, who knows the possibilities and limitations of the process. It is the cheapest way of printing a small edition of a design, and by it a strength and boldness can be obtained better than by other means, but it cannot rival the etching for fineness. Book covers, headings and finials, titles and all manner of illustrations of the decorative rather than the imitative kind can be successfully produced on wood, by skilful use of the few rupees worth of tools necessary for this work. Even portraits and landscapes can be produced, which have a charm of their own. Many modern art galleries and museums as well as private collectors are now buying these prints, which hold a place of equal honour with the etching and the lithograph in the "Print Room" but woodcutting is the oldest craft of them all.

Perhaps the city which has most appreciation for woodcuts is Paris, for some modern French artists have proved themselves also very skilful engravers. But it is not far behind in Great Britain, where artists are using the block and the graver as a medium for all kinds of artistic necessity, from labels and book covers and *ex-libris*, to portraits and landscape composition, as well as in numerous book illustrations. There is no question but that the traditional decorative treatment of Hindu graphic art will find an exceptionally agreeable form of expression through the woodblock. And there seems little doubt that it will also find instant appreciation, for it can provide a higher level of artistic work than the crude and inartistically coloured prints which appear to find favour among certain classes. There is certainly a demand for prints, mostly of a religious nature and it is the duty of the artists to supply that demand in the most artistic manner possible, rather than to ignore it and retire to their own corners for "self-expression" in a few pictures, no doubt excellently composed and finished, but at prices beyond the reach of the mass of the people.

If there is to be a renaissance of art and craft work in India, it will arise soonest if the artists will endeavour to find out what is wanted, and, if it be a socially desirable want, to supply it at the highest level, the widest method of supply, and at the lowest reasonable price. Where there is bad art, it must be competed with; where there is no art, it must be introduced, not with a flourish, but quietly and unobtrusively. Art must grow normally in the common things, before it can be accepted in things that are uncommon. Appreciation must be exercised in a daily experience; then the best art, the art that leads where all good art leads, will insensibly gain its power, speaking quietly in the language that is known, and reaching the understanding eye will leave the unspoken message to blossom in the tranquil mind.

A piece of wood is so simple a thing, and yet it can say so much, after it passes the hand of the artist. And as it can be said to more than one at the same time, through the power of duplication, it can most often reach those who need it most. There is more labour to cut the wood than merely to draw on paper once only. But there is often more joy in the result, and in the doing of the work.

W. G. Raffé

WHAT OTHERS THINK OF THEE

I

Thy brain's be-numb'd, thy heart-blood shed,
  Athinking what men think of thee.
The book of self is left unread
  —A book that none but thee can see.
What if to some thou highest high,
  To some again the lowest low,
While most will have nor ear nor eye—
  Regardless all—nor friend nor foe?
Be thou or not be thou to them
  'Tis all alike.
Be thou paste or be thou gem
  Life-clock will strike
The chime for all men same,
Whatever be their name and fame
"—Ding-dong! he is—ding-dong! he's not!"
Thy mem'ry with thy body'll rot.
The eyes of worth to hail thy worth
Returning years will turn to earth.
Direct thine eyes to inmost heart,
What God has made thee that thou art.
If once for thee shall any give
True thanks to God then thou shalt live.

II

I see thy glorious work,
  Thy work am I who see;
But thou art hid, O Love,
  In matchless modesty.

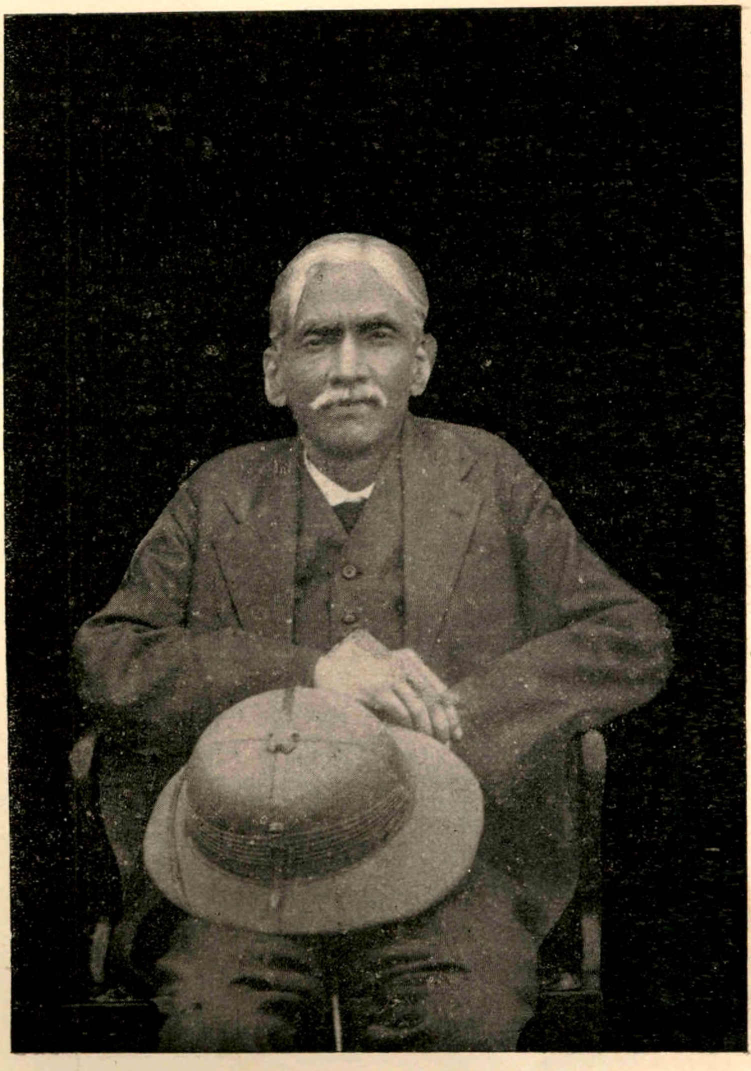
I wish in my life-task
  O, thus myself to hide;
The task perform'd, may I
  In darkness thus abide!
The maiden blush that veils
  The love that never ends
—The love that's life and death—
  In love that love descends.

III

The scented loveliness of Rose
  Th' enchanting chant of Bird that's Spring
Unbid each comes, unbid each goes,
  Away they take not what they bring.
He sings in joy, she blooms unask'd
  In her own loveliness;
Let sweetness from thy self be cast
  As love's glad soft caress
  From Soul's unseen recess.
Then what is death and what is life?
A vain, an aimless, endless strife.
In being's part and whole
Of goodness Love's the joysome Soul.

THE MYSTIC RIVER

No eye beheld that River's birth,
No hand e'er touch'd its nascent form,
She flows thro' soft, thro' stone-hard earth,
Unmindful, be't calm or storm.
She yearns to find the boundless Sea—
The Sea wherein her life be lost.
To sister riv'rs her gift is free—
"Come, with my fate I thee accost!"
In all that fate-fraught living flood
Has naught to gain but all to lose ;
Will sand-mounts vampirise her blood,
If Sea's forgot by earth-dirt's ruse ?
If once that passion-laden heart
Is placed upon Sea's loving breast
His joyful waters herward dart
To make her one, thus close embraced.
Men call it tide, this life in death—
The life in love and not in breath.
What name to give to tide of Love
That heartward rushes from above
—That sweetens salt and quickens dead,
Gives skill to live by Love remade ?



MANOMOHAN GHOSE

SOUL-MURDER

(*Accusation*)

They say that I have murdered soul
Because I say that only Thou
Art being, otherless, alone,
Thou wert, wilt be, art ev'n now.
Ah, I myself and all I know,
All that I shall ne'er behold
Are but reflections caught from Thee,
They are but shadows, Thee ensoul'd.
Thou art they are; let them be gone
And yet Thou art as ever wert,
Secondless, causeless, One alone,
Thou all creation's end and start.
By Thee, from Thee, they all are sent,
Their being is but contingent.
Of all art Thou Bliss, Being, Soul,
I swear 'tis true in part and whole.

(*Explanation*)

To mind of man Thou makest all,
And all by Thee are held in life,
And all, when here, their work is done
In Thee but rest, devoid of strife.
Away from Thee they are but naught,
With Thee alone they 're what they are,
Then how can they be seen apart?
To say ought else is truth to mar.
All action and all attribute,
Have they a being Thee apart?

When Being's said are they not said?
  To say aught else is error's start.
What makes them happy let men say—
Love, silence is thy name for aye.

(*Reconciliation*)

Love, is it love to seek to know
    The secret in Thy heart
Or is it love to give myself
    Unknowing what thou art?
A dagger-thrust from Thy lov'd hand
    Is sweeter than caress,
From Thee undying pain, Sweet-heart,
    Be it but joy's excess.
The highest goodness is to feel
    No goodness there's in Love,
The mortal sin is but to put
    All sins His love above:
Sins forgotten, merit past
Nude the soul in God be cast!

MUSINGS BY THE MINAR

Mute witness, thou, of earth and sky,
King Prithvi was thy sire,
Increased wert thou by Kutub hand
As wind increaseth fire!
The Heav'ns in sportive anger then
Put lightning hand on thee,
And thou wert healed by English hand
Outstretched across the sea.
The torch of progress may thus be
Tak'n on from hand to hand,
Refulgent thro' whole orb of time
By races of this land!

MOHINIMOHAN CHATTERJI

THE ANTIQUITY OF ṚGVEDIC CULTURE

(*A Rejoinder*)

In this paper I propose to deal with Professor Winternitz's objections against the acceptance of my theory about the hoary antiquity of Ṛgvedic culture. He says: "It is absolutely impossible to use geological evidence as Abinaschandra Das does in his book 'Ṛgvedic India' (published by the University of Calcutta, 1921), in order to prove an age of the Ṛgveda which is not to be measured by thousands but by ten thousands, nay hundred thousands or even millions of years. He would have us believe that the Ṛgveda is 'as old as the Miocene or the Pliocene epoch whose age is to be computed by some hundreds of thousands, if not millions of years.' Now, why is this impossible? First of all, it is extremely doubtful whether man existed at all in the Miocene or Pliocene epoch. Most anthropologists and archæologists agree that the earliest existence of man on earth cannot be traced further than to the Quarternary or Glacial epoch. But apart from this, it is absolutely impossible that the language of the Ṛgveda should be so little different as it is from the Old Persian in the 6th century B. C., and from the Sanskrit of Pāṇini and Patañjali, if it had been the language of a people that lived even only in the Quarternary, to say nothing of the Miocene and Pliocene epochs. For languages, as a rule, change very rapidly; there are languages (and these are exceptions) that have changed comparatively little in the course of a thousand years, but never have languages been known to have remained almost unchanged for thousands or ten thousands of years. Merely from a linguistic point of view the theory of Abinaschandra Das must be rejected. It must also be rejected from a historical point of view." [1]

It is said that errors, like prejudices, die very hard, and the truth of this remark has been best illustrated in my case. I have already explained elsewhere how I was naturally led by the wrong estimate of old Geologists as to the age of a different distribution of land and water in the Punjab and Northern India, of which unmistakable evidence is found in the Ṛgveda, to infer a vast antiquity of some of the Ṛgvedic hymns, which, however, I candidly doubted, and attempted to bring down to the

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[1] Readership Lecture delivered by Prof. Winternitz at the Calcutta University in August 1923. Published in the *Calcutta Review*, November, 1923.

Pleistocene and even the post-Pleistocene or Quarternary epoch in my book *Ṛgvedic India.*[1] But the error seems to have got a firm hold on the mind of my critics, and in spite of my clearly expressing my own modified opinion, they persist in mentioning the Miocene and Pliocene epochs as the probable age ascribed by me to some of the early Ṛgvedic hymns. I firmly relied, as I still do, upon the geographical data as revealed in the Ṛgveda, which I challenge any Vedic scholar to disprove, and if there was any error at all, it lay in my misreading the ancient geological epochs, in the absence of more trustworthy evidence which, however, has since been available to a certain extent. The geographical data, as brought forward by me, should have arrested the attention of my critics sufficiently strongly to induce them to examine them in the light of fresh geological evidence, if available, before passing them by with an indifference which is really amazing. It is, therefore, a matter for deep regret to me, and to a large number of students of Ancient Indian History and Culture in this University, that Professor Winternitz should have remained profoundly silent on the value of the several geographical data advanced by me, and content himself only by expressing what seems to be a mere dogmatic assertion that "it is absolutely impossible to use geological evidence" (as I have done) in order to prove the ancient age of the Ṛgveda. The reason he adduces is that the Miocene or the Pliocene age was too early for the evolution of civilised man, or of a culture as described in the Ṛgveda. I admit (as I have admitted in *Ṛgvedic India* and elsewhere) the force of this objection. But the geographical evidence of a different distribution of land and water in the Punjab in Ṛgvedic times is still there, which cannot be ignored, and must be explained correctly, if recourse cannot be had to geological evidence. Either the geographical evidence must be satisfactorily explained, or you must have recourse to geological evidence. There is no third alternative. The geological age may not have been (as it is certainly not, in the light of recent proofs) the Miocene or the Pliocene; but it must have been an age, subsequent to them, and more recent. Mr. Wadia in his *Geology of India* (p. 248), says that there was a Pleistocene Sea over the Gangetic trough which lasted for thousands of years, and Mr. Wells also is of opinion that such a sea existed so long ago as 50,000 to 25,000 years B. C., and even later.[2] Taking the lower estimate as possibly correct, it would not be unreasonable to guess that some of the Ṛgvedic hymns were as old as 25,000 years. Let us hope, Professor Winternitz will not now consider it to be "absolutely impossible to use geological evidence" with a view to explain the geographical data revealed in the *Ṛgveda,* and prove its hoary antiquity.

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[1] *Ṛgvedic India*, p. 567. Read also my article on "The Antiquity of the Ṛgvedic Age" published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. VIII, pp. 277-294 (Calcutta University).

[2] Mr. H. G. Wells' *Outline of History*, pp. 39 and 45.

Next, with regard to the language of the Ṛgveda, Professor Winternitz holds that it is so little different from the Old Persian in the 6th century B. C., and from the Sanskrit of Pāṇini and Patañjali, that it would not have been the language of a people that lived in the Quarternary epoch. For, according to him, "languages, as a rule, change very rapidly; there are languages (and these are exceptions) that have changed comparatively little in the course of a thousand years; but never have languages been known to have remained almost unchanged for thousands or ten thousands of years."

Let us examine the above dictum of the Professor a little closely. He evidently proceeds on the assumption that the Ṛgvedic hymns were composed about 2000 B.C., or 2500 B.C. at most. If his surmise be correct, then his statement that it is very little different from the Old Persian in the 6th century B.C., and from the Sanskrit of Pāṇini and Patañjali militates against his theory that "languages, as a rule, change very rapidly." For, we find on his own admission that the Ṛgvedic language remained unchanged for about 2000 years. And if it remained practically unchanged for 2,000 years, what is there to disprove that it had remained unchanged for 5,000, 10,000 or even 15,000 years? And the same query may be put with regard to Old Persian, and the language of the Avesta. As to the language of the latter, the Professor remarks: "The date of the Avesta is itself not quite certain." Further on, he remarks: "Languages differ very much as to how long old forms of speech may be kept up, and there is a great difference between the languages of one family as to the time they want for differentiation. Lithuanian is one of those Indo-European languages which are nearest related to the ancient Indo-Iranian. But yet it is not an old language, and its literature is of quite recent growth." If Lithuanian is very closely related to the ancient Indo-Iranian, it is extremely difficult to understand why it is "not an old language," though its literature may be of recent growth. The very fact that Lithuanian still retains its old forms, being "nearest related to the ancient Indo-Iranian," goes clearly to show that languages can remain unchanged for thousands of years.

It is a pity that, for reasons best known to them, Western Vedic scholars seem generally unwilling to attach much importance to clear astronomical evidences found in the Vedic literature, which would have helped them in fixing the date of some of the old compositions. For example, in his *Orion* Mr. B. G. Tilak has proved from astronomical statements found in the Vedic Scriptures that "the Vernal Equinox was in the constellation of Mṛga or Orion about 4500 B.C." when, he believes, some of the hymns of the Ṛgveda were composed. And in this opinion he has been indirectly supported by another Vedic scholar, Mr. V. B. Ketkar, who has proved from a statement in the *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa* (iii. 4,1,5) that Bṛhaspati or the planet Jupiter, was first discovered when confronting, or nearly occulting the star "Tiṣya" about 4650 B.C.[1] Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mukhopādhyāya also proves from the Vṛṣākapi hymn (Rv. x. 86) that "when the vernal equinoctial colure passed through the group Orion (this was an extremely ancient date, B.C. 30000), sacrifices were offered to Vṛṣākapi (this was allowed by Indra because of the vernal equinoctial colure passing through it). But later on the vernal equinox having retreated a long way, Vṛṣākapi rose on the equator (about B.C. 23000), and people were still sacrificing to Vṛṣākapi...Later on Vṛṣākapi was again going slowly to the south, as if by the orders of Indra, and was almost invisible with the exception of the head about B.C. 10000. Later on still, it was slowly rising (at present it has coincided again with the equator), and at this time the hymns to Vṛṣākapi were sung. Here the description of the phenomenon is exquisite:

'O Vṛṣākapi, go to the house, the celestial sphere which is cut off and which contains some (unknown) *yojanas* or stages. From your nether house, come to our house. Indra is in the upper (portion of) the Universe. O Vṛṣākapi, you, the destroyer of sleep, who are going to the house, come back again, again by your way. We would perform the sacrifices. (Indra is, etc.). O mighty Vṛṣākapi, when you rising upwards (or rather northwards) would come to (our) house, where would that great sinner Mṛga be? Where he, who misleads people, would go? (Indra is, etc.)'? The explanation of the phenomenon—when Vṛṣākapi returns in his upward march to the house of Indra, the impertinent (sinner) Mṛga is not to be seen—is that the vernal equinox passing through the group at that time, Mṛga (Orion) is not to be seen at night, being in company of the sun.......This Vṛṣākapi hymn takes us back to the period even beyond 16000 B.C."[2]

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[1] Tilak's *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, Preface, ii.

[2] *The Hindu Nakṣatras* in the "Journal of the Department of Science" (Calcutta University), Vol. VI, pp. 19-20.

Mr. Tilak says that "the latest attempt of the kind is that of Pischel and Geldner in their Vedic Studies, Vol. VIII, Part I. These scholars hold that the hymn narrated a legend current in old times. In other words, they take it, and I think rightly, to be a historic hymn......Pischel and Geldner understand the hymn to mean that Vṛṣākapi went down to the south and again returned to the house of Indra." [1]

Mr. D. Mukhopādhyāya further refers to another astronomical evidence in a verse of the Ṛgveda (x. 85,13) which indicates a period about 15000 B.C. The verse is as follows:

सूर्य्याया वहतुः प्रागात्सविता यमवासृजत् ।
अघासु हन्यन्ते गावोऽर्जुन्योः पर्य्युह्यते ॥

"Here 'Aghā,' means the group 'Maghā,' and 'Arjunī' the two Phalgunīs as interpreted by Sāyaṇa. Astronomically it means, when the sun enters Maghā, the rays (*gāvaḥ*) of the sun are almost powerless, indicating Winter Solstice (B.C. 15000), and on his entrance into Phalgunī they are again revived, symbolically representing Sūryā being carried to her husband's house, as if in a palanquin formed of the Phalgunī *nakṣatras.* The seventh case-ending here is in place of the instrumental." [2]

I need not multiply more instances to prove that there are allusions in the Ṛgveda to such ancient times as would stagger those European and American scholars who are unwilling to take back Ṛgvedic culture and civilisation to more than 2000 B.C. or 2500 B.C. [3] On the mere fact that there are some real vestiges of Aryan language and culture in Europe, they have built a theory of the original Aryan cradle in Europe, consistently with the state of culture of the Neolithic people in that continent, and have made the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians mere immigrants to the Punjab and Iran respectively from that country in comparatively very recent times, resolutely shutting their eyes against the many geographical, astronomical, and cultural evidences in the Ṛgveda, that directly militate against their theory. It may be a convenient theory for explaining the existence of the Aryan language and culture in some forms in Europe, but it is certainly *not ancient history*, and no structure based on it can stand for any length of time. It is bound to topple over sooner or later, and the original cradle of the Aryans will have ultimately to be sought, not certainly in any part of Europe, but elsewhere—very probably in the sacred Land of the Seven Rivers, as revealed by various evidences in the Ṛgveda itself. The antiquity of Ṛgvedic culture must also be taken back to about 25000 B.C. or more, in spite of hazy and not very convincing arguments regarding the rapid changeability of language.

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[1] Tilak's *Orion,* p. 176. Vṛṣākapi, according to Mr. Tilak, is "the sun as represented by the constellation of Orion" (p. 178). Further, he writes: "The (Vṛṣākapi) hymn gives us not only a description of the constellation of Orion and Canis (verses 4 and 5), but clearly and expressly defines the position of the sun when he passed to the north of the equator in old times (verse 22)."

[2] *The Hindu Nakṣtras* in the "Journal of the Department of Science," Vol. VI, p. 22.

[3] It may be mentioned here that Prof. Bloomfield, while noticing Tilak *Orion* in his address on the occasion of the eighteenth anniversary of John Hopkin's University observed: "The language and literature of the Vedas is, by no means, so primitive as to place with it the real beginnings of Aryan life...These in all probability and in all due moderation reach back *several thousands of years more*.......It is therefore needless to point out that this curtain which seems to shut off our vision at 4500 B.C., may prove in the end a veil of thin gauze." Quoted in Tilak's *Arctic Home in the Vedas* (Preface ii).

Turning again to Professor Winternitz's objections against the acceptance of my theory regarding the vast antiquity of Ṛgvedic culture, on the ground of the rapid changeability of languages, I must point out to my readers that though spoken dialects may be liable to frequent change, the language of any literary composition, whether recorded or not, especially if it relates to religious matters and holy sacrificial formulas, is seldom or only very slowly changed. In fact, such language is regarded as too sacred to be frequently handled, changed, polished or modernised, and the very quaintness of its wording and structure seems to add a peculiar sanctity, force and mystic fascination to it. There were three distinct ages, the Ancient, the Mediæval and the Later—during which the Ṛgvedic *mantras* were composed (Ṛv. iii. 32, 13; vi. 21, 5), and these three ages covered so vast a period of time that in spite of the extreme reluctance on the part of Ṛṣis to make any change in the wording of the sacred texts and formulas, there is clear evidence in the Ṛgveda itself of some such change having been *actually* effected in the Later age, with a view to make the *mantras* more intelligible to the learned of that period. This is clearly indicated in a verse (Rv. iii. 39, 2) which says that the *mantra* came down to the Ṛṣi from his ancient ancestors, clothed in white and graceful robes. This means, if it means anything, that the language had to be polished in order to make it intelligible to the holy men of that Later period. The very necessity for doing this implied the vast antiquity of the *mantra* itself. It has been held by Dr. Martin Haug and others that the present Ṛgvedic hymns are not the oldest, but there were *mantras* that were older still. I will let Dr. Haug speak on the subject:

"Now the question arises, are the finished and polished hymns of the Ṛgveda with their artificial metres the most ancient relics of the whole religious literature of the Brahmans, or are still more ancient pieces in the other Vedic writings to be found? It is hardly credible that the Brahmanical priests employed at their sacrifices in the earliest times hymns similar to those which were used when the ritual became settled.........

"Now if we compare the sacrificial formulas as contained in the Yajurveda, and principally the so-called *Nigadas* and *Nivids,* preserved in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras with the bulk of the Ṛgvedic hymns, we come to the conclusion that *the former are more ancient,* and served the Ṛṣis as a kind of sacred text, just as passages of the Bible suggest ideas to religious poets among Christians. That Vedic poets were perfectly acquainted with several of such formulas and addresses which are still extant, can be proved beyond any doubt.........

"I must lay particular stress on the *Nivids* which I believe *to be more ancient than almost all the hymns contained in the Ṛgveda......*

"The word *Nivid* frequently occurs in the hymns, and even with the epithet *pūrva* or *pūrvya,* old. (Rv. i. 89,3; 96,2; ii. 36,6). The *Marutvatiya Nivid* is, as it appears, even referred to by Vāmadeva (Rv. iv. 18,7); the repetition of the *Nivids* is juxtaposed with the performance of the chanters, and the recital of the *Śastras* (Rv. vi. 67,10). The (Aitareya) Brāhmaṇam regards the *Nivids,* particularly that one addressed to Agni, as those words of Prajāpati, by means of which he created all beings (*Ait. Brāh.* 2,33-34)......The old Ṛṣi, Kutsa, who is already in many Vedic songs looked upon as a sage of the remote past, says (Rv. i. 96,2) that Agni created by means of the 'first *Nivid*' the creatures of the Manus. In Rv. i. 89, 3-4, the old *Nivid* appears to be quoted......

"Many *Nivids,* even the majority of them, are certainly lost. But the few pieces of the kind of religious literature which are still extant, are sufficient to show that they must be very ancient, and are not to be regarded as fabrication of the sacrificial priests at the times when the Brāhmaṇas were composed. Their style is, in the main, just the same in which the hymns are composed, and far more ancient than that of the Brāhmaṇas. They contain in short sentences the principal names, epithets and feats of the deity invoked. They have no regular metre, but a kind of rhythmus, or even a *parallesismus membrorum* as the ancient Hebrew poetry......

"The *Nivids,* along with many so-called Yajus formulas, which are preserved in the Yajurveda, the Nigadas, such as the Subrahmanyā, and the so-called Japa formulas (such as *Aitareya Brāhmana,* 2,38) which are muttered with a low voice only, are doubtless the most ancient pieces of Vedic poetry. The Ṛṣis tried their poetical talent first in the composition of the *yājyās* or verses recited at the occasion of an offering being thrown into the fire. Thence we meet so many verses requesting the deity to accept the offering and taste it. These *yājyās* were extended into little songs, which on account of their finished form, were called *Sūktam, i.e.*, well, beautifully spoken. The principal ideas for the *yājyās* were furnished by the sacrificial formulas in which the Yajurveda abounds, and those of the hymns were suggested by the *Nigadas* and *Nivids.* There can be hardly any doubt that the oldest hymns which we possess are purely sacrificial, and made only for sacrificial purposes. Those which express more general ideas, or philosophical thoughts, or confessions of sins, such as many of those addressed to Varuṇa, are comparatively late." [1]

From the above discussion it would appear that the Ṛgvedic hymns are not the oldest, but there were still older verses called *Nivids* and *Nigadas* the prototypes of the Ṛgvedic hymns, whose language was more archaic than that of the hymns themselves. Though most of the *Nivids* are now lost, having been either amplified or absorbed in the Ṛgvedic hymns, even those that remain and are found scattered in the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras, bear in them the unmistakable impress of vast antiquity. There may have been still older verses than the *Nivids* themselves, but no relics of them have so far been discovered. Though the changeability of language is thus proved, the changes in the language of religious and sacrificial verses were certainly not so rapid as Prof. Winternitz would make them out to be. The changes were necessarily extremely slow, partially suited to the needs of changing time, so as to make the language intelligible at any rate to the hereditary custodians of the ancient sacred verses in later times. The majority of the common people, or the lay folk, who spoke a different dialect, did not understand the language of the *mantras* any better than an illiterate Hindu would understand Sanskrit, or even a literate Englishman would understand old Anglo-Saxon, at the present day. In fact, the language with its complicated rules for recitation and accentuation was regarded by the lay folk as too sacred and mysterious to be uttered, especially when the efficacy of the *mantras* was believed to depend upon how, when and by whom they were pronounced. This ultimately must have led to the formation of a distinct class, that of the priests, who were the custodians of the *mantras* and were carefully versed in the art of correctly pronouncing them and applying them to the various rites and sacrifices. And no one was entitled to be called a Ṛṣi or seer who could not clothe his thoughts or the truths discovered by him, in the conventional antique language of the ancient *mantras*, and in the recognised style and metre of old. It is extremely probable that the art of writing existed in some form or other in Ṛgvedic times, as there is reference in the Ṛgveda to speech (Vāc) having been *seen*, yet not understood, and heard, yet not comprehended by the uninitiated (Rv. X. 71,4),[1] thereby showing that the spoken dialect of Ṛgvedic times was different from the old literary language of the *mantras*. And this old literary language was imitated not only by the Ṛṣis, but even by some of the commentators and expositors in later ages, with a view to give their compositions a sacred character. This will explain why the literary language of the Ṛgvedic hymns and the Nivids was adopted with more or less variations in the later Vedic Samhitās, the Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads and Sūtras, and why even Pāṇini who wrote his Vedic grammar, adopted a style that closely resembled that of the *mantras*. But it is a mistake to suppose, as Prof. Winternitz has done, that the language of the later Vedic literature was exactly the same as that of the Ṛgvedic hymns. There is noticed a general family likeness between them, no doubt; but there is also a marked difference in style, diction, metre and even vocabulary among the various sections of what is ordinarily known as Vedic Literature,[2] thus showing that they were composed in different periods of time, removed from one another by several centuries; and hence they could not help bearing in them the impress of the particular periods. Pāṇini and Lord Buddha were born with comparatively a small interval between them; but the language in which the Buddha preached his doctrines to the people was not the language in which Pāṇini wrote his grammar. The latter was the sacred old literary language of the Vedas which had become unintelligible even to the learned, who had therefore begun to reform and polish it into what is known as *Sanskrit* (*lit.*, reformed and polished). This afterwards became the literary language of the Epics and the Purāṇas, though the dialects spoken by the people were different. It is, therefore, quite clear that the use of an ancient literary language and style in a later age does not necessarily prove that it was a spoken living language in that age, and it is not at all safe to base any chronology or history on such loose and slender ground.

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[1] Introduction to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa by Dr. Martin Haug, Vol. I (pp. 30-39): Bombay, 1863. I am indebted for the above etxracts to my esteemed friend and colleague Mr. Narayanchandra Banerjee, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University.

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[1] उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचमुत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम् ।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वंऽवि सस्रे जायेव पत्य उशती सुवासाः ॥ (Rv. x. 71; 4).

Read also my article on "The Art of Writing in Ancient India" published in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. X. (Calcutta University), p. 184.

[2] Macdonell's *Hist. of Sansk. Lit.*, Chapter VII.

It is useless further to deal with the objections raised by Professor Winternitz against the vast antiquity of Ṛgvedic culture, which, as we have seen, do not appear to be either strong or sound, on close examination. As regards the history of this vast period, the materials are necessarily too meagre to construct it. But, nevertheless, the Ṛgveda contains sufficient internal evidence to prove the various early stages through which ancient Aryan culture had passed, a detailed reference to which I have made in my forthcoming book *Ṛgvedic Culture.* Whatever may be the date of this culture, it is certain that it is older than that of any other culture that the world has ever known, or possessed any records about.

ABINAS CHANDRA DAS

"PRISON REFORM IN INDIA"

Everything in connection with Prisons and Prisoners is of vital importance to the social life of a community as a whole. Particularly, to-day, when the political situation has brought into prominence, so largely, the various defects of our penal administration, that we are apt to form erroneous conclusions on the actual state of affairs, a careful scrutiny into the various causes that mitigate against the success of our penal institutions will be interesting. militate

When I state that I have given this question my earnest consideration for the past twelve years, studied closely its influence on the criminal mind and its effect, in particular, on the juvenile offender, I trust I will be understood when I state candidly that the existing penal systems in this country, so far as their reformatory influence lies, is a total failure.

What are our Prisons ? They are a makeshift at the best. Colossal buildings of stone and iron which we have erected to shut out temporarily the evidence of our own weakness. But the Prison is an open grave. It returns what we would conceal behind its grim grey walls. Its misery and its isolation only foster the sins we would hide and later return them to stalk in our midst more potent for evil than before. I say again, it is a failure and a sign of our own weakness and cowardice. We strive to cover up our sins of omission by adding to them sins of commission. Having failed to straighten the lives of criminals in childhood,—to bring understanding and light, comfort and good-will where it was most needed, we strive to justify our weakness by torturing the spirits we have neglected, by breaking the bodies we have bent.

It is but a puerile and primitive attempt to shift the burden of responsibility from our own shoulders. But the prison is reflex. It mirrors our passions. It portrays our ignorance of human nature, our harshness, our brutality, our indifference to the sufferings of our fellow men,—everything, in fact, but our love and sympathy, our understanding, and forgiveness. We boast to-day a wider understanding, a more sympathetic outlook, but the Prison stands out as a milestone on the path of civilisation, a sure and certain indication of our social progress.

And yet the Prison, properly conducted, should be our special means of redemption. It should be an asylum for both body and spirit, where the weak should be strengthened and the criminal reformed. It should be a place of rejuvenation, where a kind of resetting takes place. It should enable the criminal to reconstruct his social outlook and to return to the irresponsible the stability they have lost. A place, in fact, where the joy of living and labouring for higher, nobler ideals is born anew.

We must renovate the existing prison system in this country. Punishment is destructive, Education reconstructive. If we accept the theory that crime is a consequence, not a cause, we must accept responsibility for its existence and our efforts towards its elimination should be reconstructive, not destructive.

This question is too vast to deal with justly in the limited scope of such an article, but in order that the question may be better understood, I call attention to certain factors which make Prison Administration in India so non-productive of any good results, so far as the reconstruction of the criminal himself is concerned. The first is :—

General Administration.

In India there are three distinct classes of officers in whose hands practically the whole administration of the Jail lies. The highest official is the Superintendent.

This officer is usually selected from the Indian Medical Service, and is generally also the Civil Surgeon of the District. His selection to this post appears to be based entirely on his ability as a medical man to administer to the health and well-being of the prisoners. The personal factor, temperament and suitablity for such a post, are all minor considerations, and so also is that vital question of previous experience and that peculiar ability, so essential in all prison administrations,—to inspire respect and demand instant and whole-hearted co-operation from his subordinates. The recent mutinies and outbreaks in various Jails in this Presidency, have shewn that the Superintendent is merely a figurehead and that practically the whole administration lies in the hands of the Jailor and Warder Establishments. This brings me to the actual question at issue.

Jailors are selected at present on the grounds of education and physical fitness. There are no other qualifications required. With the Warder Establishment the selection is still more grotesque. Any and every man of fairly good physique, be he literate or not, is eligible to become a Warder and the selection is left to the Jailors, who in turn are influenced by their personal likes and dislikes.

The prison problem looked at from the administrative point of view is a problem of education, of reformation and health: complex and intricate and one needing expert professionalised education and experience. It involves a deep knowledge of human nature, an insight into the complexities and oddities of the various aspects of social life presented by the motley population of the average Jail, and a keen appreciation of the possibilities of personal growth and of human motives. There must further be a willingness to face questions of sanitation, personal habits, hygiene, workmanship and co-operation, in a careful, scientific and deliberate fashion. It is not merely a position requiring firmness and a rigid adherence to discipline and Jail routine, but rather one consisting of a thousand problems, each requiring a special analysis, examination and experiment. A man to be fitted for such a post must be a man who has been previously trained and prepared for the task before him and must possess a broad basis of human insight and sympathy. Where, I ask, does the present method of selecting Jailors and Warders justify such a selection ?

The average Warder is expert in nothing,—least of all in education and health, nor does he possess an imagination active enough to embrace any of the thousand opportunities that are continually presenting themselves in the ordinary course of his routine duties, to do good, to elevate, ever so little, the criminal tendencies of his charges.

A college education is not necessary,—scarcely five per cent. of the Warder Establishment in the Bengal Presidency is literate,—but previous training is essential, both for Warders and Jailors. A special college should be instituted where candidates, eligible for admission to the Jail Department, should be trained in the principles of prison administration, in hygiene and sociology, so that they may be more productive for good and more potent to influence the criminals entrusted to their care. No man should be permitted to hold the post of a Jailor or Warder unless he is a certified and trained professional, just as no man is placed in charge of a hospital unless he is a graduate of a recognised medical school.

Nomenclature.

Fundamentally I believe it wrong to classify all penal institutions in this country as Jails or Prisons. The stigma which invariably is associated with such names mitigates forcibly against their reformatory influence, and serves later, on the release of the prisoner from jail, to prejudice his associates and lessen his prospects of future employment. It tends also to harden and embitter the criminal himself. The knowledge that his fellow creatures consider him a "Jail Bird" and shun him as such is perhaps, "the most unkindest cut of all."

Surely the time has come to do away with such designations as 'Jails,' 'Prisons,' 'Penitentiary' and the like and substitute such name as 'State Industries' or 'Government Industrial Institutions.' Similarly, the title of Jailor or Warder may be altered to suit the more humane tendencies of the times. It would not be out of place to call the Jailor the "Officer in Charge" or if this is likely to confuse his designation with that of the Superintendent, the "Subordinate Officer in Charge."

That Government have already recognised the general excellence of this principle is apparent from the fact that our Lunatic Asylums are now designated as "Mental Hospitals." If this principle is applicable where lunatics are concerned, why not extend it to the criminal? Crime, according to our latest theories, is more the direct result of some mental aberration than any physical defect, and as such should be treated as a form of lunacy.

I do not make these suggestions from a humane standpoint alone. What I write, I write with a full knowledge of my subject. Daily the character and quality of the inmates of our Jails is changing. No longer is prison life reserved for the dacoit, the goonda and the poor illiterate cooly or cultivator. Another section of our community, and let it be said to our shame,—is contributing its quota. Sons of respectable families, gently nurtured; perfectly educated, bred in refinement, perhaps in luxury and ease, are to-day serving their sentences as common criminals and for such crimes as murder, theft, forgery, etc. It is for this class of criminal that I write. It is immaterial to the goonda or dacoit whether he is called a "Jail Bird" or not, but to those unfortunates of whom I write, who, perhaps, in a moment of weakness have transgressed the law, the knowledge that henceforth they are to be classed in this demeaning category is insufferable. I aim to establish a man to man relationship with all manner and classes of humanity and surely this is a suggestion worthy of the time and consideration of our best minds.

Punishments.

Please do not misunderstand my attitude on this question of punishment. It is not pure sentiment. It is the result of years of careful and discriminate evidence selected from various reliable sources. Punishment, corporal punishment in particular, is immoral. It is weak and productive of more evil than good. It engenders bitterness in those punished, callousness and self-complacency in those who impose it. To justify punishment we develop false standards of right and wrong. We caricature and distort both our victims and ourselves. We blind ourselves to the fact that the difference between the criminal and ourselves is often relative and accidental, and where real, the direct result of hereditary ill-health, a deformed mind or irregulated temper. It is more often the result of a neglected childhood, a poor education and abject poverty, and it is both the duty of the State and the Citizen to rectify the evil, not to aggravate it. To educate, to reconstruct, not to punish.

When I refer to punishments, I refer to the Prison with its present mechanical structure, and technique. Its forms of labour and punishment. Its oil-mills and presses, its flogging triangle and fetters. All these must go the way of the ancient stocks, the gibbet and the rack. As long as these remain, the Prison far from solving the penal problem, will serve only to aggravate it. Let us substitute something more humane. Almost anything will be a reform. A school, a farm, a factory, all these tend in some way to mitigate the evil,—they are reformatory, reconstructive.

To go a step further. The responsibility for the imposition of corporal punishment should be solely in the hands of the State. In India, where this power is in the hands of the prison authorities and where the attitude towards the criminal population is distinctly belligerent, the need for control is acute. Bengal has advanced far ahead of any other province in India in this respect. Corporal punishment is only imposed with the consent of the local Government, and that rarely, while there are indications that this form of punishment will shortly be abolished altogether.

Prison Labour.

Suitable employment had been and is likely to continue an acute problem of prison administration. The principal Jail industries are,—weaving of cloth and gunnies, manufacture of police and excise uniforms, blankets, durries, articles such as are at present sold at the Jail Depôt, and a few minor industries such as mustard oil, etc. In comparison with the average Jail population these industries are insufficient and it is no exaggeration to say that about one-third of the total population is idle. Even those who work are actually idling,—there is no incentive to labour. The work being prison labour is necessarily unpaid for, is done under compulsion and consequently the attitude of the average prisoner is one of fear and brooding; an attitude, it must be admitted, least likely to inspire any thoughts of a reformatory type.

The very character of our present Prison Administration is negative. It takes all. It gives nothing. It takes from the inmate every interest, every ambition, every hope. It severs him from his work, his family, all that he loved and cherished and gives nothing in return. It encourages indolence, craft and cringing and returns him to the world less fit for an active useful sphere in life than before. We call a certain class of criminals, "habituals," "confirmed old offenders," and strive by repeated incarcerations to force them into the narrow paths of honesty, blinding ourselves all the while to the fact that it is our present system of punishment that is at fault, that our prisons, far from being the houses of reformation we fondly believe them to be, are hotbeds of vice and schools of training to which the first offender comes to be instructed in the ways of vice and receive his passport to that under world of crime that exists in every large city.

If we are ever to escape from this unfortunate condition of things, we must reorganise our prison industries, provide work that may become the basis of a like industry outside and pay men for this labour while in Jail, so as to enable them to support their families and take an active interest in their social and domestic life. There seems no justification in depriving a man of his earning capabilities just because it has been found necessary to deprive him of his liberty for a short while. It serves no purpose, but to kill ambition, to engender laziness and destroy skill and workmanship.

Work in prisons should be made to have an educational value. Indian Jails are remarkably fortunate in this respect. There are means of learning weaving, clothing, printing and various other industries and it is to the credit of our penal department that such forms of labour have been introduced. But for the majority of prisoners such skilled trades are debarred. It is for these that new forms of labour should be devised. Work in prisons should be so organised as to provide a professional interest and knowledge of the work done.

Take any trade, for example, the manufacture of Mustard Oil. Professionalise the work. Give it an intellectual and scientific setting. Organise a course of instructions in the various methods of mustard oil manufacture. Explain first the machinery. The methods of production. Next select the various grades of mustard seed, their cultivation, outturn of mustard oil per maund of seed, the quality of the oil, its various properties,—medicinal or otherwise. Method of calculating cost from outturn. The marketing of the oil. Profit and loss, etc. In this way convicts will be instructed in the manufacture and sale of a household commodity, and will, on release, be in a position to start a small oil industry of their own. The same may be said of various other trades which at present come under the category of "hard labour," and as such are understood by the convicts to indicate a system of torture invented by the State to expiate some petty crime, more often committed in ignorance or under the influence of some stronger and more capable mind; and the resentment, the bitterness and the determination to "get even" is proportional to the kind of labour imposed. Such an unhappy state of affairs can easily be avoided by the exercise of a little good will, a litttle imagination and a little sympathy.

I have no desire to enlarge on this subject, but I should like to suggest two fruitful sources of reform in this line. The first is the Jail Garden. Most Jails possess fairly large fruit and vegetable gardens. What more excellent opportunity can be desired for instructing criminals, taken mostly form the cultivator class, in modern and up-to-date methods of agriculture?

There is another question. Every Jail possesses a hospital. These hospitals are admirably equipped, are controlled directly by the Superintendent if an I.M.S. officer, or the Civil Surgeon of the District. There are also Sub-Assistant Surgeons and one or more Compounders attached. The criminal class are usually ignorant on all matters pertaining to health. It should be the duty of the Sub-Assistant Surgeon to instruct a certain number of prisoners daily, in matters of hygiene, in the elements of First Aid, and to impart such knowledge as will enable them to combat epidemics of Small-pox, Cholera and Plague which ravage their villages yearly.

Other Reforms.

This article would be incomplete were I to omit to draw attention to what is universally considered as an excellent means of enabling a prisoner to regain his former status in life. I refer to the system of Intermediate Sentences.

Parole or Intermediate Sentence is essential to prison reform. It is ridiculous to assume that a fixed sentence consisting of so many years' rigorous imprisonment is the best way of settling the question of crime. Prisoners are of various classes, grades and conditions and different degrees of punishment. are required to meet various classes of crime. Intermediate Sentences solve this problem. If it is assumed that a prisoner should be released when he is fit to return to society, the present system of a fixed sentence may be modified to a period extending over a smaller number of years, during which time the prisoner's reformation is watched and when he is considered fit, his release is sanctioned on parole, so many years prior to his actual date of release.

Frank Tennenbaum writing of the results of the Intermediate Sentences in America, says that on an average 75 per cent. of the prisoners released on parole "made good." If this system has been such a success in America, why not give it a trial in this country. The results would justify the continuation of the system and, on humane grounds alone, it seems cruelty to detain any man in prison one single day longer than the interests of the community demand.

Referring again to this much discussed question, I should like to put another aspect of the case before my readers.

If you accept the dictum that the fundamental purpose of a prison is not to punish the criminal, but to strive by various reformatory influences to so reconstruct his mental outlook as to restore him to society a normal, healthy, self-respecting citizen, then I say that it is absurd for a Judge, who, probably, never set eyes on the accused, prior to his trial, to *fix* the period of his incarceration.

It would be difficult to devise a less scientific or more harmful method of dealing with a vital human problem. Under existing laws and customs, our courts convict and sentence with very little knowledge of the character or mentality of the man. Very little, if anything, is known of the environment, opportunities, or underlying reasons for the criminal tendencies of the man. Men commit crime from various motives and accidentally. All who do so immediately become dangerous to society and upon proof of guilt they should be rendered harmless by being set apart for the protection of society, but the period is influenced by various considerations. It is just as ridiculous to release a thief, a pickpocket, a forger or any other criminal after he has served a fixed number of years, as it would be to release a raving maniac because he has been in an Asylum for a certain period of time. It is not possible to treat a man, with marked criminal tendencies, like a caged animal for so many months or years, and then suddenly set him loose on society and expect him to conduct himself like a normal human being.

It is my earnest conviction that no criminal should be set at liberty, regardless of his offence, or the time he has been held in restraint, until he has been taught to earn a living, has acquired habits of industry, the desires to become a useful member of society and has proved to the satisfaction of the authorities that he has the will-power to realize that desire. In other words, the criminal should be detained in Jail,—till cured. And he should be given to understand that the length of his detention will depend entirely on himself.

In order to protect against unfairness or incompetency on the part of the prison authorities and deceit on the part of the criminal, any man, who after serving a certain period, believes himself fit for such a concession and considers that he has reasonable grounds for release, should be permitted to appear before a special Judge and common Jury selected for the purpose, before whom he will lay his claims and if, in view of his previous character, his record in Jail and the nature of his offence, there are reasonable grounds for releasing him, the Judges should be empowered to release him, his release being conditional, of course, on his continued good behaviour out of Jail.

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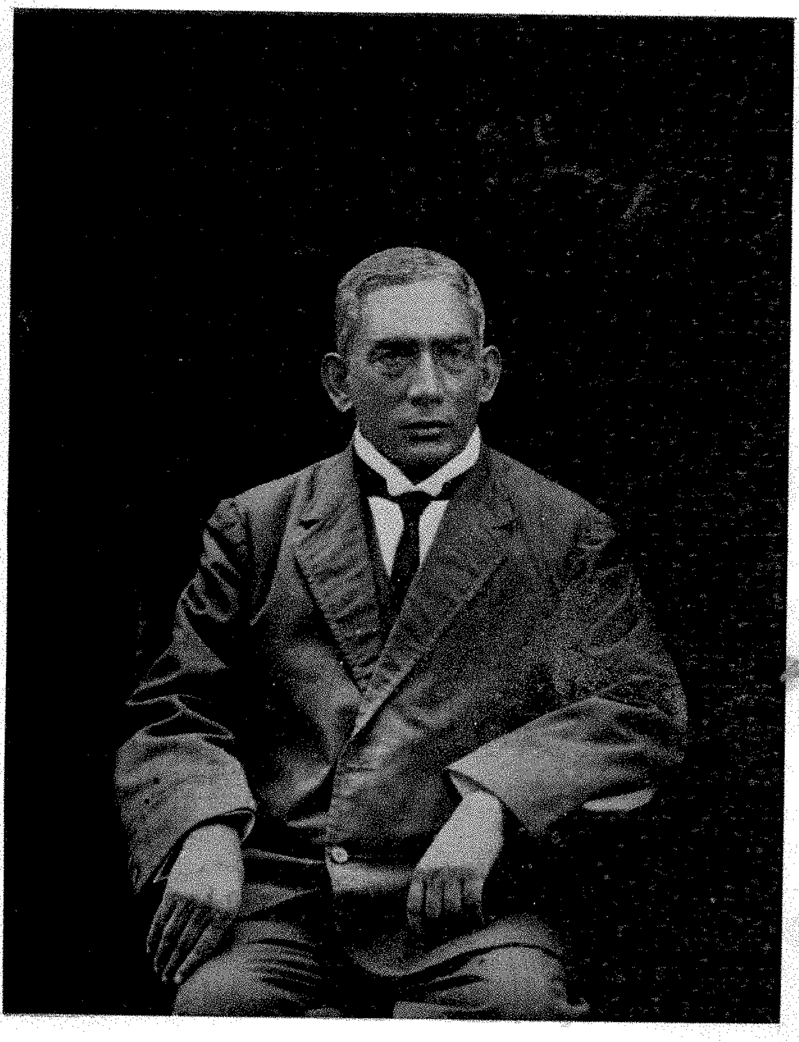
After Care Associations.

Next most important to reforming the criminal is the well nigh impossible task of providing him with suitable employment and the means whereby to maintain himself on his release from prison.



BHUPATI NATH DAS

In this country it is customary to blame the Government for everything we consider wanting, with a fine disregard to that all-important question of the part played by the individual in the affairs of State.

We denounce openly and in no measured terms the various Reforms introduced by the Government, and then quite complacently refuse to see the great lack of reform in ourselves. It will avail us nothing to shout from the house-tops that the prison administration in this country is a farce, when we will do nothing to assist the criminal once he leaves Jail. If it is the work of the State to provide prisons and keep offenders there, surely it is the duty of every self-respecting citizen, who has at heart the interests and well-being of his fellowmen, to use every means in his power to prevent them from going there. As I said before, the majority of prisoners who to-day are incarcerated in our various Jails, have got there through the sheer indifference, the lethargy and callousness of the average man towards his fellow men.

I am perfectly well aware that it is not possible for every man to be a philanthropist, but I am equally certain that it is well within the sphere of most men to assist in some small way the Associations already existing for this purpose; to lend his support to the many existing projects for a wider and more comprehensive scheme for the education of the depressed classes, and last, but not least, to see that his own children are educated properly, that they are taught to reverence authority and imbued with those high ideals that make men worthy citizens and an honour to the class they represent.

We have two Associations in Calcutta whose chief duty it is to provide for the released criminal and Government recognizing the general excellence of this principle have a Fund from the revenue of which prisoners are assisted on release. I refer to the Claude Martin Fund. But it must be admitted that these associations do not meet one-tenth of the demand, and unless those interested in the question of the reorganisation of the Prison Administration in India can devise better means, or at least help the existing Associations, this question will remain in the same hopelessly inadequate condition as it is at present.

I have dealt very briefly with the various aspects of Prison Reform in India, omitting any reference to the political question and the treatment of political prisoners, as I feel that this question does not materially affect that larger question at issue, nor have I mentioned anything of the proposed introduction of a Borstal Institution in this country, as candidly I do not think such a system, unless modified to meet the requirements of boys of this country, would be much of a success. I have stated what I honestly believe to be the various factors that militate against the success of our local Prison Administration, and I trust that those who have the welfare of India at heart will find in this article the seeds of a nobler, purer and more humane system of dealing with the criminal class in this country.[1]

AUGUSTUS SOMERVILLE

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[1] I have already dealt with this subject in the "Modern Review" for October, 1922, and the kind reception accorded it in that journal has encouraged me to further revise and enlarge its scope.

LITERARY AND SCIENTIFIC ACTIVITIES UNDER THE CALIPHATE

I

Rapidly did Islam establish its world-empire. The new religion, transfigured, so to speak, by its amazing successes, overcame every opposition and stifled every form of independent spiritual or intellectual activity. And yet soon enough did these activities conspicuously manifest themselves. The very condition of things raised questions calling for the most diverse interpretations. The study of the Qur'an too evoked matters extremely contentious and controversial. Of such those that chiefly engaged the attention of the first generation of Muslims were: the conception of the Unity of God (Tawhid); the nature of sovereignty, and the dispute arising therefrom, whether sovereignty should go to the family of the Omayyads or the descendants of Ali (Mufazalah); the precise meaning of the terms used in the Qur'an—belief (Iman), unbelief (Kufr), and predestination (Qadr). These were the new ideas that were in the air. They were in a state of flux. They were neither precisely settled nor were they logically defined. To take up these unsettled questions was the first intellectual exercise of the Muslims—by no means a light or easy exercise.

The question of sovereignty was the first to come to the front. Kharijites and the Shiites brought it to an obtrusive prominence by their wars which, for long, filled the most flourishing provinces with the devastating horrors of fire and sword. Along with this were debated, with much heat and passion, questions relating to the punishment awaiting the faithful and the unfaithful in the life to come. The Kharijites—fierce, fanatical puritans—declared all, not of their party, unfaithful whose blood it was permissible to shed and with whom no alliance was conceivable. They even went the length of maintaining that every Muslim, guilty of a serious sin, was eternally damned. Even the innocent children of the unfaithful were, according to them, worthy of the same horrifying doom. In their opinion a passive faith was no faith at all. It must be a faith active, *i.e.* militant.

A wholly opposite path was taken by the Shiites, who opposed both the Kharijites and the Omayyad Government. They carried their legitimist enthusiasm to the point of fastening upon their hereditary princes the old Persian and Buddhistic ideas of incarnation in human form; nay, they strayed into all manner of wild, extravagant excesses.[1] Even Judæo-Christian doctrines found their way among them. The most striking illustration of this we have in the largely diffused belief in the doctrine of *Raj'ah* (the return) among the Shiites of the earliest times. To believe in the doctrine of Return (Raj'ah) meant practically faith in the resurrection of Ali—nay the resurrection of man, a certain period after death (usually forty days). It is not difficult to prove that this idea was of Judæo-Christian origin. Witness the story of the resurrection of Jesus! Even earlier this belief existed. According to the popular belief the Prophet Enoch and Elia were not dead, but were resting alive in their graves at Hebron. As in the Christian tradition, so in the earliest sects of Islam, we notice the number of days fixed at forty. Finally, in the history of the Apostles, the period that Jesus continued to live on earth after his resurrection was set down as forty days.[2]

While the Shiites and the Kharijites gave a political colour to the question of sovereignty—the Murjiites treated it from a purely religious standpoint. We must trace the origin of the Murjiah sect to Syria or North Arabia. A son of Ali (Mohamed Ibn al Hanafiya) is said to have founded it. He resided in these countries and died in Syria. This sect found a large following in Iraq and other provinces. The pious Sa'id Ibn Jubair,[1] who lived in Kufa, belonged to this sect. About this time a high military officer under the Omayyads composed a poem in which he defended the doctrines of the Murjiites. This is the oldest document on the subject, and gives us sure information regarding the Murjiite views and doctrines.[2] It is clear from this that the Murjiite specially busied themselves with the definition and exposition of their faith. They disapproved of the great weight which the Kharijites attached to faith militant. They held it wrong to shed blood over religious disputes. In opposition to the Kharijites they taught that no Muslim was eternally damned for a mere sin, nor was he to be set down as unfaithful for a mere difference of opinion. They accepted, on the whole, the orthodox position, and never really came into collision with it. Upon predestination, indeed, they laid a special emphasis.

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[1] Legacy of Rome, p. 49.

[2] Luke, 24, 33-34.

Different was the case with the Qadirites—a party which stands in close relation to the Murjiites—indeed an offshoot of it.[3] This sect arose in Damascus.[4] And Damascus proved a congenial soil, even if we reject the story that the Caliph Wazed II actually joined this sect.[5] In opposition to the rigid belief in predestination inculcated by the Qur'an, acclaimed by the orthodox, and accepted by the Murjiites, the Qadirites proclaimed the freedom of the will—the outstanding doctrine of their sect. Thus, with this new doctrine they brought a new weapon of far-reaching consequences into the spiritual conflicts of the day. These opposing doctrines, deftly woven together, prove the intellectual and spiritual activities of those times. One of the earliest Qadirites—Ghailan—was a Murjiite and a Qadirite in one, for he laid stress upon the formal portion of the faith without, like the Kharijités, making militant zeal a condition precedent to being a good Muslim. And yet, on the question of sovereignty, he adopted the democratic view, which held every Muslim eligible for election to the Caliphate. In this he sided with the Kharijites, but from the Murjiites he differed on the question of predestination and struck out a new path of his own. (Shahrastani, p. 160.) This instance proves clearly the strange combinations that were effected, and explains the origin of a large number of sects which sprang up. But this was going a trifle too far, and was certainly not conducive to a right understanding of things. Under the influence of a tradition—invented probably in the first or second century after the Prophet—which said that the religion of Islam would be split up into 73 sects, they sought to make up that number. And this they did by making some solitary, differing view the basis of a new sect. Besides the orthodox party, only the four above-mentioned sects may really be called distinct religious sects in Islam.

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[1] Maqrizi, II, 350. He died 95 A.H. according to the *Tahzib*, p. 279.

[2] Sabit Katnah, *cf.* Aghani, XIII, p. 52. Khuda Bukhsh, Islamic Civilization.

[3] Ghailan the founder of the Qadirite sect was a Murjiite at the same time.

[4] According to Ibn Qutaiba (p. 241), Ghailan of Damascus was the first after Mabad Johani to teach the doctrine of free-will. He is said to have been a Christian of Egyptian descent. As for Johani precise information is wanting as to where he made his appearance first. But we are informed that Yunus, the father of the above-mentioned Ghailan, taught both Mabad and his son the doctrine of free will. *Cf.* Hammer—Purgstall, Lit. Geschichte, II, 152.

[5] There are reasons for doubting this story, Dhahabi, Ibar.

It cannot but have been noticed that the two countries which unmistakably called forth the spiritual ferment were Syria and Iraq. To the Euphrates we must look for the birth of the Shiites and the Kharijites—to Syria for the Murjiites and the Qadirites. We have already alluded to the influences at work on Shiism. It remains, now, for us to consider the Murjiites and the Qadirites. Here we are guided, not by authenticated documents, but by probabilities, for there is a dearth of information on the subject. Hence, the impossibility of positive certainty. In Damascus, the new capital of the empire, the Arabs came into daily contact with the conquered people of the land. These were originally Aramaic, but, under the long Greco-Byzantine sway, were completely Hellenized—particularly in the Syrian towns. In Damascus Byzantine learning had made a home, and this learning was pre-eminently of a theological character. In the beginning of the Arab rule there lived in this town influential Byzantine ecclesiastical writers, whose activity shows us that the theological school of this town was by no means a negligible school in the Byzantine Empire. In the complete indifference of the Arab conquerors towards peoples of other faiths, it may be assumed that the Byzantine theologians were left undisturbed in their studies and meditations so long as they faithfully fulfilled their obligations under the capitulations. Their folios were full of subtleties. They waged theological warfares. They indulged in polemics. And thus they passed their time. Were it not for a circumstance which gave events an unexpected turn, their intellectual activities would have continued unobserved. Slowly did the conquerors awaken from their original indifference to the subject races. It offended them to see so many people of other faiths in the capital of Islam.

The Christians, full of Byzantine arrogance and trained in the school of impatience, treated but lightly in the capitulations under Omar I, may themselves have given much offence by their defiant attitude to the rising spirit of Islam. The ecclesiastical heads of Damascus betrayed a strange lack of wisdom by thoughtlessly embarking on polemics against Islam. But the mystery of the Trinity which had already in the Byzantine Empire evoked bitter party strifes, was, so to speak, the Scylla and Charybdis where the Christian theologians always suffered shipwreck. As against this inexplicable dogma the Saracens always put forth the answer of the Qur'an (Sura 112): "God is one, the eternal. He begets not nor is He begotten. Nor is any one like unto Him." Among the theologians living at that time in Damascus two names stand out in bold prominence. They were those of John of Damascus and Theodore Abucara. Though not all, yet some of their writings have come down to us. John was of genuine Greek descent, and his family was of considerable influence in the town. Theodore Abucara, as his name suggests, was probably of Syrian origin. The father of John—Sergius—though a Christian, held a high position under the Caliph Abdul Malik. He was probably the Caliph's Chancellor of the Exchequer. To his son John, Sergius gave a careful education, particularly in philology and theology. On the death of the father the Caliph appointed John as his successor in office. But John soon retired from the world, and took up his residence in the Cloister of Saba, where he died about 780 A.D.[1] The chief service of John consists in establishing for the first time in the Orient a school of theology which was liberalized by philosophy and reason.

John of Damascus may be regarded as the father of the scholastic divines of the Middle Ages. For many centuries his writings passed in the East as unexcelled masterpieces, and their influence was felt in every sphere of theological activity. He used his pen specially against Islam, and in his writings we find a dialogue between a Christian and a Saracen.

Theodore Abucara—regarding whom precise information fails us—died 826 A.D. He, too, has bequeathed to us dialogues between Christians and Muslims which are, as may be expected, religious polemics, pure and simple. It may be taken as certain that written discussions between Muslims and Christians not only preceded but followed oral discussions. And such polemical discussions increased to so alarming an extent that in Antioch, the most important town after Damascus, theological discussions were forbidden by a far-sighted Governor, Amir Salem, because of the danger of a breach of the peace and consequent embitterment of feelings[1]. From the writings of the Church Fathers we know exactly the subjects round which controversy whirled. They related to the nature and the attributes of Divinity, and to the questions concerning Predestination and Free-will. In his writings John of Damascus particularly emphasises that God only wills what is good, and that, therefore, all that is good is exactly what God wills. In dialogues between Christians and Saracens the origin of good and evil holds a very prominent place, and is invariably a subject of minute and lively discussion. Like the origin of good and evil, the doctrine of the freedom of the will too is equally conspicuous. Man, they argued, is master of himself, the voluntary author of his deeds. Thus thinks and thus teaches John of Damascus. These questions, to be sure, were frequently discussed between Muslims and Christians. They led the Muslims on to the groove of Byzantine theology and initiated them into the skill and dexterity of the Byzantine dialectic. These discussions account, without a doubt, for the earliest dogmatic and religio-philosophic efforts in Islam. Thus the discussion of the principles of faith (Usul) with which the Muslims early busied themselves was naught but a reflection of the Greek intellectual activity in that very direction. No less striking is the prominence given both in the Greek and Muslim theology to the enquiry into the unity of God (Tawhid). To the same Byzantine source we must trace the controversy regarding the divine attributes which agitated the Muslim theologians, and to it, too, we must refer the doctrine of the Murjiites which denied Eternal Punishment. On the latter question there was a complete unanimity between the Byzantine theologians and the exponents of the Murjiite sect. But if clear and unmistakable is the Christian influence on the Murjiites—more so still is the

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[1] According to Geiseler, he died about 760 A.D.

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[1] Theophanes, Chronographie, Born, 663.

Christian influence on the Qadirites—the expounders of free-will in Islam.[1] Under the stress of foreign influence the Arab mind fell into a state of ferment, and threw itself with ardour into similar political and theological discussions. In the first century of the Hegira these discussions powerfully laid hold of the Arab mind, for into their service were pressed not merely the forces of the mind but of arms too. And fierce and bitter were the fights.

But despite conditions not really very congenial to the peaceful pursuit of letters, and despite complete lack of contemporary evidence, we can yet, to some extent, form an idea of the literary efforts of the earliest period of Arab civilization, at least, in one field of non-religious activity. It was the Science of Language which they founded by inventing Grammar. What directly led to it was the study of the Qur'an. It was found imperative to settle the rules for the correct reading and recitation of the Holy Book. But in this they took, not the living language, but the Qur'anic diction as the standard to go by. It is beyond doubt that the revelations were in the dialect of Mekka, and, beyond doubt, too, that in the course of years, the text, by reason of its diffusion over large tracts of countries and amid countless foreign peoples, was tampered with and corrupted. The founders of the Arabic Grammar completely disregarded these facts, and accepted the text as they found it, or as it should have been according to their judgment. Thus, the Arab Grammar, from its very outset, stood in conflict with the current speech of the Arab people. All this notwithstanding, Arabic Grammar was a great intellectual achievement. Independently it was worked out with striking skill and talent. We can realize its importance and difficulty alike when we recall that even so gifted a nation as the Greeks did not, until the time of the Alexandrian school, possess a grammar of their language.

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[1] Khuda Bukhsh, Islamic Civilization, pp. 58 *et sqq.* See, Pfannmüller, Handbuch der Islam-Literatur, pp. 256 *et sqq.*

But we must not forget that the highest rôle and the most weighty contribution to the science of language is to be ascribed to the foreign converts to Islam. They urgently needed instruction and direction in the correct reading and recitation of the Qur'an. That this need was first felt in Basora, where, in the early days of Islam, there was a strong commingling of the Arab with foreign elements, is a fact which lends support to what has just been stated.

Most Arab writers look upon Abul Aswad-ul-Duali as the founder of Arabic Grammar but against this we have the positive statement that a Persian was really the founder.[1]

What we do owe to Duali is the introduction of the reading points. He introduced the signs above, before or under the letters to indicate the vowels, *a*, *i*, *o*.[2] Undoubted it is that these vowel points were importations from the Syriac and therefore here too over again is a case of borrowing from the foreigners. Be that as it may, this first step was of momentous consequence for further development. Henceforward it is not the Arabs but the clients who pursue and distinguish themselves in linguistic studies. A Nabatan from Messene (Maisan)—Anbasa—was one of the renowned pupils of Duali.[3] These foreigners who enthusiastically applied themselves to the study of the Arabic language, the Qur'an and the Sunna, as also to Arab poetry, which they pressed into their service for purposes of explanation and elucidation, were, in fact, the real founders of the philological studies of those times.

But, as they took no account of the corruption of the text due to failure of memory, or to mistakes in transcription, and relied solely upon the Quran as they found it, to fashion the rules of the Arabic language they came more and more into conflict with the living speech of the people.[1] In the conflict, however, between narrow scholasticism and the living spirit, the victory remained with the former.

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[1] See, Ibn Khallikan, under Hajjaj Ibn Yusuf. Kitab-ul-tafhif of Askari (d. 382 A.H.).

[2] Abdur Rahman Ibn Hurmuz, Fihrist, p. 39. Flügel, *Grammat. Schulen der Araber*, p. 26, treats this question in his usual uncritical way. He regards the statement in the Fihrist regarding Duali as conclusive (p. 41), but he forgets that Nadr Ibn Shumail (d. 203 or 204 A.H.), who is cited as an authority, lived about 150 years after Duali. See Ibn Khallikan (Eng. Trans.), Vol. I, pp. 662 and 666, note (7).

[3] Flügel, p.

The idea of revising the text of the Qur'an presented itself to one of these philologists—Isa Takafy—but it was a hopeless idea, and bore no fruit.[2] A step, almost as important as the invention of Grammar, was the introduction of the diacritical point by Hajjaj.[3]

However scanty and admittedly unreliable the information regarding the intellectual efforts of the Arabs in the first century of the Hegira, one thing is clear. Great then was the intellectual stir and rapid the growth of a special culture which was peculiarly their own. Yet the credit for all this, belongs, to a large extent, to the converted foreigners of Aramaic and Persian nationalities. Doubtful, more or less, is the information handed down to us regarding the literary achievements of those times. Thus we are told that the Omayyad Prince, Khalid Ibn Yazid, busied himself with alchemy, and the old story-teller, Abid Ibn Sharja, who regaled the court of Baghdad with his tales, left behind his collected works. But all this rests on insecure foundation.

We find ourselves, on surer ground from the second century of the Hegira, when intellectual activities began on a far grander scale.| It is no mere accident that this movement synchronises with the growth of large towns and the rise of a settled Arab population.

The dogmatic and theological controversies must first engage our attention. The soil on which they throve was no longer that of Syria but of the country round the Euphrates. Here was the seat of the Government transferred, and here

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[1] Fihrist, p. 41.

[2] Chenery in his introduction to Al-Hariri has discussed this subject at great length.

[3] Flügel, p. 30.

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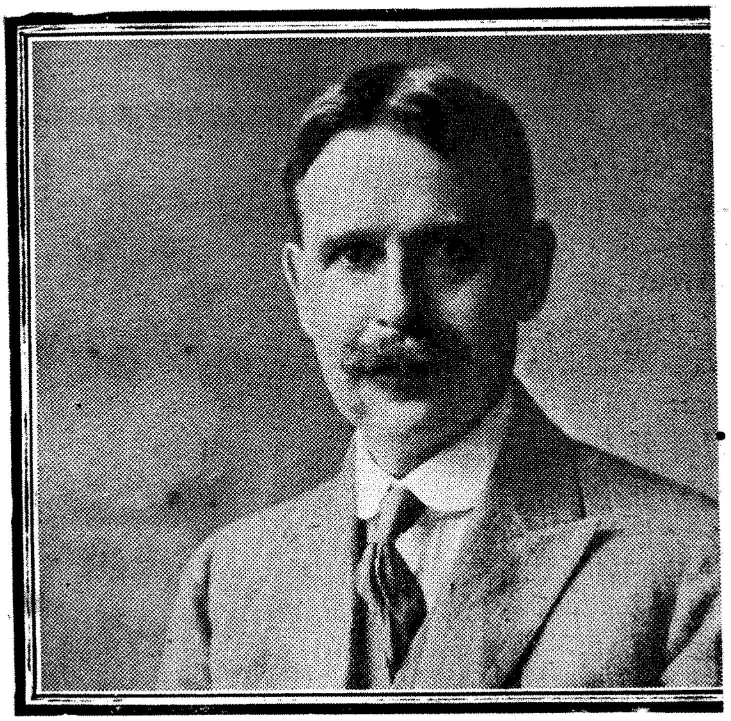

NELSON ANNANDALE, F.R.S.

(By courtesy of the *Englishman.*)

arose the keenest intellectual life. One of the oldest centres and meeting-points for this was Basora. In this important commercial town lived not only a thriving population but here, too, flowed in foreigners from the remotest countries. Thus, here, arose a lively, stirring intellectual life. The doctrines of the Murjiites and the Qadirites soon made their way into Basora, secured followers, rapidly grew and developed. Here, for the first time, the doctrine of the freedom of the will—born in Damascus—was developed into a proper rationalistic school of Theology.[1] The Arab authors have preserved for us a highly charming picture of one of those not rare literary circles of Basora where political and religious subjects of the day formed subjects of discussion. It was a kind of club of learned and reflective men which met at the house of a member for talk and discussion. On some of these men we possess detailed information. In this connexion the blind Bashshar Ibn Burd deserves first place. He descended from an old Persian family, alleged to be of royal blood. His father was brought as a slave by a victorious Arab General to Iraq where Bashshar was born. He was finally given his freedom by his mistress, a noble Arab lady, and he became her client. He lived in Basora, but he made several journeys to Baghdad to the court of the Caliph. He early showed his poetical talents, and soon acquired great renown.[1] He seems to have always cherished, in silence, the faith of his ancestors and, in one of his poems, he actually glorifies the old Persian fire-worship. The second of this group was Amr Ibn Ubaid. He, too, was of foreign descent, for his grandfather was taken prisoner in Kabul, and was brought to Basora. Although he stood in high favour with the Caliph Mansur, he declined to accept any presents from him, and always maintained the fullest freedom of judgment. The third of this distinguished group was Wasil Ibn Ata[2]—founder of the rationalistic school in Islam. Manifold were the intellectual activities of this band of thinkers. One accepted the doctrines of Buddhism. Bashshar remained a doubter all his life. Amr accepted the views of Wasil, which turned mainly on two chief theological questions, which may be summed up in the words: free-will (Qadr) and faith (Iman). On the question of predestination and free-will Wasil apparently followed the lead of his master—the great moralist Hasan Basri. According to Hasan, man has free decision over, and therefore full responsibility for, his acts. On the question of faith (Iman) he took a fresh path, and parted from his master. In opposition to the Kharijites, who held that a Muslim guilty of a grave sin should be regarded as unfaithful and apostate from Islam, he taught that such an one should hold a position midway between Islam and unbelief, and should be set down neither as faithful nor unfaithful. He also denied the attributes by which the orthodox sought to adorn God.[3] Amr represented these views. With his moral purity and intellectual greatness, he reminds us of the sages of Grecian antiquity. He shared the ascetic austerities of his master, and compared this life to a journey through the desert, where, at a halting-place, we pitch a tent, to rest awhile, and, then, to proceed further and further, and on and on. Deeply grieved at the shameful reign of Walid II, he took a prominent part in the political activities of the time. He supported and worked for Yazid III when he rose against Walid, and succeeded in dethroning him.

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[1] "In Islam, as in other religions, the fiercest battles have been fought over this very question of predestination and freedom.......When Greek philosophy was made known to Muslim thinkers under the Abbasid Caliphs, there came into prominence a rationalistic school of theologians called the Mutazalites, that is the seceders..........They call themselves *believers in the unity and justice of God.* Their teaching is set forth by Shahrastani (German translation, p. 43, Vol. I) in these words: "They affirm that man has freedom and that he is the originator of his actions, both good and bad, and that he is therefore a being who deserves reward and punishment in the next world for what he has done. But [they affirm] that God cannot be brought into connexion with evil and unrighteousness and unbelief and disobedience [as their cause]. For as He is righteous when He brings forth righteousness, so He would be unrighteous if He were the cause of unrighteousness,. so far the Mutazalites. Their opponents took their stand (Shahrastani, pp. 92, 102) on the divine omnipotence and did not shrink from the conclusion that man has no power over his own acts. Although the school which finally prevailed tried to mediate, its members rescued for man only the semblance of freedom. The accepted Muslim theology is undoubtedly deterministic." *Smith, Bible and Islam* (Ely Lecture for 1897), pp. 136-137.

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[1] He was blind from birth.

[2] Ibn Khallikan, Vol. III, p. 642.

[3] Shahrastani, I, 48.

After the fall of the Omayyads, Amr was honoured by the second Abbasid Caliph Mansur, and when, on the return journey from Mekka, he died, the Caliph mourned his death in a poem.

It is curious that this very prince who, by his connection with one of the purest and noblest men of his time, makes us forget many a dark spot in his career, encouraged a literary movement of far-reaching results. At his instance, we are informed, books from foreign languages, were, for the first time, translated into Arabic, from Sanskrit,—*Kalila Wa Dimnah*, the famous collection of Indian stories; *Sidhanta* (Arabic *Sindhind*), the principal Indian work on Astronomy; from Greek, several books of Aristotle; the *Almagest* of Ptolemy; the Book of Euclid. Besides these notable works—many other old Greek, Byzantine, Persian and Syriac Books were translated as well.

The old historian who records this adds: as soon as these books became accessible they were read and studied with eager and breathless enthusiasm.[1]

The appearance of these men, and the new ideas called into being by them, marks a turning-point in the intellectual life of the Muslims. For who can doubt that there was a close and intimate connection between the activities of the learned clubs of Basora, the teachings of a Wasil or Amr Ibn Ubaid and the popularizing of Greek, Syriac and Persian learning—favoured and patronized by the Court. The new school of thought founded by these two men of outstanding distinction gave a philosophic direction to theological and dogmatic discussions. The Mutazalites became, in opposition to the party of narrow orthodoxy, the party of light and culture. Despite the older sects, they henceforward became the leaders of spiritual movements, the champions of unbending moral principles, and the upholders of the doctrine of the freedom of the will against the orthodox doctrine of fatalism. The views regarding God and Revelation were, indeed, the two contentious matters that stood out in bold relief. The Mutazalites sought to strip the divine conception of all anthropomorphic colourings, and to treat it merely as the essence of goodness. As simple and forcible were their views regarding the Qur'an. They rejected the orthodox belief that it was 'uncreated' and 'eternal.' They looked upon it simply as a book, like any other save and except that it contained divine inspirations and divine injunctions revealed to mankind through the prophet Mohamed. These new teachings stirred Muslim society to its depths. The orthodox—of various shades of opinion—opposed them, and fought them with fierce bitterness. In Persia, where the rationalistic doctrines made headway, they accepted the Mutazalite conception of God, but attacked their doctrine of free-will (Jabariyyah, Jahamiyyah, Najariyyah sects).[1]

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[1] Masudi, VIII, 291.

These theologico-philosophical controversies provoked a keen intellectual contest which continued well nigh for a couple of centuries and marked the highest point of Arab civilization. Notable is the growth of an extensive polemical literature dealing with the many interesting questions of the day. Jahiz, one of the most prolific of philosophers and publicists of that age, has bequeathed to us quite a number of small treatises dealing with current prominent problems. We find, among his treatises, one in which he compares the North-Arabians with the South-Arabians, and defends the former; in another he discusses the position of the clients as against the genuine Arabs, and undisguisedly expresses himself in favour of the clients; in yet another he discusses the position of the Arabs in relation to the Persians.[1]

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[1] From the III to the V centuries of the Hegira.

Along with these political and social questions we notice the growth of a polemical literature of still greater range and compass dealing with the various aspects of the different sects. But, soon, indeed, other fields attracted their attention and claimed their activities.[2]

(*To be continued*)

S. KHUDA BUKHSH

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[1] Jahiz, *Kitab-ul-Haiwan*, Fol. I.

[2] "However much economic development was impeded by the constant tumult and rebellions caused by the various sects, their existence was nevertheless of the greatest advantage to intellectual progress, owing to the large degree of tolerance which the Caliph was obliged to exhibit on their account. Every new idea, however daring it might be, could hope to find approbation and adherents, not only among the well-educated higher classes of Baghdad, but even among the people and at court. Doubters and sceptics were permitted publicly to expound their views at the side of the unyielding orthodox and the fanciful mystics; and the numerous Christians and Jews took an active part in the labour of civilisation, according to their own methods. In most cases, however, the various sects and religions were nothing more than the intellectual expression of the differences of races, which indeed were the true foundation of the rapid development of Irakian civilization. The characteristics of the different people who came together in Baghdad supplemented each other in a marvellous way, the sharp somewhat matter-of-fact intellect of the Arabs became united at a most favourable moment with the unbridled creative imagination of the Iranian, and conceptions of the harmony of early Greek life as well as of the mystic depths of Hindoo thought were awakened by the representatives of these two opposite poles of Aryan culture." See Helmholt's World's History, Vol. III, pp. 334-335.

EVOLUTION OF STATE CONCEPT IN ANCIENT INDIA

(*A Comparative and Analytical Study*)

The evolution of the State marks a remarkable stage in the history of human progress. Man's affections draw him to a closer union with his own kin. The permanence of this bond of affection leads to the creation of the family. This bond of consanguinity continues to act for a long time, and thus contributes to the widening of the family group on the basis of supposed or real relationship of blood and out of this arises the clan and the tribe.

Along with this bond of kinship, Religion—which is a solace to man in his troubles in this world and holding out a promise for future life explains to him and his primitive mind, all the phenomena regulating the cosmic world—exercises a powerful influence and tries to hold the individuals into a coherent union. Man's social instinct develops more and more and this too teaches him to associate with his own kind apart from those related by the ties of blood. He learns to tolerate others not connected by blood relationship. Economic progress enforces dependence on others and self-interest teaches man to live in harmony with those who are of help to him in some other ways.

Side by side with these, comes the working of a desire to maintain the internal order of the community—which would enable individuals to retain the fruits of their labour—and put down the hand that raises itself against a neighbour and the wrong-doers. This gradually leads to the idea of a government. The powers of the patriarch—or of the headman widen into those of a ruler. With further development comes in a conscious belief in that organisation which would give him peace and happiness. Moreover he becomes conscious of a unity which is so essential to his preservation and progress. These sentiments implant in his mind the idea of a body-politic of which he and all others are members and the existence of which is closely intertwined with that of the individual members.

The working of these sentiments mark in an inverse ratio the weakening of the bonds of kinship and later on of religion, though they continue to exist even to the latest phase of development to our own day. The leading concept gradually becomes that of the political whole, to which all are subject and to which all must turn for protection, and which is at the same time characterised, by its wider association.

The political instinct then comes to predominate. Later on it is consolidated by the individual's love for it and his readiness to sacrifice his own for it which we may term patriotism, and gradually the State comes into being. The State in the most modern sense of the word—the politically organised community occupying a certain territory, obeying one common authority bound together by moral and social ties of conscious unity.

EVOLUTION OF THE STATE-IDEA CONCEPT IN THE ANCIENT WORLD.

Definition of the State according to Modern Authors.

The State has existed from an early time and its importance has been recognized, as early as its rise. Yet the definition and the concept of the State has not been the same at all times. It has varied in the various phases of political progress and also with different political philosophers. Thus the Greeks conceived it as the highest form of existence and the very base of human progress. The State was to them "The moral order of the world in which human nature fulfilled its ends." The idealist Plato regarded it as the "highest revelation of human virtue," the harmonious manifestations of the powers of the soul,—humanity perfected. Aristotle, less guided by imagination than Plato, examined the State from the standpoint of the needs of mankind and he declared it to be "the association of clans and village communities in a complete and self-sufficing life."

Next to the Hellenic philosophers, came the Jurists of Rome whose earlier concept of the State was similar to that of the Greeks. Later on Cicero declared the State to be the highest product of human power and found nothing in which human existence came nearer to the will of the gods than in the founding and the maintenance of the State.

Gradually, however, the ideas of the later Roman Jurists differed from the Greek, and the Idealistic conception of the State was marked by an importance attached to the supremacy of Law and the higher role played by the will of the community. Later on Rome's unconscious development into a world empire comprising diverse elements and races, turned the Cæsarian State into a vast autocracy, whose main function was the preservation of peace and order, through the influence of Christianity which freed the world from the trammels of old world dogmas, and beliefs, and preached the ideals of humanity and justice. Christianity later on became the State religion in Rome, and Rome came to be identified or associated with the two great ideals which played so prominent a part for centuries upon European thought. Rome fell but she bequeathed these two legacies to Europe: (1) her concept of universal order; (2) her Christian political ideal. The middle ages, though essentially "unpolitical," show an eternal conflict of the two ideals—a perennial conflict between despotic temporal power and the pretentions of a theocratic idealism advanced by churchmen. Towards the close of the middle ages, the feudal political organisation died a natural death, and Europe saw the rise of nation-states under irresponsible rulers. The Reformation tended to free the State from the dominance of the spiritual authority of Rome and thus consolidated the establishment of kingly government—which everywhere tended to be irresponsible and divine.

The wars and revolutions of the last two centuries have broken down this royal power and laid the foundation of the modern nation-state with its broad ideals. It is no longer confined to a few classes but comprises a considerable community as its members, bound together not by mere blood relationship but by the highest ties of Political and Economic association. In the modern State we find the union of the ruler and the ruled; the emancipation of the individual from the shackles of old world religion and dogma; no man is made to suffer for his conscience. It dispenses justice equally to all and knows no class. The laws emanating from this highest organisation receive the acceptance and approval of the people. The State is looked upon not only as the highest means of assuring the individual of his life and his normal activity, but also the highest end on earth. It has moreover assumed the task of actively furthering and promoting the welfare of the individual, and of the whole of which he forms part. Its chief characteristics therefore are its internal unity—its homogeneity—its highest freedom and its freedom from all external authorities. Its sphere too is widening day by day and in some future date we may find through its working a situation rife for the unity of mankind.

While such indeed has been the progress of the State, it is variously conceived and defined by our present-day Jurists. They view it from different aspects. The definition of some authorities like Bluntschli, Holland and Jenks are rather comprehensive and lay stress on the different elements and requisites in the formation of the State. Some have on the contrary viewed the State from the viewpoint of an organic whole while others have emphasized the supreme existence of Law and a central organisation.[1]

State-idea in the Vedic Literature.

When we come to India, however, we are confronted with the greatest difficulty. Practically no definition of the State is available. The whole of our Hindu legal and political literature is practically silent on these topics.

But this lack of a clear-cut definition however does not stand in the way of our forming an idea as to the Hindu concept of the State. Its growth here as elsewhere was a gradual process and it passed through many phases of development. With change of circumstances it changed its character. Its ends too became more and more comprehensive with the passing of ages. The process of its evolution began probably in some pre-Vedic period with the organisation of the tribe for purposes of defence and the protection of life and property of its members. With the formative period of Hindu political development, it came to rival in many respects the modern culture-state in its ends and functions.

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[1] The Jurists and political philosophers have defined the State variously. Thus according to Holland :—A State is a numerous assemblage of human beings generally occupying a certain territory amongst whom the will of the majority or of an ascertainable class of persons is by the strength of such a majority or class, made to prevail against any of their number who oppose it.

Bluntschli holds that the State is a combination or association of men in the form of Government, on a definite territory united together into a morally organised masculine personality; or more shortly—the State is the politically organised national person of a definite country.

Burgess holds that 'our definition must, therefore, be that the State is a particular portion of mankind viewed as an organised unit.'

Willoughby, however, says that as a preliminary definition of the State we may say that " wherever there can be discovered in any community of men a supreme authority exercising a control over the social actions of individuals and groups of individuals and itself subject to no such regulation, there we have a State."

Woolsey—" The body or community which by permanent law through its organs administers Justice within certain limits of territory is called a State."

For the earliest conception of the State in ancient India we must go back to the Vedic Rāshṭra or Rāṭ and the later Rājya. The words rāshṭra and rāṭ occur in various places of the Vedic literature. Rāṭ occurs in a few places, *e.g.*, in the celebrated inauguration hymn (IX. 22 Vā, Sam—इयंतेराट्-यन्तासि यमनो, etc.) and also in the Atharva Veda (VII. 49) or as a qualifying adjective to the Sovereign Aśvins. References to the Rāshṭra are many and occur in innumerable places. Both the words are used in hymns uttered on the occasion of royal inauguration and consequently they seem to have been used in the sense of the (governmental) organisation of the community over which the chief or the King presided.

To quote a few of many such passages, in Rv. X. 173 we find the priest addressing the newly elected king—praying that "all the subjects may accept him and that the rāshṭra (soverignty) may remain steadfast in him":

विशस्त्वा सर्व्वा वाञ्छन्तु मात्वद्राष्ट्रमधिभ्रशत्

Again, in another passage of the same hymn the priest prays that the king may remain steadfast in his royal position and hold his kingdom (RĀSHTRA).

Again in another pasage of the same (X. 173) he says—इन्द्र इवेह ध्रुवस्तिष्ठेह राष्ट्रमु धारय । Be thou like Indra steadfast in thy position; and again in Vāj. Sam., IX. 23—ता अस्मभ्यं मधुमतीर्भवन्तु वयं राष्ट्रे जागृयाम पुरोहिताः स्वाहा—in connection with a Vājapraśavaniya hymn refers to the sovereign soma in plants and waters which may remain stored with honey and concludes by saying that stationed in front may the priest be watchful in the KINGDOM.

Elsewhere too the intimate connection between the Rāshṭra and the king is found in such passages as A.V. XI. V. 17:—

ब्रह्मचर्य्येण तपसा राजा राष्ट्रं वि रक्षति ।
आचार्य्यो ब्रह्मचर्य्येण ब्रह्मचारिण मिच्छते ॥

"The king protect the kingdom by means of Brahmacharyya or Tapas."

Many more such passages may be cited but as a rule they give us no further information or tell us anything as to the real character of the Rāshṭra. But from what we gather from the evidence of such passages, the following chief points are worthy of note; *e.g.*, that (1) The concept of this Rāshṭra seems to have been intimately connected with a moral and religious idea. The Vedic Aryans worshipped Satya [1] and Rita, (ऋतं च सत्यञ्चाभिद्धातप सोऽध्यजायत । R.V. X. 190.1. and सत्येनोत्त मिताभूमि:) A.V. XIV. 1.1. *e.g.*, truth and the moral order as the two highest ideals and these influenced his early political ideas. His material concepts partook of the concepts regarding the other world. The king was the counterpart of Indra, the viceregent of Varuna, as would appear from the above passage quoted; the king was said to protect it by means of tapas or Bramhacharyya.

(2) Secondly, we may conclude from the evidence of passages in which the word Rāshṭra occurs, that during the earliest period, the preponderating concept in the Rāshṭra was that of a tribal or personal organisation.

In almost all these hymns we find an unmistakable evidence of this preponderance of the popular element in the Rāshṭra. Moreover, in the Yajurvedic hymns we meet with another expression, which is of some help to us. This passage is found in the Vaj. Sam. IX. 40, and speaks of the king's inauguration over the Jānarājya or the community of men.

इमं देवा असपत्नं सुवध्वं महते क्षत्राय महते ज्यैष्ठ्याय महते जानराज्याय इन्द्रस्येन्द्रियाय । इमममुष्य पुत्रं अमुष्यैपुत्र' अस्यै विश एष वोऽमौ राजा—सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणाणां राजा ।[1]

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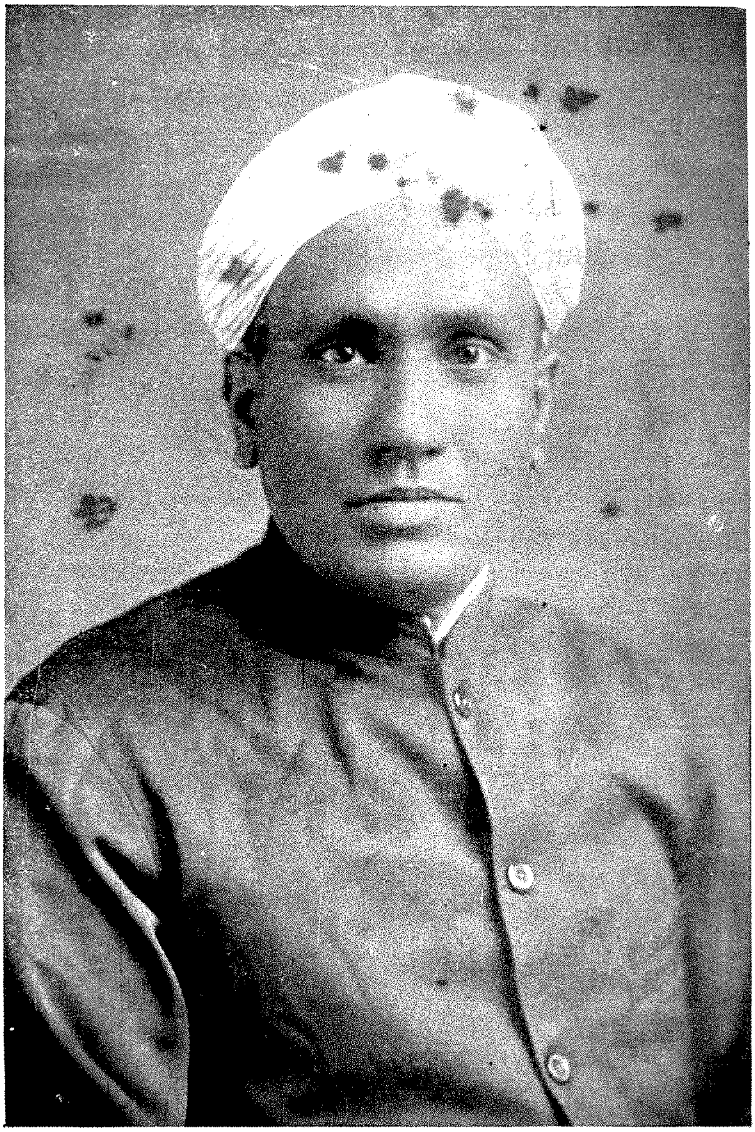
[1] The last sentence, uttered in conclusion shows the rising pretensions of the priesthood, *e. g.*, they are not under Royal authority—they elect none but king Soma to be ruler. It also shows that as yet sovereignty was not regarded as absolute. It was especially so with a particular section of the communnity, *e. g.*, the Brahmanas.



PROFESSOR C. V. RAMAN

The evidence of this passage is thus very interesting. It goes on to show the personal character of the monarchy. The king was the leader of the community—its first leader,—and he was inaugurated into the headship of the people.

In the Brāhmaṇas

Next as we pass from the saṃhitās to the Brāhmaṇas we find a gradual definition of the state-idea, which as we have seen was originally nothing more than the concept of a community under one common leader. During the succeeding period of complex political development we find a gradual elaboration of the germ-idea of leadership. These ideas develop not with any abstract speculation as to the nature of the communal organisation but with the ever-increasing definition of the powers of the leader who symbolised the unity of the tribesfolk. We have no detailed discussion, but only incidental hints from the religious literature. In this latter we have a number of words which are used to qualify the nature of the sovereign authority in varying degrees. They are all derived from the root Rāj—or from similar roots all denoting leadership or excellence, derived from the old root Rāj of which we have representations in other languages. These words show how a continuous struggle went on between universal dominion and local independence. All these words, *e.g.*, Rājya, Sāmrājya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Māhārājya, Adhirājya, Aikarājya, (from Ekarāt) denote various types or degrees of sovereign authority. These words do not indeed represent any abstract idea of a State in the later sense of the words but they throw light on the concept of Sovereignty as we find later on. References to Rājya occur as early as the Atharva Veda (III. 42; IV. 8 1; XI. 6. 15; XII. 3. 31: also in the Vāja-Samhitā Taitt. Sam (11. 1, 3, 4;). Next to these, most of these terms denoting various degrees of sovereignty, occur in some of the principal Brāhmaṇas, *e.g.*, the Aitareya, the Panchaviṁsa. The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa repeatedly mentions these (Bk. VIII) in connection with the various forms of inauguration. VI. (6. 5; VII. 5, 8, 3, M Ait. Br. VII, —23, Jai. Up. Br. I. 4. 5.) Svārājya which is derived from Rāj may be taken to point to a Sovereignty—unlimited by any obstacle or uncontrolled sovereignty; in some places it is used in opposition to Rājya, Taitt. Br. 1. 3. 2. 2 ; Sāmrājya, Mahārājya, Adhirājya, all point to better or higher forms of overlordship. Other words too denoting these various types of sovereign authority find their place and explanation in the Brāhmana Literature.

(*To be continued,*)

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A LIVING LESSON IN EXPERIMENTAL PSYCHOLOGY

To The Editor, *The Calcutta Review*.

SIR,—On Thursday the 17th February came off the annual meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. What marked this meeting from its predecessors was the fact that it was graced by the presence of His Excellency the Earl of Lytton as patron of the Society. The Society's building had for long fallen into disrepair. The entire structure has now been so well renovated that citizens absent from Calcutta during the period of repair have taken it for a new building. Stock has been taken of the historic pictures which form one of the rich and rare heritages of the Society; and they have all been re-arranged and better exhibited. The Office work also had fallen into sad arrears and neglect; but, with the appointment of Mr. Van Manen as (paid) General Secretary, the Society is putting forth manifold activity by way of attractive display and wide advertisement of its work and publications. It was, therefore, natural that the annual meeting of this year should have been celebrated with greater pomp and enthusiasm. It was quite natural that they thought of realising this object best by requesting the Governor of Bengal to deliver an address in his capacity as patron of the Society. And, as a matter of fact, everything passed off splendidly and harmoniously except the address of the President which struck a jarring and discordant note. Though I am not a member of the Society, I make it a point to attend its annual meetings in the company of my friends who are its members. The fact that Dr. Annandale who was the President of the Science Congress recently held at Bangalore was also to deliver an address as the retiring President of the Society made me intensely eager to attend this year's annual meeting. But never was I so sorely disappointed! Let his address be placed side by side with those delivered by the previous Presidents of the Society, and let impartial critics decide whether this year's address did not fall grievously short of not only wide and deep learning but, above all, also of tact and good taste.

Dr. Annandale tells us that when he began to consider the subject of his own address some months ago, he intended it to be some branch of natural history of which he had made a special study. Oh, how we wish he had stuck to his original intention! That would have made his address a thoughtful and dispassionate discourse, such as was worthy of being delivered before a learned Society at its annual meeting. But "the preaching instinct" he naively confesses, "is strong in Scotchmen," and he fell a victim to it. And what were the themes he selected for his edifying sermon? His first theme was: "it is better to wash dirty linen in public than never to wash it at all." The gist of all he has said and insinuated on this point comes to this; the Society's Building and the Society's office work were all in a shockingly bad condition but everything has been set right and made satisfactory only by a close co-operation between the General Secretary, the Honorary Treasurer and the President. The members of the Society, he fearlessly blurts out, were much to blame for leaving "things too much in the hands of the Council," but forgot that the members of the Council were "concerned a little too exclusively in the intellectual part" of their duties. But principally with the help of the General Secretary, if I have rightly understood it, he set at naught all "invention or pursuit of officialdom, which is a curse and not a blessing," and ensured good administration. The result of it is that the Society is now very nearly out of the wood. This is a clear indication that Dr. Annandale had to wage strenuous fights with the members of the Council whose object apparently was to thwart and not to help progress. We do not want to enter into the merits of the case, because I am not yet a member of the Society and not at all of its Council. Again, this is a subject which does not concern the outside public in general or the scholar in particular. What, however, we cannot understand is that after condemning the character of the Council which hampers real advance, Dr. Annandale almost in the same breath appeals to the members of the Society who have any complaints or suggestions to make not to grumble but to make them direct just to that Council which he has run down. It is, however, a matter of delight that better sense has after all prevailed over his mind. And we sincerely hope that in future no President of the Society will ever think fit to wash dirty linen in public as Dr. Annandale has done.

The second theme which has engaged the attention of Dr. Annandale and forms a conspicuous part of his sermon is the research work done by Indian scholars. He has always been expecting, as he frankly says, great things of Indian scholarship, but has to confess himself "disappointed with much of the Indology of India." Progress is delayed in this sphere, he remarks, "by the readiness with which those in authority accept a low standard and by the good-natured but injudicious praise of scholars abroad to whom Indian scholarship comes as a surprise, as a new thing from which too much must not be expected." In Dr. Annandale's opinion there are only two good scholars among the present Indians. The first is Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri, C.I.E., and the second Professor P. C. Mahalanobis. Dr. Annandale in one place has jocosely alluded to the principle on which Dr. Johnson used to praise "women preachers and dancing dogs," and a humorist as he is, he creates a shrewd suspicion in our minds whether he has not praised these Indian scholars precisely on that principle. Let us, however, take it that he is sincere, and not jocular, in the praise he has bestowed upon these Indians. And I cannot help congratulating the Mahamahopadhyaya upon the ample amends which Dr. Annandale has so generously made for the open and gratuitous insult he heaped upon him at one of the monthly meetings of the Society in the presence of the assembled when the Mahamahopadhyaya's proposal of making Dr. B. L. Chaudhury a Fellow of the Society was being discussed. I for one do not grudge the Pandit Sastri the encomium which Dr. Annandale has now lavished upon him. For who does not know the wide range of knowledge which Sastri Mahasaya has held undisputed? Was it not he who proposed to lecture even on the History of England in the Dacca University provided his services were retained there? Was it not he who only the other day made an exhibition of his critical faculty and fair-mindedness by collecting and exposing the obscenities of Chandidasa's writings? What does it matter if the Editor of a well known local paper asks why the Mahamahopadhyaya has thought it fit and just to lay bare and condemn the indecent character of Chandidasa's poems when his own Bengali translation of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* was so lewd and vulgar that it had to be proscribed by the Government? That in no way militates against our estimation that his learning is of a versatile character. When, however, Dr. Annandale, while making mention of the cataloguing work of Sastri Mahasaya recently published by the Society, remarks that "it calls for the highest scholarship, the most acute critical faculty and the most devoted self-negation and restraint," we are compelled to ask the Doctor to clearly substantiate his position. Only a few days ago, one critic signing himself 'Dhabal Giri' hinted in no uncertain terms that this cataloguing work was mostly done by "the method of the scissors and the gum bottle." And many persons are inclined to the latter view, for, in the first place, there is nothing in Sastri Mahasaya's recent catalogues which contains erudite and scholarly introductions such as are to be found, for instance, in the Reports of Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, and secondly most of his present work is a mere repetition of what had already been done by Rajendra Lall Mitra.

What is, however, most strange is the astounding if not the mischievous assertion of Dr. Annandale that progress in the Indology of India by the Indians is retarded first "by the readiness with which those in authority accept a low standard," and secondly, by "the good-natured but injudicious praise of scholars abroad to whom Indian scholarship comes as a surprise, as a new thing from which too much must not be expected." What is the good of making such vague and unfounded aspersions? What are the qualifications of Dr. Annandale who is a mere Zoologist to decide upon the true character of Indian scholarship? Is it because he has studied primitive magic among the half-civilised Malays of the Patani States that he thinks himself quite competent to pronounce upon the merits of Indian scholarship? If so, he must then remember the saying of the Malays which he has himself quoted in his address. Dr. Annandale is, as the Malays would say, "like a toad under a half cocoanut-shell." Does he venture to call himself a specialist even in all the branches of Zoology? If he cannot, we fail to understand why most officiously he should go out of his own way to appoint himself a judge and pronounce on the progress of the Indological studies by the Indians. If he is a man of any thought and character, we request Dr. Annandale to tell us clearly what he means by saying that a low standard of scholarship has been accepted by those in authority. Above all, we long to know why he holds that the praise which European scholars have bestowed upon Indian scholarship is "good-natured but injudicious." I shall take only one instance. The February number of the "Calcutta Review" contains a review of a work of Dr. Hemchandra Raychaudhuri entitled "Political History of Ancient India." The review has been made by Dr. L. D. Barnett. The latter has therein not only selected and praised the good points of the thesis but also exposed what are in his estimation points of doubtful merit. There can, however, be no doubt at all that the work has on the whole been praised for 'the judgment, ingenuity and learning' which the author has displayed. Will Dr. Annandale be so gracious as to read this review and tell us frankly how far this praise by Dr. Barnett is 'good-natured but injudicious'? But Dr. Raychaudhury's thesis is not the only one of its kind. We can cite scores of such publications brought out by the Calcutta University which have been similarly reviewed and praised. And unless Dr. Annandale is ready to substantiate his assertion, the people of India in general and the people of Bengal in particular will not be blamed in looking upon it as a wanton and mischievous attack on the present scholarship of the Indians.

Those who have read Dr. Annandale's address cannot fail to admit that he has got a wonderful style of his own. He says, yet unsays; he asseverates, yet qualifies; he praises, yet damns. He wants to wound, yet is afraid to strike. He wants to sneer but does it not himself but through others. This style of expression is no doubt very unique, but it is worthy of a journalist, not of a scientist or scholar. And when this piquant style is considered side by side with the fact admitted by him that he is washing dirty linen in public, one is constrained to infer that part of his address is an autobiography at any rate so far as the Council of the Asiatic Society is concerned, and that his attempt has been to bring his opponents there into ridicule and discredit. He may be forgiven if he brings himself to make that attempt, for we cannot blink the fact that for some unknown reasons Dr. Annandale has ceased to be the President though he has served the Society only for one year,—a most unprecedented thing, we should think, in the annals of that learned body. But he has, alas, forgotten that his sermon has thereby become an interesting pabulum for the psychologist, who may be pardoned if the following lines of Pope recur to his mind :—

"Should such a man, too fond to rule alone,
Bear alike the Turk no brother near the throne;
View him with scornful yet with jealous eyes,
And hate, for arts that caused himself to rise;
Damn with faint praise, assent with civil leer,
And without sneering, teach the rest to sneer;
Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike,
Just hint a fault, and hesitate dislike;
Alike reserved to blame as to commend,
A timorous foe and a suspicious friend;
Like Cato give his little senate laws,
And sit attentive to his own applause;
While wits and templars every sentence raise,
And wonder with a foolish face of praise;
Who but must laugh if such a man there be,
Who would not weep if Atticus were he?"

Yours, etc.,
NEO CERVANTES

THE BERARS

I.

We publish below a copy of a letter which has been addressed by His Exalted Highness the Nizam to the Government of India on the subject of the Restoration of the Berars. The question raised is of great historical importance, and we propose later on to deal with the subject from the standpoint of the student of History and Political Science.

KING KOTHI,
HYDERABAD, DECCAN.
Dated the 25th October, 1923.

MY DEAR LORD READING,

You are aware that the Province of Berar, an integral part of my Dominions, came to be leased in perpetuity to the British Government by an Agreement dated the 18th of December, 1902, on certain terms and conditions. This was the outcome of an interview that took place at Hyderabad between Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy of India, and my late lamented father, Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, on the 30th of March of that year.

2. After my accession to the Throne of my forefathers, in 1911, I had the circumstances under which this Agreement came to be executed carefully examined. Were it not that the Great European War broke out in 1914, I should long ago have asked for the reconsideration of the Agreement. But as an Ally of the British Government, I felt it my duty to throw the energies of my State into the struggle, and to refrain from raising this political question at a time when the Empire found itself in the throes of a life and death conflict with a formidable enemy. I intended however, to take action on the conclusion of the War, but the political ferment and unrest in British India became so acute, that, from 1919 to almost the closing months of 1922, I had again to wait, in order to save possible embarrassment to the Government of India. Happily, the victorious British Empire is now fast recovering from the effects of the War; and Your Excellency's rule has succeeded in restoring a calm political atmosphere in British India. In the circumstances, I feel no hesitation now in addressing this letter to you, in full confidence that the claims of the

Faithful Ally of the British Government will receive at the hands of the Viceroy of India and His Majesty's Government the sympathetic consideration called for by the justice of the case and the relations of the parties.

3. How the possession of the Berars passed from my ancestors to the British Government is shown in the written Claim, which I annex hereto in the form of a Memorandum, containing a full historical survey of the relevant facts, treaties, and other documents. Your Excellency will see that, even as early as the year 1766, the Districts on the East of my Dominions, known as the Northern Circars, were ceded in perpetuity to the British Government by one of my ancestors, in exchange for the right to aid from British troops for the preservation of internal tranquillity. The engagement to furnish substantial military aid was further guaranteed by Lord Cornwallis, in 1789, the East India Company undertaking that the military force was to be granted " whenever your Highness will apply for it," without any restriction except that it was " not to be employed against any Power in alliance with the Company."

4. In 1798, the military aid was increased to a Subsidiary Force of 6,000 Sepoys, with a proportionate number of field pieces, stationed in the Hyderadad Dominions for service of the Nizam, in whose pay they were declared to be from the day of their crossing his frontiers. As regards the preservation of internal tranquillity, the Fifth Article of the Treaty provided:

"The said Subsidiary Force will be at all times ready to execute services of importance, such as the protection of the person of His Highness, his heirs and successors, from race to race, *and overawing and chastising all rebels or exciters of disturbances in the Dominions of this State*; but it is not to be employed on trifling occasions, nor, like Sebundy, to be stationed in the country to collect the revenues thereof."

The then Nizam engaged to pay an annual subsidy of Rs. 24,17,100 for the maintenance of this Subsidiary Force.

5. Then came the Treaty of 1800, whereby the Districts of Bellary and Cuddapah, valued at Rs. 63,00,000 yearly, were ceded by the Nizam to the British Government, in commutation for ever of the annual subsidy of Rs. 24,17,100. The Subsidiary Force became thenceforward answerable for the defence of the Hyderabad State against assaults on its tranquillity of whatever description—external and internal—and was to do all that was required to coerce any " subjects or dependants of the Nizam " who should either " excite rebellion or disturbance " or " withhold payment of the Circar's just claims upon them " without any reference to the magnitude or otherwise of the occasion.

6. As a result of the Treaties of 1798 and 1800 both framed by the Earl of Mornington (afterwards Marquis of Wellesley), the Nizam had, on the one hand, to cede in perpetuity Bellary and Cuddapah and disband his Corps under Raymond and other French officers, and the British Government, on the other, gave the pledge, by Article Seventeen of the Treaty of 1800, that :—

"If in future the Shorapore or Gudwall Zemindars, or any other subjects or dependants of His Highness's Government should withhold the payment of the Sircar's just claim upon them, or excite rebellion or disturbance, the Subsidiary Force, or such proportion thereof as may be requisite, after the reality of the offence had been duly ascertained, shall be ready, in concert with His Highness's own troops, to reduce all such offenders to obedience."

7. Your Excellency will observe that these arrangements left no manner of doubt as to the obligations created by these two Treaties being interdependent, and that the right of the Nizam to military aid against internal disturbance and external aggression was placed beyond dispute. But only eleven months later, when the zemindar of Shorapore failed to pay the tribute due to the Nizam, and otherwise conducted himself with great contumacy, the requisition for the services of a part of the Subsidiary Force was not complied with till after a delay of six months, and only after other conditions not provided for by the Treaties had been superadded, greatly impairing the force of the Nizam's authority over his Tributaries.

8. This denial of the full services of the Subsidiary Force secured by Treaty was followed, in 1804, by insistence on the part of the Governor-General for a provision from the Nizam's own revenues of a separate body of Selladar Horse actually to do the same service, which the Subsidiary Force, under Treaty obligations, was to render, and in consideration for which the districts of Bellary and Cuddapah had been ceded only shortly before. At first the Nizam resisted the proposal but plain denial of his Treaty rights and the refusal of the services of the Subsidiary Force to which he was entitled, combined with his helplessness due to other reasons, led to the inauguration of a new Force, called the Hyderabad Contingent, at the Nizam's cost. Contemporaneous records will show that, at its inception, the Contingent was "to save the Subsidiary Force the labour" and was created for the purpose of "reducing to obedience the refractory zemindars"—a duty which is mentioned by name, in the Seventeenth Article of the Treaty of 1800, as incumbent on the Subsidiary Force. The

Nizam was thus paying heavily twice over for the services to which he was entitled under the Treaty of 1800. Further, it has to be noted with regret, that though the Contingent had been created with the object of affording to the Nizam military support for internal purposes and the cost of its maintenance was a serious burden upon his treasury, its services were repeatedly refused when the Nizam's interests demanded their employment.

9. The Contingent took its birth at a time when the Nizam was permitted no voice in the administration of his country, with the result that this new Force was placed and maintained under British control, and Rupees forty lakhs per annum out of the Nizam's revenues were appropriated for its support. This period in the annals of the Nizams forms a gloomy chapter in the history of India. One disloyal and traitorous Prime Minister succeeded another, and a perusal of the documents relating to the subject will, I am sure, convince Your Excellency that the inauguration of the Contingent was without the free consent of the Nizam, expressed or implied. There is ample British evidence that Chundoo Loll, the most traitorous of Ministers, acceded to the creation of the Contingent for his own personal ends, and that it was he who granted assignments on the revenue of certain districts for the pay of a portion of this new Force. Lord Metcalfe in a Minute dated the 16th of March, 1832, described the Contingent Force as "in reality a joint concern between Raja Chundoo Loll and us." Sir F. Currie, a Member of Lord Dalhousie's Government, in his Minute of the 2nd of April, 1853, also very truly wrote: "The Contingent seems to have been the device of Mr. Russell, the Resident, and Chundoo Loll, the Minister of the day." And he added that no consent appears to have been officially given to the Contingent "by either the Government of India or that of the Nizam."

10. The whole career of Chundoo Loll as Minister is a record of unconscionable sacrifice of his master's interests, reckless ruination of the finances of the State and lavish expenditure of its resources on the maintenance of his own personal power. The expenditure on the Contingent was notoriously extravagant, and the entire arrangement was in utter disregard of the heavy drain on the resources of the Nizam. As a Minister, Chundoo Loll was completely subservient to the Resident and the East India Company.

11. The above circumstances led to the Treaty of 1853, whereby the Districts of Berar came to be assigned, subject to specific terms and conditions, to the East India Company as a territorial guarantee for

the maintenance of the Contingent. The Force had now existed for fifty years, and forty-three lakhs of Company's rupees were claimed to be due from the Nizam to the Company. But it is important to note that no set-off was allowed, either in respect of the Excise claim in connection with the duties levied on the Nizam's subjects in the City of Secunderabad or of the savings effected by the British Government in keeping the Subsidiary Force at reduced strength for many years. Indeed, for a period of 41 years, the Excise revenue of about a lakh a year was unwarrantably credited to the then Government of India. This sequestration, had it been admitted and restored, would have given the Nizam a credit of 41 lakhs, even without interest charges, thus almost wiping out the arrears claimed on account of the maintenance of the Contingent on a notoriously extravagant basis. So also, over a period of thirty years at least, the strength of the Subsidiary Force was below 75 per cent. of the number stipulated by Treaty and for which payment had been made in advance by the assignment of Bellary and Cuddapah in perpetuity.

12. It follows that there was, at that time, nothing owing from the Nizam to the Government of India on account of the maintenance of the Contingent and the claim of 43 lakhs of rupees had no substantial basis. Yet it was this claim which forced upon the Nizam the Treaty of 1853. Your Excellency will appreciate the point by reference to the testimony, in 1860, of the Resident, Colonel Davidson, who was an eye-witness of the transaction of 1853. Writing on the 12th of October, 1860, he says that the debt " was acknowledged by the Nizam by the Treaty of 1853 under pressure, and which he never considered he justly owed," and, moreover, he added that in his own opinion " had the pecuniary demands been impartially dealt with, we had no just claim on the Nizam for the present debt."

13. The pressure alluded to by Colonel Davidson was a threat of immediate military occupation. The first proposal was permanent cession of territory. The Nizam refused. The second was a permanent assignment, while the Sovereignty of the territory should nominally remain with the Nizam. He refused this also. For fifty days he was pressed, but would not yield. Then came the third proposal, that the territory should be assigned to the British Government " merely for a time to maintain the Contingent as long as the Nizam should require that Force." There were " objurgations and threats," but for another fifteen days the Nizam remained unshaken. Then came a letter from Major (afterwards Colonel)

Davidson, the Assistant Resident, to the Nizam's Minister, the coercive character of which the following quotation will reveal :—

"I believe the Resident requires your attendance this evening, to inform you his negotiations with the Nizam are at an end, and he applies to the Governor-General to move troops by to-day's post......Indeed I have a letter from my nephew at Poona, mentioning that the 17th Highlanders and 86th Regiment H. M.'s troops, have received orders to be in readiness to march on Hyderabad. Don't suppose military operations will be confined to the districts; and if you are a friend of His Highness, beg of him to save himself and his dignity by complying at once with what the Governor-General will most assuredly compel him to accede to."

The day after the receipt of this letter, the Minister wrote to the Resident that the Nizam had at last consented to the Treaty. Comment is needless. It is for Your Excellency to judge whether the consent of the Nizam was voluntary or given under compulsion.

14. The accompanying Memorandum deals exhaustively with the ultimate basis on which the negotiation for the Treaty of 1853 was accomplished. Colonel (afterwards General Sir John) Low, the then Resident, authoritatively announced to the Nizam that "if His Highness wished it, the Districts might be made over merely for a time to maintain the Contingent as long as he might require it." A cursory study of the records and papers on the subject will, I feel sure, convince Your Excellency that the Nizam intensely disliked even the suggestion of an arrangement in perpetuity, and that he signed the Treaty of 1853 on the clearest understanding that the "transfer of possession was a mere assignment in trust for a particular purpose to last only so long as that purpose might require to be maintained."

15. The pre-existing and inherent right, however, of the Nizam to disband the Contingent, which was not the subject of any Article in a Treaty, at his will and pleasure, remained unaffected by the Treaty of 1853. There are no less than six different occasions on record, between 1853 and 1860, showing that the Nizam consistently held himself entitled to the restoration of the whole of the assigned districts of the Berars. Then came the Treaty of 1860, which was supplemental, and did not in any way prejudice or narrow down the claims of the Hyderabad State to subsequent and complete restoration which my grandfather, the Nizam Afzal-ud-Dawlah, and my great grandfather had so strongly cherished. On the contrary Article 6 of this Treaty expressly refers to the territory, assigned under the Treaty of 1853, as "held by the British Government *in trust* for the payment of the troops of the Hyderabad Contingent" and other minor charges.

This was but the sequel to the action of the Government of India, on the 5th of September, 1860, in officially authorising the Resident to communicate to the Nizam that "the alienation of this part of his Dominions is temporary only and for a special purpose conducive chiefly to the safety of Hyderabad State and to the preservation of tranquillity within its limits," and that "whenever the districts in question are restored to the Nizam, His Highness will derive all the future benefit that may possibly arise from the improvement while under the management of British officers."

16. From this historical survey, it is clear that, from the circumstances under which the Treaties of 1853 and 1860 came to be concluded, no just inference can be drawn to support the theory that either the Nizam or the Government of India contemplated or agreed to the extinguishment of his right to disband the Contingent at any future time. Your Excellency, as a jurist and a lawyer of great eminence, will, I feel sure, agree with me in the view that my forefathers, up to the reign of Nizam Afzal-ud-Dawlah, did not consent to any arrangement which might throw the slightest doubt upon their right to exercise their discretion as to the redemption and the restoration of the Berars to their House, whenever all the dues were satisfied and the need for the maintenance of the Contingent, in their judgment, ceased to exist.

17. My grandfather, the Nizam Afzal-ud-Dawlah died in 1869, and was succeeded by my father, the Nizam Mir Mahboob Ali Khan, who, at the time of his accession, was an infant only three years of age. On account of the Ruler's infancy, Sir Salar Jung became the Regent with the Amir-i-Kabir as co-Regent. In the year 1872, the Regent Ministers proposed to the Government of India that a capital sum, sufficient to secure the payment for the maintenance of the Contingent Force on the footing of the purposes declared in the Treaty of 1853, be accepted from the Hyderabad State, and the assigned districts be restored to the administration and government of the Nizam. The proposal was declined, among other grounds, on that of "inconvenience of discussing questions of this kind, while the Nizam, in whose behalf they are professedly raised, is himself a minor."

18. Full powers of Government came into the hands of my father in the year 1884 when he attained the age of 18 years. In 1902, Lord Curzon, the then Viceroy, raised the question of the Berars on his own initiative. The more I examine the transactions which followed, the more convinced I am of their invalidity. My father abhorred the suggestion of an assignment in perpetuity no less intensely than his forefathers. The overtures of the Government of India, in the form of proposals, were made

to my father by Colonel (afterwards Sir David) Barr, the then Resident at the Court of Hyderabad, about the end of January, 1902. Within eight weeks came the historic visit of Lord Curzon to Hyderabad, culminating in the lease in perpetuity of the Berar districts to the British Government.

19. The accompanying Memorandum will show how much my father disliked the suggestion of perpetuity of lease; how steadily he resisted the overtures of the Resident; and how emphatically the Council of his principal Nobleman, especially convened for the purpose of considering the matter, opposed the proposition. Indeed, the Council drafted a letter to be addressed by the Nizam to the Viceroy, and advised His Highness to present it personally to Lord Curzon at the private interview that was to take place at the Residency on His Excellency's arrival in Hyderabad. To me that letter is pathetic, not only from its contents, but because the interview took so unexpected a turn as to disable my father from delivering it into the hands of the Viceroy. The letter, dated the 30th March, 1902, ran as follows:—

" YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I do not wish to enter into the old controversy as to my right to the restoration of Berar, or as to the meaning of object of the treaties and other formal engagements concerning it. I confidently leave these matters for Your Excellency's kind and favourable consideration. I would only appeal to His Majesty, the King Emperor, through you to restore Berar as a special mark of gracious favour and I ask to be allowed to make your Lordship my advocate in the cause. I feel perfectly sure, and I most devoutly trust, my appeal will not be in vain on the auspicious occasion of His Majesty's Coronation.

I remain,
Your Excellency's sincere friend."

20. From the full account of the interview in the accompanying Memorandum, it is abundantly clear that the Viceroy gave the Nizam no encouragement to hope that His Excellency would advocate His Highness's cause before the King Emperor. Although the Resident, Colonel Barr, accompanied the Viceroy, my father unfortunately had not the advantage of the presence of his Chief Minister or any other high official of the State to assist him in discussing this most important question. The notes of the Viceroy and the Nizam, separately recording what passed at this interview, are given in juxtaposition in the Memorandum to show the frame of mind of both.

21. Lord Curzon's note shows that before His Excellency entered upon the question of the Berars, he raised two extraneous issues in the presentation of which he disclosed the assertive side of his authority as Viceroy. One was the question of the confirmation of Maharajah Kishen Pershad, the new Minister in his office. It was my father's wish to confirm the Minister, but His Highness was reminded that this was subject to His Excellency's sanction. The other question related to the designation and powers of a lent officer of the Government of India as Financial Adviser to the Hyderabad Government. In presenting his views in this connection, His Excellency went to the length of saying that if his suggestions were not given effect to, he would recall that officer, and the Viceroy further marked his insistence by declaring the confirmation of the new Minister to be dependent upon the acceptance of His Excellency's proposals regarding the lent officer.

22. I cannot but regard it as an unfortunate circumstance that my father, who was known to be of a shy and nervous disposition, was unaccompanied into the Audience Room. The preliminaries that were discussed before the question of the Berars was reached were disconcerting.

23. The view of Treaty obligations pressed on my father is evident from the following quotations from the Viceroy's own note:—

"I pointed out (to the Nizam) that the British Government had no reason to be dissatisfied with the position and rights at present assured to them by Treaty; there was no flaw in their title to the assigned districts, there was no limit fixed either to the period of assignment or to the administrative powers which were thereby conferred.

"The Hyderabad Contingent as at present constituted and placed under the Treaties was a wasteful and unsatisfactory arrangement. The troops stationed in Hyderabad territory seemed to be in excess of modern requirements and their retention of the title appeared to be both invidious to His Highness and out of date.

"And that the present assignment in perpetuity of Berar should be replaced by a lease in perpetuity.

"I had felt greatly disappointed when I heard that terms so apparently favourable had not met with His Highness's approval. If they were refused, the Government of India must revert to the present position which contained no time limit, and under which we had enjoyed the substance of what was desired at a much less financial cost for 50 years.

"There was, however, an additional reason for which I should regret the failure of the present proposals. If they were rejected, it was in the highest degree unlikely that any succeeding Viceroy would open the question again or that any British Government would court a fresh rebuff.

"His Highness should realise, therefore, that the opportunity of a settlement now offered could not be expected to recur, and that the present arrangements would tend to become stereotyped into a perpetual form.

"But he (the Nizam) desired to know whether, under the new arrangement, he would be at liberty to ask at any future time for the restoration to him of Berar. I replied that if the Province of Berar were leased to the British Government in perpetuity, it would not be open to His Highness to make any such request, since the destiny of the Province would already have been determined by the lease.

"His Highness then asked whether, under present conditions, there was any chance of Berar being restored to him. I said there was nothing in the Treaties that contemplated or gave Hyderabad any claim to restoration. I referred His Highness in reply to the answer that had been returned to Sir Salar Jung when the matter was last raised 25 years ago, and to the statement of the British Government made by Lord Salisbury in 1878. The events of the past 50 years had further created a presumption in favour of the present situation, which it was impossible to ignore. In these matters there was continuity of policy between successive administrations whether they were Conservative or Liberal, and I could hold out no hope to His Highness that any Government in the future would be prepared to offer him terms in which no previous Government had ever acquiesced, particularly if the present attempt to settle the matter on independent lines had broken down. The British Government would have no alternative but to adhere to the perpetual assignment already provided for by the Treaties.

"His Highness then said that, as he understood there was no chance of Berar being restored to him, if the present arrangements were refused, he had no hesitation in accepting the proposed lease in perpetuity, as being in every way greatly to the interest of the State. He had only so far refused it because he had not realised that there was no probability of Berar being restored to him in the future."

24. In order to enable Your Excellency to judge of the impression the unequal debate left on my father's mind, I desire to quote here a short passage from the Nizam's note relating to this momentous interview:—

"The Viceroy told me twice and thrice (repeatedly) that Berar could never be restored. His Excellency said:—I do not wish to keep Your Highness in any false hope. I say it very plainly that this alone will be the policy of not only myself but of every Viceroy who will come after me: and the policy of the Government in England will be the same, *viz.*, that Berar should not be restored at any time. From the Viceroy's talk it appears that, as there was no application for the return of Berar during (the last) 25 years, it was impossible (for us) to get it back, and that we should not entertain any hope whatever of its restoration. His Excellency explained that no benefit would accrue to me if the present state of affairs continued. It was unwise to maintain the present conditions when it was impossible to regain Berar. It would be better to lease out and take money (rent) year after year.

"However, I tried as much as I could to insist (on the restoration), but the tenour of the Viceroy's answers convinced me that they would never give us Berar. It was in consequence of the mistakes made in the past that we had now to wash our hands of the Province. I was then obliged to say :—'If such is the case, take it on lease.'

"The way in which the Viceroy conversed with me yesterday fully convinced me that, if I refused to lease saying that the present conditions might continue, His Excellency would not listen to me or would give but evasive answers even if he listened, and that if I pressed him to give a definite reply to my request he would say plainly, as he has already said before, that my application (for restoration) could not be entertained."

25. I cannot help considering the reference to Lord Salisbury's reply to the representation made by Sir Salar Jung, in 1878, as singularly unfortunate. It unquestionably influenced my father, as no doubt, it was intended to do, by creating the impression that the matter was already prejudged. His inference was erroneous, but that this was the result is quite evident from the above extract. Lord Salisbury, in his reply adverted to above, had only pointed out that there was no time limit specified in the Treaty of 1853 for the determination of the assignment of the Berars; and that, should the Nizam, on attaining majority, desire to have a general revision of the Treaty arrangements relating to the Province, his wishes would receive consideration at the hands of the British Government. In the above conclusion, there seems to be hardly any warrant for the claim that the Berars were assigned in perpetuity, or that the decision was invested with the character of finality.

26. The outstanding feature of the interview between Lord Curzon and my father is that, on the high authority of the Viceroy of India, a comparatively powerless Ally was definitely and emphatically given to understand, contrary to past solemn assurances and Treaty obligations,

that by no manner of means and under no circumstances would the British Government then, or at any future time, restore the Province of Berar to its legitimate owner. His objections to the permanent alienation of the Berars were overruled on grounds wholly inconsistent with pledges given by the British Government in 1853 and repeated in 1860, and with the declaration of the Government of India, officially authorising the Resident, in 1860, to communicate to the then Ruler of Hyderabad that "whenever the districts in question are restored to the Nizam, His Highness will derive all the future benefit that may possibly arise from the improvement while under the management of British officials." His Lordship also overlooked the fact that the assignment of the Berars was "in trust for a particular purpose to last only so long as that purpose might require to be maintained," and entirely ignored the clear and unambiguous language of Article 6 of the Treaty of 1860, which reaffirmed the "trust."

27. I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise at the following passage, in a letter from the Government of India in the Foreign Department, dated the 13th of November, 1902, to the Secretary of State for India :—

"Upon the side of His Highness the Nizam, the desirability of a change arose in the main from the precarious and fluctuating character of the surpluses which also, under the stipulations of the Treaties, were payable to him, and the irregular nature of which introduced a regrettable element of uncertainty into the finances of the State. It was realised on both sides that the events of the past half century, during which the Assigned Districts of Berar have remained continuously under British administration, constituted a prescription, from which it was neither possible nor desirable to depart; and the efforts of both parties in the recent negotiations were accordingly directed to the discovery of a solution that should possess the combined merits of removing the administrative anomalies of which we have spoken, of securing to His Highness the Nizam an assured income from this portion of his territories, and of guaranteeing to the population of Berar, which now amounts to over 2¾ million persons, a continuance of the conditions and standards under which they have attained to a high measure of prosperity."

28. In the concluding paragraph of the letter to the Secretary of State, it was stated that "the settlement of this important matter which we have here recorded has been as heartily and spontaneously accepted by the Nizam, as it was frankly and sincerely put forward by ourselves."

This certainly is an overstatement. Whatever impression might have been left on Lord Curzon's mind after the interview, I am constrained to say, with great regret, that the terms presented to my father with such emphasis and persistency by the Viceroy of India and a statesman of commanding personality, were, as his note contemporaneously recorded abundantly shows, neither "spontaneously" nor "heartily" accepted. The course that was adopted in obtaining his assent to a settlement, which had been regarded with such abhorrence by successive Nizams, and had been repeatedly rejected before, divests it of all claim to spontaneity, and deprives the discussion of the character of a free debate. In view of the momentous issue involved, it would have been better, in fairness, to have allowed a little time for deliberation and some opportunity for consultation with his advisers; but none such was given.

29. Even if my father had willingly agreed to the settlement of 1902, I claim to be entitled to question its validity as beyond his constitutional powers, for he had no authority in the circumstances, to alienate any part of the territories he held in trust for his people and his successors. This proposition has high juristic support. The assignments made by our forefathers for the protection of the Hyderabad State or for the benefit of the dynasty stand on quite another plane.

30. From Lord Curzon's own Note, it is quite evident that my father never for a moment admitted any "prescription," nor was he a party to any effort "directed to the discovery of a solution." In an issue which involves the good faith of the British Government, the doctrine of prescription is an irrelevancy. Besides, the repeated recognition of the title of the Hyderabad State to the restoration of the Berars, when the necessity for their retention ceased, lifts the question out of the region of technicalities. When the British Government, in 1881, transferred the Mysore State to Indian rule, it proved that "prescription" has no weight in the scales against justice and equity. Mysore had been in British control for half a century. How entirely that part of India had come to be associated with British administration is obvious from the Parliamentary papers relating to the transfer (C. 3026, 1881). The restoration of Mysore, effected by the Marquis of Hartington (afterwards Eighth Duke of Devonshire) and the Marquis of Ripon, has gone down in history as one of the wisest acts of statesmanship under British rule in India.

31. The recent political and administrative changes in British India have materially affected the status of the Province since the lease of 1902. One thing is obvious; the transaction in question does not warrant the

absorption of the leased territories, which still form an integral part of the Hyderabad State, into the political and administrative system of India, and especially to the prejudice of their inhabitants. Not only have the financial resources of the Berars thus been made available to non-Beraris, but, by reason of the new reforms, my subjects, in many matters have been placed under the domination of outsiders. To give an instance: owing to their disparity in numbers, they actually occupy, as I am informed, a position of inferiority in the Central Provinces Legislative Council. The situation, therefore, has so completely altered since 1902, that I feel I am within my rights in asking, on every consideration of equity and justice, for a revision of the settlement then concluded.

32. I am anxious that the people of the Berars should receive into their own hands the shaping of their destinies, and for this reason I am willing to concede to them, on the restoration of the Province, a larger co-operation in the administration than at present enjoyed anywhere in British India. With this end in view, I declare that, should I succeed in the redemption of my Province, I will insert, in the Instrument of Restoration or any other State Paper that may be drawn up, definite clauses for the conferment on the Beraris of a Constitution for a responsible Government with absolute popular control, under a constitutional Governor appointed by me as my Representative, of their internal affairs and complete autonomy in administration, except in matters relating to the British Government and my Army Department.

33. The financial arguments, which loomed so large in the negotiations of 1902, need not stand in the way of restoration. The whole question that weighs with me is not one of monetary advantage, but one of right and justice. Regarding a final balance sheet, I ask for no more than an equitable settlement.

34. The contributions of my forefathers and my own towards the stability of the British Empire are matters of history; I have not referred to them, as my letter to Your Excellency is not intended to seek any reward for acts of devotion on the part of a Faithful Ally, but to assert my claim and to invoke justice at the hands of His Majesty's Government.

Yours sincerely,
MIR OSMAN ALI KHAN

CAPTIVE

Never to roam the fairy hills again,
With wild heart pulsing to a careless song;
Never to feel the glamorous thrills
Of springtime, dancing with her flowered throng.

Never to tread the old familiar paths,
With blithesome step, along the woodland way;
Never to follow far the errant whim
Of fancy, through a summer's day.

Never to lounge through golden hours at ease,
Or idly muse by blossom-bordered streams;
The wind blows chill from out the purple dusk,
And shadows fall across my wistful dreams.

So now I walk with step sedate and slow,
Since Love at last has found and captured me;—
My vagrant songs are hushed, my lips are mute,
And never again will I go free.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

TO MEREDITH

(Translated by the author from the original Japanese)

So sentimentalism gives place to paganism,
Do not make pantheism appear to work the emancipation of life ;

Meredith, I know, when your brain is tired,
You play the brutal game of theory,——

Oh, forget your insolent logic and damn'd morality and all ;
Come with me, Meredith, into the Buddhist Hall of Meditation,

Not to write epigrams,
But to walk between the laws written by Life in trance ;

We will find a true place in the universe, and with Panlike eyes,
Sing the sun, women, trees and rocks.

YONE NOGUCHI

MY STAR

Through storm or calm, or near or far,
I follow my star.
Over the dim horizon's edge;
Over the highest mountain ledge;
Over the sea, and the sea's wide brim;
Over the land, to its uttermost rim;
Into the realms where the Dream worlds are,
I follow my star.

What though the night fall bitter black,
What though I toss in the storm's wild wrack,
And the spindrift blow from an angry sea
And the dark clouds lower threateningly;—
I follow my star!

Through the dawn and the dusk, and the dreaming night;
I lift my eyes to its radiant light;
O You, who gave such faith to me,
The will to do, and the hope to be,
Know you, who wait, wherever you are,—
I follow my star.

LILY STRICKLAND-ANDERSON

THE CALL OF SPRING

On such a day as this
When Spring hath left a kiss
O'er meadows and the green hillside,
When birds are on the wing
And for sheer rapture sing,
Why should I in silence abide?

On such a day as this
When hearts are full with bliss,
What wonder that I grasp in haste
A silver-stringed lute
That so long hath been mute,
And seek thee out fearing the hours' waste?

On such a day as this
When naught would be amiss,
Why should I not pour out my fill
Of songs that one would sing
On such a day of Spring
When she hath passed o'er field and hill?

V. B.

V

THE RECOGNITION

He would not know me then,
Tho' I his lifemate were,
The same old griefs and joys
Had made us fealty swear.

I peeped into his heart,
I found the selfsame hope
That cheered me as a boy,
And made my youth to mope.

He would not know me yet,
My brother of the prime,
We tried the selfsame trick
To outwit bald old Time.

I had a token left,
My last and hopeless tear,
It brought him to my heart,
My mate and comrade dear.

NALINI MOHAN CHATTERJEE

PLEIADES

Was it because Orion madly chased
That Jupiter in pity gave you wings,
Assuring safety as the hunter springs
With Sirius across the cosmic waste?

Alike on desert sand or briny sea,
In youthful ecstasy or senile maze,
The wanderer may scan the astral ways
And find you flitting in frivolity.

So frolicked you on a creative morn
When tiny satellitic Earth was born?

WAYNE GARD

Reviews

Modern Indian Artists : Volume One : Kshitindranath Mazumdar. By Ordhendra Coomar Gangoly, Editor, 'Rūpam,' author of 'South Indian Bronzes,' Vice-President of the Indian Society of Oriental Art. With 5 Colour Plates and 21 Photogravures. Printed at the Clive Press, 16, Bonfields Lane, Calcutta. Edition limited to 300 copies only. Price Rupees Sixteen, or One Guinea nett. Sold by the Manager, 'Rūpam,' 7, Old Post Office Street, Calcutta.

A volume like this will fill with a thrill of pleasure any lover of beautiful books. It is indeed a revelation that such a beautiful thing in the way of printed books could be produced in our country. Mr. Gangoly in the most artistic get-up of his 'Rūpam' has already shown us the possibilities in this direction. Mr. Gangoly is great as an art critic. His wide scholarship as well as his insight has obtained for him an international reputation in the domain of Indian and Oriental Art. Besides, he is a telented artist himself, and is a prominent member of the group of Indian artists who have gathered round Abanindranath Tagore and are doing the greatest service to Culture by reviving and keeping alive genuine art in India by creative work. When Mr. Gangoly prints a book, we can be certain of obtaining something really artistic, like the present volume. The beautiful bold type shows charmingly on the greyish white *tulot* or Indian hand-made paper; the photogravures have been beautifully printed, as well as the colour plates; and the half-parchment binding, with an excellent portrait study of Kshitindranath Mazumdar, the subject of the monograph, on the cover, is beautiful—and all these go to make the book quite a treasure to possess.

Mr. Gangoly proposes to bring out a number of volumes on the artists of the New Indian School, and this one is the first of the series. Other volumes on Asitkumar Haldar, Nandalal Bose, Abanindranath Tagore, and others, are promised. His aim is primarily 'to present through worthy forms of illustrations typical works of each of these artists, with just such a short guide, in the letter-press, as may help to make the approach to the works easy and pleasant.' He does not intend any 'elaborate analysis or profound criticism of the works of the artists.' Mr. Gangoly is apologetic about the 'many imperfections of this first attempt to present, to a widely increasing group of amateurs of Indian Painting,' what he modestly calls 'his tribute to a highly-gifted Indian artist' as being 'inadequate.' But any one who knows and loves the work of the Indian School, will assure him that he has been entirely successful in his endeavours; and the art-loving public owe him a debt of gratitude for giving them so beautiful a work.

With a general dearth of good taste, true appreciation of art is an extremely rare thing in India. The Indian Artists represented by the Calcutta School can be said, so far as the generality of their countrymen are concerned, to be in advance of their time; and at home their motives and their technique have been misunderstood by a public innocent alike of æsthetic knowledge and historical perspective, and they have met with stolid apathy or in some cases with active hostility. Mr. Gangoly's appeal through the beautiful book that he has given us will undoubtedly fall flat on those of our educated countrymen—and their name is legion—whose standards of art are set by crude oleographs and inferior modern statuary, and who, if they ever think of it at all, honestly believe in making India a province of Renaissance Europe in matters of art. The disadvantages through which Mr. Gangoly has to bring out a book like this are manifold. There is no responsive public in India, and no rich Association, nor any enterprising publisher to find support from. All this is to be borne in mind in reviewing this work. For in addition to the artistic perception and feeling as well as knowledge which the book displays, there is also, viewed from the present state of India in matters artistic, a true patriotism in our author which has impelled him to produce the book,—a patriotism which is anxious even under the most adverse circumstances to inculcate the love of the true and the beautiful in a Philistinical public, stolidly shutting its eyes to anything that is not loud or obvious, or glaring, or inexacting to the senses and the spirit.

The writer of this appreciation of Mr. Gangoly's book and of the artistic endeavour of which it is a symbol, is not an art critic himself. He only counts himself fortunate in being able to love and be moved by some of the greatest creations of art. He is filled with a great joy in contemplating a picture by Abanindranath Tagore or Nandalal Bose, as much as a Greek coin or vase-painting, or an old Chinese landscape. The *rationale* of this appreciation he will not seek to explain here and the grammars of the different art languages which move him he will not attempt to unravel. The style of the art which makes a faithful copy of the externals which our eye can clearly see is easy to follow. But that is not always the way of the greatest achievements of art—among which certainly some of the work of our Indian artists is to be counted—which seeks to hold in form and line and colour the vision that is within the artist, and that is also within us who are not artists. There are highest forms of artistic expression which are not obvious at a superficial view. These require a certain amount of receptiveness. But one thing is sure about them—they charm us and grow on us as it were by constantly looking at them. We are particularly at a disadvantage in India in not having opportunities of looking at beautiful art objects. Books and pictures of European and other art are generally difficult to procure, and the original objects are non-existent in India; and photographs of Indian art are not always easy of access. Mr. Gangoly deserves the sincere thanks of the Indian public in giving us in a most attractive form some of the best pictures of a gifted Indian artist, who in a way which is specially Indian and which is also his own, has sought to give shape to the truth and beauty and good that is in Indian life and Indian religion.

Kshitindranath Mazumdar is one of the younger pupils of Abanindranath Tagore. His artistic output could not be very large, so far, but he is a young man for whom a long and brilliant artistic career can be predicted. When writers or artists group themselves round a master, there is always the danger of their work losing its individuality. It is refreshing to observe, however, that in the Indian School of Calcutta, the better known artists have not sunk into a type, but each one has found his own powers. Thus we can without much hesitation tell a picture by Asitkumar Haldar from one by Kshitindranath Mazumdar, or Surendranath Kar, and, of course, from one by a great master like Nandalal Bose or Abanindranath Tagore. Each painter brings in his individual contribution, and he has his stamp on it. But this individuality is not a mere mannerism, as there is nothing exaggerated or discordant about it. Mr. Gangoly in his introduction seeks briefly to analyse wherein the individuality of Kshitindranath lies. Kshitindranath has evolved for the expression of his ideas his own type of the human figure, and this is as beautiful a one as was ever created by an artist. As Mr. Gangoly says: 'In coining these types, the artist has proved his wonderful gift of originality. Nandalal Bose, his predecessor in the field of Indian mythical pictures, has gone to the old masterpieces of Indian painting and sculpture and derived his types. Mazumdar has not gone to Ajanta or Kangra to borrow the materials of his "dramatis personæ." They are forged in the workshop of his own imagination and it will be difficult to point out, in any of his types, except those depicting Hindu images, any similarity to the archaic types of Hindu or Buddhist images.' This distinctiveness of Kshitindranath we also see in the drapery of his figures, and in their natural surroundings—trees, foliage, flowers, and the sky. Mr. Gangoly's Foreword is an illuminating commentary which enables us to understand some of the salient points in Mazumdar's art. But the pictures of course are the most important thing, and pictures like Chaitanya and the Peacock (frontispiece), Rādhā back from the Yamunā (Plate X), Chaitanya Dancing (Plate XI), Chaitanya and His Wife (Plate XIII), Rādhā and Krishna (Plate XVI), Rāsa-līlā (Plate XVII), Dāna-līlā (Plate XIX), Shackled Freedom (Plate XXI), Śakuntalā (Plate XXII), Krishna and the Gōpīs (Plate XXIII), Yamunā (Plate XXV) and the Kuruvaka Flower (Plate XXVI), to give only some personal preferences, form a possession for ever. A great deal of Mazumdar's work is on the Rādhā-Krishna legend, and on the life of Chaitanya; a few are from Hindu mythology, and fewer still may be called *genre* pictures, which, however, treat familiar scenes and invest them with a dignity and a beauty of their own.

There is one point in the book to which we would draw the attention of Mr. Gangoly. The Sanskrit dedication is disfigured by a number of misprints which ought not to have come in, and in his Foreword, a little more care should have been given in ensuring a consistent and a proper system of transliteration for the Sanskrit and Bengali names and quotations. It certainly jars on our senses to see «prabhu» written as «provu,» «sāṛī» as «shari» and «ḍālē» as «dalay»: we should remember that we are transliterating Bengali lines in Roman letters, and are not giving a phonetic transcript. But we can be sure that Mr. Gangoly will make his second volume blameless even in this trifling matter.

S. K. C.

Eastern Bengal Ballads, Mymensingh, Vol. I, Part 1, compiled and edited by Dr. Dinesh Chandra Sen, Rai Bahadur, B.A., D.Litt. (Published by the University of Calcutta).

It is not easy for an Englishman to hazard an opinion as to the reception which the ballad poetry of Eastern Bengal, recently rescued from oblivion by Dr. Sen, and now given by him to the world in the form of an

English translation, will receive at the hands of literary Bengal. But one thing is certain. The measure of Bengal's appreciation of these ballads, not as mere historical or literary curiosities, but as living literature, will be some index of the extent to which her spirit is escaping from the trammels of artificiality in its effort to express itself not only in literature but in life. To the western critic, stumbling by good fortune upon Dr. Sen's book, these ballads, straight from the unsophisticated people's heart, come fresh and stimulant as the breeze that revives the jaded traveller from Calcutta as he sits in the steamer and ploughs across the monsoon gusts of Eastern Bengal. In them we escape, as regards the subject matter, almost entirely from the priest, as regards language entirely from cultured artificiality, and as regards the most universal of human passions, altogether from that ideal of chastity which caused a poet of an earlier age to place the following words in the mouth of Sita, as a defence to her character : "Even when I was a mere child, I never came too close to a male play-fellow."

Three Century Ballads.

In the introduction which Dr. Sen prefixes to his translation we learn that these ballads cover a period of 300 years from the sixteenth century onward, that they were known, and that orally only, solely to the class, rapidly decreasing, of professional village singers or rhapsodists ; and that he collected the ballads through the agency of a poverty-stricken and uneducated literary enthusiast, named Chandra Kumar De, to whom the real credit for first bringing these ballads to literary notice must be ascribed, though Dr. Sen's work in introducing them to a wider literary world, and in inspiring the discovery of others, has been infinitely valuable.

Briefly stated, these ballads contain a picture of the state of society and the conditions of life prevailing in Eastern Mymensingh in the sixteenth century and onward. The area in which the ballads rose and flourished was one into which the Sen Rajas with the Brahminic canons and arbitrary conventions were unable to penetrate ; it was therefore for generations ruled by a different society and a different standard of moral and communal life ; its culture was indigenous, natural, fresh, unartificial, in short, true original Bengali. It was a society not of dogmas, but of real life.

There are a dozen aspects from which these ballads, thus rescued from rapidly approaching oblivion, are important. Lord Ronaldshay in his introduction emphasises their importance as the seed from which modern

Bengali has sprung. They will certainly also prove valuable as a source of historical information. But one cannot but dwell here on their intrinsic value as literature, since it is to be hoped that Bengal will eventually value them most as such. As Dr. Sen writes, "these songs have features in them which have a universal appeal." Their language is that of a despised "patois," they describe Bengali men and women acting in ways that are not now conventional and are in some cases regarded as immoral; but they describe the great human passions, and chiefly the passion of love, working in social conditions that were, as compared with conditions to-day, strangely unrestricted by convention. In these ballads women fall in love, and in no case blindly follow the selection of the guardian. They go through fire and water for the sake of the man they choose. They devise stratagems and slay his foes. They converse with strange young men at the ghat, and arrange future meetings. They receive love letters. Yet ever they prefer death to dishonour, properly so regarded. Malua's scorn of the Kazi's overtures to her through a go-between, in her husband's absence, is characteristic. "The wicked Kazi has not the worth of my husband's toe. Take this insult from me and go to your Kazi and tell him all. I take him to be my foe, and hold him as a dog. I hit his face with a broom from here."

Woman the Hero.

In fact it may be said that woman, the Bengali woman, is the general hero of these ballads, so far as those hitherto published are concerned. By the side of her devotion, heroism, and self-renunciation, the male characters are something poor creatures, devoid of personality. In Malua, Mahua, Sunai and several others, not solely Hindu, the literature of Bengal receives on its roll many names of which it may be proud. It is therefore distressing to learn from Dr. Sen that these songs are losing public favour every day. Bengal needs these literary heroines, even though, or even possibly because, their conventions are not those of to-day. Possibly Dr. Sen's book, and especially his enthusiastic and triumphant introduction to them, will restore them to public favour, and give them wider currency. It is clear at least from Dr. Sen's enthusiasm for the unconventionality of the characters of the ballads, that it is not without meaning that he prefaces to his book the quotation that "if a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." [1]

E. F. O.

Yogamaya and other Dramatic Poems,
Ancient Tales of Hindustan,
Himalayan Whispers,
Nur-jahan and Other Dramatic Poems;

all by A. Christina Albers, (Published by the Author at 29 Beniapukur Road, Calcutta).

Readers of this *Review* need no introduction to the talented Author. The last named little book is indeed a collection of her dramatic poems which have appeared in these pages already. So we will refer our readers to their own file of the *Review* and if they have not these back numbers they should try and get them! The first named out of the four contains four plays, the first of which (the one that gives its name to the collection, is a sort of mystery play, and well reflects the modern spirit and modern thought on matters that deepest concern the human heart. The other three are delightful children plays, though only one of them is definitely named thus. Some of our schools will find in them good stuff for training and entertaining both the children and their paernts. *Ancint Tales of Hindustan,* comprising some of the most charming tales from our Epics, is the finest volume of all. The Author has treated the various episodes of Sri Krishna's life with full insight and consummate skill. But may I point out that spelling Dhruva as *Druva* (though to the European it may be the nearest as he pronounces it) is likely to give a shock to some Indian readers, for one expects a writer so entirely at one with the feelings of India, to be also a bit more careful about not wounding the Indian ear also. But we would defy any non-Bengali to find out without reading the poem, who *Eckaloba* was. May we with all humility and entirely in good faith ask the Author to see that these petty defects are corrected? The next volume, *Himalayan Whispers,* contains a collection of small poems. These are lyric and nature poems in the main and would form good reading for spare moments. The get-up of the books is excellent and reflect great credit upon the Press that brought them out.

POST-GRADUATE

Ourselves

THE LATE DR. T. O. D. DUNN.

Mysterious indeed are the decrees of Providence! In this issue of our *Review* we were to offer our hearty and sincere congratulations to Dr. T. O. D. Dunn on his recent appointment as Director of Public Instruction, Bengal; and now it is incumbent on us to perform a sad and mournful duty, to record his tragic death. On Thursday, the 21st February, 1924, Dr. Dunn went to inspect the Chinsurah School and while crossing the Ganges in a country boat for the purpose of catching a train at Naihati, he accidentally fell down into the river and never rose again. The incident will recall to the minds of men of the older generation the death of Bishop Cotton who was drowned in the river near Dacca in 1867.

His death is a serious loss to the cause of educational progress in Bengal. His scholarship and attainments were of a conspicuously high order; he was one of those who truly sympathised with Indian hopes and aspirations and was deservedly popular among Europeans and Indians alike. A man of vivid imagination, his was a charming personality.

Dr. Dunn was born on the 9th October, 1881. After a brilliant university career, he took his M.A. Degree in literature from the Glasgow University, and later took a special course in literature as a post-graduate student at Oxford University. He joined the Indian Educational Service on the 7th December, 1908, and was first posted at Dacca as Inspector of Schools. He was later in charge of the Assam Valley and Hill Districts and acted as Assistant Director of Public Instruction in Eastern Bengal and Assam. He was specially selected in 1917 in connection with the educational survey of the Calcutta University, and on completion of that work was appointed Inspector of Schools, Presidency Division. He obtained the Degree of Doctor of Literature from the Glasgow University a year ago. On January 22, 1924, he was appointed Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in succession to Mr. W. W. Hornell.

Dr. Dunn was an enthusiastic member of the Calcutta Historical Society, and he was on the Editorial Board of the "Bengal Past and Present" to which he contributed some special articles of a high literary standard. He had in preparation at the time of his death a lecture on the art treasures of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, of which he was a valued member. He was a member of the Historical Records Sub-Committee appointed by the Government of India for the weeding out of pre-mutiny records. He had a fine literary taste and resuscitated Anglo-Indian poetry of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries with laborious research.

At the meeting of the Senate held on Saturday, the 23rd February, 1924, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who presided in the absence of the Vice-Chancellor, referred to the sad incident as follows: "We have a very mournful duty to perform. I received the greatest shock of my life when, this morning, as I alighted from the train at Howrah, I heard from my son that we had lost Dr. Theodore Dunn. He was with us on Saturday last, full of vigour and full of hope for the future. I had known him intimately for many years past and there was no one in the Indian Education Service for whose judgment and ability I felt a higher regard. He was a scholar and a gentleman, every inch of him. He was forceful and at the same time tactful. On Saturday he discussed with me plans for the reorganisation of Secondary Education in Bengal and assured me that he realised to the fullest extent the difficulties of a problem where they had to reconcile extension of education with the improvement of education.

I have known very few who were so sympathetic towards Indians and their aspirations. I believe Dr. Dunn was often misunderstood; but I always felt, and I say so without hesitation, now that we have lost him for ever, that there have been few who devoted themselves to the cause of education as Dr. Dunn did, with the aspiration to serve the people of the country he had chosen as his own for the best part of his life.

I propose that the Senate should record a resolution expressing our deep regret at the tragic end of one of our most distinguished members and our keen sense of the loss that the University and the cause of education have suffered by the death of Dr. Dunn, a copy of the resolution to be transmitted over the signature of the Vice-Chancellor to the bereaved family."

The resolution was carried in silence, the whole assembly standing.

* * *

THE LATE PROFESSOR MANOMOHON GHOSE.

The death of Professor Manomohon Ghose has removed from our midst not only a profound scholar but a renowned poet and thinker; and it is for this reason that the loss extends far beyond the horizon of the educational institutions which he so faithfully served.

He possessed in an abundant degree all those qualities which went to the making of a distinguished teacher—deep learning, lofty imagination, unusual command over the English language and last but not the least, a capacious memory. Those who had the proud pleasure and privilege of sitting under his feet as pupils, whether within the walls of the Presidency College or of the Darbhanga Buildings, lovingly bear testimony to his remarkable success as an inspiring teacher. He was very poorly built; and when a stranger saw the slim and delicate figure walking slowly and sedately through the chequered corridors of the College, he could hardly realise that the mental powers of one, physically so weak and poor, were yet rich, fresh and vigorous. Very often was he misjudged, for in outward appearance he did look cold, reserve and austere. Those, however, that had the good fortune of knowing him in close quarters came slowly and surely into contact with the inner man and, struck with delight and amusement, bowed in reverence and admiration.

But it is as Manomohon Ghose the poet that his name is destined to be handed down from generation to generation and in that respect the circle of his admirers will not remain confined within the limits of Bengal or even of India, but will extend to all true lovers of poetry throughout the English-speaking world. A brilliant appreciation of his genius as a poet appeared in the *Englishman* a few weeks ago from the pen of another distinguished scholar, the late lamented Dr. Dunn. We gladly reproduce it here :

"The brief notices that have appeared of the death of Professor Manmohan Ghose do but scant justice to the man and his work. It is true that he was a finished scholar and an industrious and faithful teacher ; but it is a poor recognition of his talent merely to say that he wrote English verse with facility, and had an unusual command over the English language. The significance of Manmohan Ghose is not yet fully apparent. But one thing is certain : if the development of India continues along Imperial lines in the broadest sense, if the language of England continues to be the medium of modern pan-Indian culture and the means of a common intercourse for Indians who differ in their mother-tongue, then the name of Manmohan Ghose will belong to the history of this continent. Men may come to treasure his slender volumes of verse, and to seek after the details of his life-story, re-creating his sorrows and his triumphs as is the fashion of all biography. This is a large prophecy, but it is not without justification if the modern development of the Anglo-Bengali school of English literature is fully apprehended.

The introduction of English into Indian schools and colleges dates from 1835. This introduction has been made famous by the brilliant dogmatism of Macaulay's *Minute*, an official document as amazing in its gratuitous insults to oriental culture, as it was relentlessly emphatic in it reiteration of the need for the teaching of English language, science an literature in India. Five years earlier, in 1830, Kasiprosad Ghose ha published a volume of English poems which displayed a competent understanding of the simpler forms of English verse. Thereafter followed suc writers as Michael Madhusudan Dutta, the talented authors of the Dut Family Album which appeared in 1870, and finally the poetess Toru Dutt the rich promise of whose career was interrupted by her untimely death i 1876. This lady marks one distinct stage of development in the histor of Anglo-Bengali literature. To put it briefly, she was the first Indian t use the language of England for the purpose of true poetry. Colleg exercises in English there had been in plenty, and some of them were exercises of an astounding talent. But it is with Toru Dutt that the pure spiri of poesie first enters into India through the English medium. Her siste Aru Dutt has the same gift, but it remained undeveloped. If any studen of this movement will read the English works of Michael Dutt, of an of the Dutt Family, or of Naba Kissen Ghose (the Ram Sharma of Bengal and then open "A Sheaf Gleaned in French Fields," turning to the versio of Victor Hugo's serenade that begins—

Still barred thy doors! The far east glows,
The morning wind blows fresh and free,
Shall not the hour that wakes the rose,
Awaken also thee!

he will find the first spring of the clear living water of poesie amid a veritable waste of learned verse. What matter whether these lines were writte by Toru or Aru Dutt? The significant fact is that they were produced i Bengal by a Bengali lady writing in English shortly before the eightie of last century. It is to this tradition of pure poesie that Manmoha Ghose belongs; and, apart from this tradition, no estimate of his wor can claim to be complete.

Toru Dutt left India at the age of thirteen. It is said that she neve knew her mother-tongue well, her literary training being acquired i English and French. Manmohan Ghosh was at school in London an graduated at Oxford. On his return to Bengal he had to learn Bengali a a foreign language; and in his study of oriental literature he had little sav his birth to give him special assistance. Toru Dutt came back to Indi [illegible] understanding of the history and culture of her Motherland

She learned enough Sanskrit to aid her in this quest, and she found the themes of her verse in the legends of Hindustan. Both writers had the double advantage of Indian birth combined with European training and both tried to understand and to reconcile the essential elements in the literary culture of East and West. It is a lamentable misfortune that failing health and the dull routine of official duty hampered Manmohan Ghosh in his artistic aims. Contemporary with him there had grown up a great body of Bengali literature both in prose and in verse that cried aloud for adequate interpretation. The fine play of his acute critical faculties would have shown wherein this literature fell away from the highest, and his elucidation would have aided in bringing the English in Bengal nearer to their Indian fellow citizens. His sense for the translation of vernacular poetry was exceptionally keen. He would not tolerate the easy transfer of the pretty vernacular word (meaningless to the English reader) into his verse. It had to find its equivalent in English. *Kadamba,* he would explain, stands for a tree redolent with poetical associations to the Bengali mind, while to the English it is a funny word of three syllables. He would then try to reproduce the significance of *Kadamba* in English, reaching his goal perhaps after much clever paraphrase. For these and similar tasks he had been splendidly trained, never losing that delicate sense of language that had been fostered and matured in the rigours of his Oxford career.

In the year 1890 there appeared in London a slender volume of verse called Primavera. It contained poems by Laurence Binyon, Stephen Philips, Arthur Cripps and Manmohan Ghose. No less a critic than Oscar Wilde reviewed this book in the "Pall Mall Gazette," and he referred to Manmohan Ghose as "a young Indian of brilliant scholarship and high literary attainments who gives some culture to Christ Church. Particular interest attaches naturally to Mr. Ghose's work. Born in India of purely Indian parentage, he has been brought up entirely in England and was educated at St. Paul's School. His verses show us how quick and subtle are the intellectual sympathies of the oriental mind, and suggest how close is the bond of union that may some day bind India to us by other methods than those of commerce and military strength. Mr. Ghose ought some day to make a name in our literature." Eight years after these words were written, Manmohan Ghose produced "Love Songs and Elegies" a small volume published by Elkin Mathews. This alone would be sufficient to establish his position as an exquisite artist in verse. Space forbids adequate illustration of the verbal felicity and delicate feeling of those short poems. But, so uniform is their beauty, that any random quotation will serve :—

Where breathes who bloomless left the meadows.
She?
Grave, in the wintriness of thee.
Her laughter might have thrilled the dead,
So real she seemed, so white and red:
Gone, and the aching world she widows
With me!
Her glorious kinsfolk, that forsook us.
Wake:
Each lily, for the light's own sake.
But she, more strong, more swift to bloom,
Kept captive in the cold earth's gloom,
Will she not with the beaming crocus
Upbreak?
Too well thy heart, bereaved lover,
Knows,
'Tis dust that did her bloom compose:
And she, so vivid and so sweet,
Is now a name, an image fleet;
All that the stars remember of her.
A rose!

At present it is impossible to say whether anything finer than this exists in the unpublished poems of Manmohan Ghose. If there is anything as good, it will be a serious loss to Anglo-Bengali literature if it is not made known to the world. His published poems are almost wholly western in sentiment and character. His translations, and whatever work is eastern in theme or in treatment, have yet to be seen. But enough has already appeared to give him his place amongst those writers who, born in India, have absorbed the best culture of Europe and who stand as interpreters of the East to the West."

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THE LATE MR. B. N. DAS.

We deeply regret to record the death of Rai Bahadur Bhupatinath Das, M.A., B.Sc., Principal of the Dacca Intermediate College. Mr. Das was born in 1869 and graduated from the Hughly College in 1889. In 1890 he was placed in the First Class at the M. A. Examination in Chemistry. Subsequently he was awarded the Gilchrist Scholarship and proceeded to England where he took the Degree of Bachelor of Science with Honours in the University of London. In 1896, on return from England, he was appointed Professor of Physics in the Patna College. In 1903, he joined the Dacca College, and on the establishment of the Dacca University, he became Principal of the Dacca Intermediate College in 1922. He was appointed an Ordinary Fellow of this University in 1915 and was re-appointed in 1920. He had been in failing health for some time past and committed suicide on Thursday, the 21st February, 1924. Though a man of solid attainments, he never pushed himself forward and was a silent and devoted worker, and was held in the highest esteem by his students and colleagues. The Senate, at the meeting held on the 23rd February, 1924, recorded a resolution of regret, and we beg to offer our sincerest condolences to the members of the family of the deceased in their cruel bereavement.

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PROFESSOR RAMAN.

Our heartiest congratulations to Professor Raman on his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of London. Dr. Raman has had a remarkably brilliant career. He was born on the 7th November, 1888, and graduated from the Presidency College, Madras, at the age of sixteen as an "easy first." The beneficent sixteen years' limit for Matriculation which a paternal Government has forced on this University would have kept him back for four years and possibly killed his intellectual vigour. He took his M. A. Degree two years later with high distinction. Immediately after, he took the first place in the competitive examination for admission to the Indian Finance Department, and entered the service in 1907. Notwithstanding irksome and arduous duties as a member of the service, he persistently devoted himself to original research in the domain of Physics out of office hours. His first paper had appeared in the *Philosophical Magazine* when he was still a student in Madras in 1905. The work thus initiated was carried on in Calcutta in the laboratory of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science, and by 1913 the young scientist had already given ample proof of his powers as an original thinker in the domain of the Theory of Vibrations and Musical Instruments. Sir Tarakanath Palit, it will be recalled, made his princely donation to the University in 1912 and when in 1913 Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was on the look-out for the first occupants of the newly created Chairs of Chemistry and Physics, he selected Dr. P. C. Ray and Mr. C. V. Raman. The choice of Mr. Raman, as he then was, created a misgiving in some quarters, but, as events have fully established, the Vice-Chancellor was not the man to commit an error. Mr. Raman, at the time, was in receipt of a high salary and had a brilliant prospect in official sphere. An attempt was made by the University to obtain a transfer of his services, but red tape stood in the way. Mr. Raman, however, was not to be deterred ; he resigned his appointment in the Finance Department and joined the University as Palit Professor of Physics in 1917. The sacrifice he made from the pecuniary point of view called for the highest praise, but his devotion has been amply rewarded in the intellectual sphere. He has built up a School of Physics in Calcutta of which any Professor in any University might well be proud, and research students have flocked to him for guidance and inspiration from the remotest corners of the country. His numerous friends and admirers have now the satisfaction to see him win the Blue Ribbon of Science at the early age of thirty-six. It is needless for us to recapitulate his original contributions to Science, but we may mention that his essay on the Molecular Diffraction of Light which was published by the University in 1922 has excited the keenest interest in scientific circles all over the world. Yet, for the University College of Science which counts among its staff two such men as Sir P. C. Ray and Professor C. V. Raman, an enlightened Government refuses to grant the smallest financial assistance ; and the bureaucratic mind still wonders why representatives of the people make an insistent demand for control over the public funds. We may add finally that Professor Raman is a cosmopolitan worker, and his services are willingly acknowledged by such learned bodies of diverse types as the Benares Hindu University, the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

It would be interesting to bear in mind that Professor Raman visited Europe but once, and that also only in 1921 when he had already established his reputation as a scholar and a man of science. Professor Raman is the third Indian F.R.S. Mr. Ramanujam, that young talented mathematician of Madras whose untimely death we all deplored, was the first Indian whose irresistible claims forced the authorities to break through the barriers of conservatism and who was admitted into the Fellowship of the Royal Society. The Second Indian recipient is another brilliant figure in the world of science, Sir J. C. Bose.

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DR. ANNANDALE.

We are pleased to learn that Dr. N. Annandale, C.I.E., D.Sc., F.Z.S., F.R.S.E., has been elected a Fellow of the Royal

f the Zoological Survey
e scientific world as well for
eshwater sponges, hydroids and
n India, as for his recent valuable researches
ology.

Dr. Annandale was the first Professor of Zoology at the Calcutta Medical College. While in that post he conducted researches at the Indian Museum into "gemmules" which in ancient times were considered to be seeds, on the assumption that the sponges themselves were plants. Dr. Annandale's reputation was enhanced by his contributions to the "Fauna of British India" series on "Porifera" and "Molluscoida," an authoritative work periodically issued with the sanction of the Secretary of State for India. His other researches have been embodied in the "Memoirs of the Indian Museum." He has been engaged upon Zoological work in many parts of the Indian Empire, including the Chilka Lake, the Andamans, Darjeeling and Bombay. He has given vivid pictures of the biological peculiarities of the sponges, coelenterates, and polyzoa of fresh water, and has discussed their nomenclature and terminology with great skill and accuracy. He has thoroughly described the life-history of the sponge, starting from its embryology (by 'budding,' 'Gemmule formation' or egg liberation) right up to its adult life, including morphology, anatomy and bionomics. Dr. Annandale has established that the sponge was known to the Greeks and that Homer refers to it as a furniture cleanser, as a blotter and as an ablutionary aid. His glossary of technical terms about the sponge is a substantial help to students of Zoology. It is understood that Dr. Annandale has in hand a monumental work on the Ganges. Dr. Annandale was President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1923 and President of the Indian Science Congress in 1924. He was for some years an Ordinary Fellow of this University, but his scientific work left him ittle time for regular participation in our activities.

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MR. S

The following passage from the Islam-Literatur by Dr. Gustav Pfannm (Berlin, 1923), will interest our readers:

"Mr. Khuda Bukhsh has followed in the footsteps of Sy Ameer Ali, but his views shows a considerable advance upon the rationalistic apologies of Islamic faith. The author is a Muslim with liberal and advanced views. He has lived nine years in England and has studied German which has enabled him to study Goldziher's "Muhammedanische Studien" and other German works on Islam. His Essays deal, for instance, with the spirit of Islam, 'the Islamic Conception of Sovereignty, the Schubiyyah movement in Islam.' Especially noteworthy are the chapters on "Hindusthani Literature" and "Thoughts on the Present Situation." The author, though deeply steeped in Western thought, is yet a strong adherent of his own native traditions. He is a shrewd observer of the present position of affairs and a daring critic of the English domination in India. 'For me East is East and West is West; India can no more be England, than England can be India. We must learn at the feet of Europe but not at the sacrifice of our eastern individuality.'"

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MR. JIRO MASUDA.

Mr. J. Masuda, University Lecturer in Chinese, who is now in Heidelberg in Germany, has been engaged upon the preparation of very important works including an edition of a Tantric Text from Sanskrit manuscripts and a translation of a Yogacara text which was translated into Chinese by Yuan-chwang from the original Sanskrit. The latter is entitled the Vijnaptimatrasiddhisastra and is a synthetical translation of ten commentaries on Vasubandhu's Thirty Karikas. Mr. Masuda recently delivered an interesting lecture on Yogacara Philosophy which we hope to be able to publish in an English version.

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MR. NALINIMOHAN CHATTERJEE.

Mr. Nalinimohan Chatterjee, University Lecturer in the Department of English, received the following letter from Professor Sylvain Levi:

Paris, 25th January, 1924.

DEAR SIR,

I have received from Fischbacher's a copy of "Krishna" translated into French. The editor writes me that he had no time to apply for a preface, as the book was ready to come out when he got your letter. I am sorry that I missed this nice opportunity to introduce a young colleague of Calcutta University before the French reader. My very poor knowledge of Bengali, acquired in such a short stay at Santiniketan, does not allow me to speak of the poetical merits, still I think that I can appreciate the melody of your verses, that sing harmonious and sweet to my ears. The English Provati which you kindly sent me affords some help. You have clearly inherited from Rabindranath and from your Bengali Gurus and from all your Bengali forefathers an inexhaustible richness of images and a mystic power of evocating through words the deepest and remotest and faintest regions of the soul. Your "Krishna" is particularly impressive on this account. May I tell you frankly that, at least for our western taste, but I think for the general taste too, the highest lyrics require an admixture of some "temps de repos," which gives some relaxation from a too continuous strain. Life is so complex that its image may even be (etymologically) monotonous. Excuse me for my speaking so freely; after all, I am not a poet, and my opinion is of no value.

With many thanks and best thought

SYLVAIN LEVI

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DR. ADITYANATH MOOKERJEE.

We rejoice to find that Dr. Adityanath Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., has been appointed Principal of the Sanskrit College at the most critical period of the history of that great Institution. In 1896, Dr. Mookerjee graduated with double Honours from the Free Church of Scotland's Institution and Duff College. In 1897, he was placed first in the First Class at the M.A. Examination in Philosophy. In 1903, he carried off the Premchand Roychand Studentship and the Mouat Medal and undertook research in a very abstruse branch of Indian Philosophy. In 1909, he was admitted to the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy for his thesis on the "Concepts of Monism and Mysticism"—a metaphysical essay with a short historical introduction. Dr. Mookerjee has been for many years past one of the most distinguished members of the staff of the Presidency College and of the University Department of Philosophy. We venture to express the confident hope that the appointment of Dr. Mookerjee as Principal of the Sanskrit College signifies that what has proved to be the most dismal chapter in its history now stands finally closed. When the Principalship fell vacant in 1920 upon the lamentable death of that illustrious scholar, Mahamahopadhyay Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhushan, M.A., Ph.D., Mr. Muralidhar Banerjee, a distinguished Sanskritist was appointed to the office, and he was granted an extension of service so that he might continue to fill the post. But forces of destruction were at work behind the scenes. The order for extension was modified, Mr. Banerjee was made to retire, and Mr. Asutosh Sastri was appointed Principal. We shall not recall the events which have happened since that fateful day. Panic raged amongst the teachers and students alike. A Minister of Education, apparently anxious to make his advent felt, was persuaded to appoint as President of the Governing Body an absentee gentleman during whose Principalship the College had reached the low-water mark of efficiency. The fine Institution which had steadily grown and flourished under the guidance of Dr. Vidyabhushan crumbled to pieces at the touch of the new Principal and the new President of the Governing Body. Students deserted the Institution. Experienced and accomplished Professors who had the courage to stand out were, in this new regime, served with notices that their services would no longer be required or could be retained only on reduced pay and in an inferior grade. One of them, who lost his appointment, was so agitated at the unexpected misfortune that he died of sudden heart-failure. The reductions and transfers were effected in secret without communication with the University. But, as soon as apprised of these incidents, the University did not hesitate to initiate disciplinary action, and a motion for disaffiliation was brought forward. The authorities now realised the grave error they had committed and promptly took recourse to the familiar panacea for all administrative deadlocks,—they appointed a Committee. This furnished an excuse for repeated extensions of service to the Principal who had attained the superannuation age and had made himself universally unpopular. There can be no room for controversy that this action was taken by a "popular" Minister of Education in defiance of the principles clearly enunciated in the well-known Despatch of the Secretary of State. It thus seemed at one time that the gloom would con-inue to deepen; but light burst forth unexpectedly with the dvent of a new Minister of Education who was determined to ave this noble Institution from the fangs of intrigue. He eclined to sanction a further extension of service to the rincipal and looked out for a scholar of high attainments as is successor. Such a scholar, he was advised, could be found the author of a standard history of Indian Philosophy. ut a fictitious agitation was raised on the ground that this cholar was a Vaidya and not a Brahmin. The clamorous gitators conveniently forgot that neither Professor Edward

Byles Cowell nor Mr. Prasannakumar Sarbadhikary, who ha in days when orthodoxy reigned supreme, adorned the Ch of Principal of the Sanskrit College, could by any stretch imagination be included in the category of Brahmins. It w also conveniently forgotten that a former Brahmin Princip of the College, at the time of his retirement, expressed himself in favour of a plan for the appointment of a Europea scholar as his successor,—presumably on the theory so dear many, "after me the deluge." The curious reader may, on this point, profitably consult the biographical sketch of the late Dr. Satishchandra Vidyabhushan prefixed to his great work on Indian Logic recently published by the University. The motley crowd of agitators had, however, counted without their host. The new Minister of Education could neither be frightened nor baffled, and he gave ample proof of his mastery of the situation by the appointment of Dr. Adityanath Mookerjee. Dr. Mookerjee manifestly combines in himself all the requisites,—a good Brahmin, a good scholar, a good administrator. But, above all, he is not the man to succumb to intrigue, and we do not feel the remotest doubt that he will prove himself not only capable and tactful, but also eminently just and fair. We offer our respectful congratulations to the new Minister and the new Principal on this happy solution of a difficult situation.

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DR. PRAPHULLA CHANDRA BASU.

Our congratulations to Dr. Praphulla Chandra Basu. He had a distinguished career in this University where he took his M. A. Degree in History as well as in Political Economy and Political Philosophy. He was Post-graduate Lecturer in these departments. When the Indore Durbar requested Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to nominate a scholar qualified to teach up to the M.A. standard in History and Economics, Mr. Basu as sent on to that State. He has distinguished himself his new sphere of work and in 1920 he was awarded The Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Medal for his thesis on *Indo-Aryan Polity.* He has now been approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy for his thesis on *Economic Development of India, Vol. I.* The Board of Examiners consisted of Mr. R. N. Gilchrist, M.A., of this University, Mr. Monohar Lal, M.A., of the Punjab University and Dr. S. G. Panandikar, M.A., Ph.D., of the Bombay University.

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DR. PASUPATINATH SASTRI.

Our congratulations to Dr. Pasupatinath Sastri. He had a distinguished academic record and took his M.A. Degree in Sanskrit in two groups, namely, *Vedas* and *Mimansa* and *Smriti.* His varied scholarship is well-known in connection with his work as a Post-graduate teacher. He has now been approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The Board of Examiners consisted of Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D., of this University, Professor R. Shama Shastri, B.A., Ph.D., of Mysore, and Professor S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., of Poona.

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PREMCHAND ROYCHAND STUDENTSHIPS, 1923.

The Premchand Roychand Studentship for 1923 in literary subjects has been equally divided between Mr. Nalini Kanta Brahma, M.A., and Mr. Hemchandra Ray, M.A. Mr. Nalini Kanta Brahma stood first in the First Class in Mental and Moral Philosophy at the M. A. Examination in 1917. He submitted a thesis on "Sankar and Hegel." Mr. Hemchandra Ray was first in the First Class in the Social and Constitutional History Group under Ancient Indian History and Culture. He submitted a thesis on the "Arthasastra of Kautilya."

The Premchand Roychand Studentship for 1923 in scientific subjects has been equally divided between Dr. Bidhubhushan Ray, D.Sc., and Mr. Sikhibhushan Datta, M.A. Mr. Bidhubhushan Ray was second in the First Class in Physics at the M. Sc. Examination in 1918 and took the Degree of Doctor of Science in 1923 for original investigations in Physical Science. He submitted a number of important papers in Physics. Mr. Sikhibhushan Datta was first in the First Class in Chemistry, Group C, at the M. A. Examination in 1921. He submitted a number of important papers on Chemistry. We note with pleasure that he had his training in the Dacca College which has now been merged in the Dacca University.

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LECTURES ON ART.

Mr. W. G. Raffé, A.R.C.A. (Lond.), F.I.B.D., F.R.S.A., formerly of the Government School of Art, Lucknow, has been invited to deliver a course of six lectures on Art. Three have already been delivered, which dealt successively with *Art in Commerce and Industry*, *What is Art* and *The Psychology of Art.* The remaining three will be delivered on March 6, 13 and 20, the subjects being *Art and Mathematics*, *Art, Religion and Nature*, and *Art and the Future.*

The wood engraving given in this issue is reproduced from the work of Mr. W. G. Raffé, and shows a specimen in black and white. It is in the original size, and printed from the original block cut by hand. Mr. Raffé is well known in Europe as a black and white artist and engraver, and his work is represented in many of the great Museums and Art Galleries, including the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London, which purchased over twenty prints; the British Museum, the Metropolitan Museum New York ;

Manchester, Bradford, Chicago ; Buffalo ; Washington, U.S.A. National Museum ; Perth ; Adelaide ; Capetown ; Durban ; Auckland N.Z. ; Toronto ; Ottawa, National Gallery of Canada ; Dublin ; Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh ; Glasgow ; Aberdeen ; and many other galleries of note.[1]

A number of his engravings were reproduced in his "Poems in Black and White" (Cecil Palmer, London) published, 1922, and met with widespread appreciation in press reviews.

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ADDED MEMBERS OF FACULTIES.

On the 16th February, 1924, the Faculty of Law elected the undermentioned gentlemen to be Added Members of the Faculty for the year 1924-25 :—

Mr. Sitaram Banerjee, M.A., B.L.
Mr. Karunamay Basu, M.A., B.L.
Mr. P. Chaudhuri, M.A.
Mr. S. M. Masih, B.A.
Mr. D. N. Mitra, B.Sc., LL.B.
Mr. Rupendrakumar Mitter, M.Sc., M.L.
Mr. S. C. Ray, B.A., LL.B.
Mr. Jyotiprosad Sarbadhikary, M.A., B.L.

It will be observed that all the gentlemen, except one, are University Teachers of Law.

The Faculty of Arts found it impossible to elect any Added Member, although the names of twelve distinguished gentlemen had been proposed. The meeting was rendered infructuous by reason of the failure of the requisite number of the members of the Faculty to be present. It is a matter for deep regret that so many gentlemen who had accepted seats on the Faculty should render themselves conspicuous by their absence when their presence was most needed under the very exacting Regulations framed for the election of Added Members.

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[1] It may be interesting to state that Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., of Calcutta have secured a selection of these prints, which are consequently on view in their premises.

KAMALA LECTURESHIP.

Our readers will be glad to read the following letter:

77, RUSSA ROAD, NORTH,
BHOWANIPORE,
CALCUTTA.
9th February, 1924.

To
THE REGISTRAR,
Calcutta University.

SIR,

I desire to place at the disposal of my University Government Securities for Rupees Forty Thousand only of the 3% Loan with a view to establish a lectureship, to be called the KAMALA LECTURESHIP in memory of my beloved daughter Kamala (*b.* 18th April, 1895—*d.* 4th January, 1923). The Lecturer, who will be annually appointed by the Senate, will deliver a course of not less than three lectures, either in Bengali or in English, on some aspect of Indian Life and Thought, the subject to be treated from a comparative standpoint.

The following scheme shall be adopted for the lectureship:

(1) Not later than the 31st March every year, a special committee of five members shall be constituted as follows:

One member of the Faculty of Arts to be nominated by the Faculty.

One member of the Faculty of Science to be nominated by the Faculty.

One member to be nominated by the Council of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

One member to be nominated by the Bangiya Sahitya Parisad.

One member to be nominated by the Founder or his representative.

(2) The Special Committee, after such enquiry as they may deem necessary, shall, not later than the 30th June, draw up a report recommending to the Senate the name of a distinguished scholar. The report shall specify the subject of the proposed lectures and shall include a brief statement of their scope.

(3) The report of the Special Committee shall be forwarded to the Syndicate in order that it may be laid before the Senate for confirmation not later than the 31st July.

(4) The Senate may for specified reasons request the Special Committee to reconsider their decision but shall not be competent to substitute another name for the one recommended by the Committee.

(5) The Lecturer appointed by the Senate shall deliver the lectures at the Senate House not later than the month of January next following.

(6) The Syndicate shall, after the lectures are delivered in Calcutta, arrange to have them delivered in the original or in a modified form in at least one place out of Calcutta, and shall for this purpose pay such travelling allowance as may be necessary.

(7) The honorarium of the Lecturer shall consist of a sum of Rupees One Thousand in cash and a Gold Medal of the value of Rupees Two Hundred only. The honorarium shall be paid only after the

lectures have been delivered and the Lecturer has made over to the Registrar a complete copy of the lectures in a form ready for publication.

(8) The lectures shall be published by the University within six months of their delivery and after defraying the cost of publication the surplus sale proceeds shall be paid to the Lecturer, in whom the copyright of the lectures shall vest.

(9) No person who has once been appointed a Lecturer shall be eligible for re-appointment before the lapse of five years.

Yours faithfully,
ASUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

On the motion of Dr. Urquhart, seconded by Mr. J. R. Banerjea, the Senate thankfully accepted the gift on Saturday, the 23rd February, 1924.